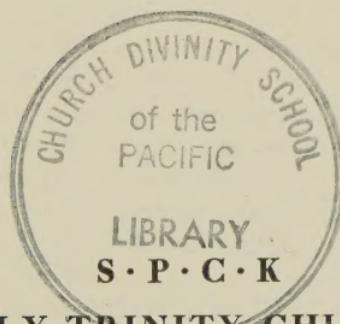


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THE  
CHURCH  
QUARTERLY  
REVIEW

VOLUME CLVII



HOLY TRINITY CHURCH  
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MCMLVI



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## A POLICY FOR THE FUTURE

IT has been suggested that I should write for the current number a statement of future policy for *C.Q.R.* I feel bound to accede to the request, although I recognize the danger. Such a statement offers too many hostages to fortune. To some readers the programme outlined may seem too jejune. Others may remember it only too well and in the coming years make unfavourable comparisons of performance with promise. It also impels me to strike a more personal note than is strictly proper for a magazine of this kind. However, it may have a good effect in establishing relations between editor and readers, and it may even induce some of the latter to let us know what hitherto unrealized needs they would like us to meet. In any case, if I seize the opportunity, I hope it will be taken as some token of gratitude to those who have so nobly carried on since the lamented death of the late editor, and who have now invited me to take this step.

Let me say at once that *C.Q.R.* would wish to meet the needs of the inquiring layman. It does not aspire to be merely a trade journal for the clergy. The Church of England has been marvellously helped in past years by laymen who were not inquirers only, but teachers. The names of Cuthbert Turner and Clement Webb spring immediately to mind. In more recent years some of the best apologetic work has been done by lay writers who are still with us. Such stirring examples can only spring from an educated public. It will be our aim to extend the limits of that public and to keep it in touch, both with current events and with the more striking developments in theology.

It goes without saying that we also hope for a widening circle of readers among the clergy. Indeed we think that we ought to be found in every clergyman's study. *C.Q.R.* has already established for itself a place midway between *Theology* and the *Journal of Theological Studies*. It has longer articles than the former and is less technical than the latter. This middle position we hope to maintain and develop.

We feel sure that in doing so we shall help to bridge the gap between the study and the pulpit. Many of us recognize that in these days of increasing education, sermons must address them-

selves not merely to the emotions and the will, but also to the intelligence. At the same time, since the standard of education is by no means uniform, the subjects treated must be so thoroughly pre-digested by the preacher as to be clearly presented to hearers of no great academic attainment.

It cannot be doubted that this is a task of first-rate importance, but of very great difficulty. It involves a strenuous effort on the part of the preacher to assimilate the historical and theological background of every theme with which he deals. He must speak from the fullness not only of conviction, but of knowledge. Now that every diocese has developed a three-year system of post-ordination training, it is to be hoped that the clergy are becoming more than ever accustomed to carry on intensive reading even in the midst of engrossing parochial activities. *C.Q.R.* would wish to assist them in this endeavour.

Since theology, like every other science, is intensely alive to the shifts and changes of contemporary thought, it is necessary that the clergy should be aware of developments as they occur. For this reason we shall hope to introduce a new and regular feature in the shape of a Review of Reviews. This will give us a chance of taking stock of the more ephemeral literature on our subject and learning what we can from current controversy. By the same token we should like to strengthen the correspondence columns and make them a real forum for the exchange and formulation of opinion. We think that a quarterly magazine can provide more scope than most publications for a combination of topicality and maturity.

For the reviews themselves, which are after all our main feature, we hope to group together a number of books dealing with the same subject. This may sometimes involve a little delay in dealing with a particular book, but it will give scholars of established reputation the opportunity of treating a subject in the round and showing how the individual volumes under review fit into it. We feel sure that this method will appeal to both writers and readers. Certainly if it is successful it will give a permanent value to each number of the magazine.

There is one project which is very dear to me and which I trust will not prove entirely incompatible with what has just been said. That is to encourage younger writers whose reputation has still to be made. I doubt whether even the clergy themselves are aware how many young men of exceptional capacity join their ranks at

each succeeding ordination. Such recruits are potential writers in one or other of the many branches of our all-embracing subject. Unfortunately their usefulness in this respect is often lost to the Church because they become immersed in practical activities until they are too old to support with equanimity the disappointments that are the lot of most aspiring authors. We should like to keep these men reading, and to start them writing from their earliest years in the ministry. If any of our readers could help us to keep our list of the names of such men up to date we should be more than commonly grateful.

To this outline of policy I should like to append a personal profession of faith. I believe that in this day and generation we have an unusual, perhaps a unique opportunity for a vigorous apology for the Christian faith. Many of the old barriers between theology and other sciences have broken down. There is a greater readiness in the learned world than there has been for a long time to accord us a place in the sun. This does not mean that our battle has been won. Far from it. Now as always we have to struggle against the twin evils of materialism and inertia. But intellectually at least we are recognized as having a place in our own right. Questions are being asked of us with a greater freedom than at any time in the last two generations. The tide is setting our way. It is for us to take it at the flood.

✠ J. W. C. WAND

# THE CHURCH IN THE CARIBBEAN TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW<sup>1</sup>

By the ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES

I MAY say without fear of contradiction that the West Indies is a most interesting part of the world, and that this is one of the most interesting times in its history. It is an interesting time because it is a moment of great awakening. There is political and economic development taking place on a great scale, and at a tremendous pace. All sorts of interesting things are happening, and with Federation in the air, and political and economic development going forward, we see a new nation coming to birth. What sort of nation that is going to be; whether it is going to be a Christian nation, or a nation built up of sheer materialism, will, I think, be decided within the next ten years or less. And that is why we can call the present time critical, and mean that word in exactly the sense of what it says. This is a time to pass judgement upon us, upon you and upon me. It is a critical time, a very interesting time.

I said the West Indies is a very interesting place. I could not possibly tell you all about it to-night, because there are no two islands quite alike, and certainly no two Dioceses of the Church with exactly the same work to do. But there are some respects in which we are all the same. The first thing is that throughout the West Indies we have a multi-racial society. In all the islands there are at least two sections of the human race living side by side. In some places—British Honduras, Trinidad, and in my own Diocese of Guiana—we have a still wider representation of the human race. In Guiana we are called “The Land of the Six Peoples”. There are first of all the Amerindians, what boys and girls would call Red Indians. They are the natives of the country, the original people. Then there are people of African origin; that is two. The East Indians from India; that is three. The Chinese; that is four. The Madeiran Portuguese; that is five. The Europeans, the white people from England and America, and other parts; making six.

<sup>1</sup> The Speech, slightly abridged, given by the Archbishop at a meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, 20 September 1955.

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All of these people in the West Indies have learned the lesson which certain other countries of the world have still to learn; the lesson of living together, working for the common good, without any barriers of race at all. I am not going to say that that goes for every individual person, because it does not. You will find people of every race who are discriminatory towards people of other races, just as you find snobs who behave in a very discourteous manner towards people in another class. In the West Indies, however, we do live together and work together as one people.

I wish I could carry you in thought to my Cathedral on a Sunday morning. It is a picture of the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world. The people all worship together as one family; they all come to their Communion together and are ministered to by priests who represent these different nations. Five years ago we completed the picture by ordaining the first Amerindian to the priesthood, I believe, in the history of the Church. Now all these people of the West Indies, with the exception of the Amerindians, have been brought there. They have not grown up there, or come of their own volition. They have all been brought together there. First of all there were the slaves, and don't let us forget that, although England did not start the slave trade, she certainly made a lot of money out of it, and pursued it most actively. Then there were those who, although not slaves, had been brought to the West Indies as indentured labourers and the like. The whole population has been artificially built up, largely in order to produce sugar and other things for Europe and for this country. Therefore we have very special obligations to those peoples now. If we are asked to maintain a reasonable price for sugar; if we are asked to give preferential consideration in order to secure markets for West Indian produce; if the British tax-payer is asked to contribute several millions at a time towards the economic and social development of the West Indies; don't please think of it as any kind of favour: rather as an attempt to meet an obligation. We have an obligation to the West Indies, and if when West Indians come here, as they are coming now, to settle in this country, you can do anything at all to make them feel happier and more at home, that also is the discharge of an obligation. You and I, as Church people, have an even greater obligation than anybody else, because our Lord loves his people in the West Indies every bit as much as he loves you and me, and our Lord's sacred

heart is longing for them, and wanting them, and our Lord wants us to go out and minister to them, and do everything we can to help them on their way and to bring them to his Father. We have indeed an obligation.

For a very long time the Church in the West Indies has been carrying on against considerable difficulties. You talk about the shortage of clergy here in England. I believe it can be very serious, but there are very few places in England, even at this time of shortage of clergy, where on a Sunday morning, if you wanted to, you could not find a church and a celebration of Holy Communion. In the West Indies things are very different. Not only does one priest have to minister to perhaps five or six churches, far apart, but if he falls sick, or even when he goes on leave once in every four or five years, there is hardly ever a substitute, so one priest, who already has six or seven or more churches scattered over 16 or 20 miles, then has to take on the next block of a similar number of churches, and try to do something for all those people until the other priest can come back.

There are two principal kinds of Church work to be done in the West Indies: two special kinds that we can single out. On the one hand there is the work of the Church in the great cities, where the priests are concerned in the pastoral work of the Church. Take one church, for example, St Philip's, Georgetown. At the present time it has more than 2,000 regular communicants registered on its roll, and on an ordinary Sunday morning there will probably be 700 or 800 to receive Holy Communion at one service. There are two priests, but in addition to the Parish Church those priests have two other churches to which to minister, besides being responsible for a big prison. That is one kind of work, in the towns, where priests are short, and the people are so many. No matter how good a priest may be, it is hard to keep in touch with the people.

Then there is the other type of work in the country, where a priest has to be travelling great distances, and constantly, in order to get around to isolated and scattered congregations; sometimes in the out-islands across miles of dangerous ocean; sometimes up country, travelling across rough land, or up and down great rivers. There is one parish in my Diocese where the priest has to travel 600 miles every month of his life in a small boat to visit ten stations in order that the people may receive the Sacraments and be taught the Word of God. That is once a month. Once a quarter the

same priest has to travel 200 miles in other directions as well.

For a long time the Church in the West Indies has been struggling against great odds. It is all part of the magnificent struggle that the people of the West Indies have put up, and how rightly proud they are of their attempts to become self-supporting. The generosity of the people in the West Indies must be something almost incredible to people who know them. Every Church member over 17 years old in my Diocese is expected to pay Church Dues of 15s. a year before he begins to give Church collections at all. After he has paid his Church Dues he gives what he can in the collections. And if 15s. does not seem a very large sum, I would remind you that both real wages and regularity of employment are far below the standard obtaining in England. That is one way of measuring the generosity of the people of the West Indies, and their determination to help themselves.

I have not come here to-night, and these Bishops have not come to England, to ask the Church of England to give us anything at all that we can provide for ourselves, or to help us in any way that is not absolutely necessary. We have only come because we have reached a time which is indeed critical, and where we need outside assistance at once, and on a big scale, unless the whole opportunity of the Church is to be lost for ever.

Let us go back again, and see this picture of the Church in the West Indies. What is the Church doing at this time in the midst of political and economic and social development? We are trying very hard to bear our witness, and in that I give special commendation to our laity. The Church has always produced magnificent lay people, and in many ways they are perhaps its greatest glory. We have just started in my Diocese a Guild, to which anyone may belong if he is the bread earner, man or woman, any age provided they are wage earners. The obligations of this Guild are first of all to worship God and offer the Holy Sacrifice; to pray; and then to study how to apply Christian principles to all the complexities of modern life. I know they are taking it very seriously. The members of this Guild of St Paul are then going out into the offices and workshops and fields, to try each one to bring to bear a Christian influence where they find themselves right inside among their own fellow workers. No doubt it is a very small thing, but I tell you of it to show the way in which the people of the West Indies are trying to meet the challenge of the present situation..

This situation if we are not careful is going to run away with us. In British Guiana the Government has set aside 44,000,000 dollars to spend on economic development within the next two years. It is a grand thing, and has given to our people new hope, and changed their whole attitude to life, and they feel there is a future for the country and for themselves. This 44,000,000 dollars is going to be spent quickly now. If only someone in London had had the vision to think of that 20 or 25 years ago, a good many difficulties would have been avoided.

What does that mean to the Church? A large part of the money is being spent on housing. New houses, new housing estates, new centres of population, are springing up very rapidly in all sorts of places. There are stretches of the road which we drove along to the East Coast only a few months ago, which were pasture land with cattle grazing, where house is now joined to house all along the road. Just before I left in June, I was taken behind a village and shown a great acreage covered with sugar cane. The manager of the estate said to me: "You see this area; by the time you come back it will all be cleared, and houses will be going up. By this time next year 4,000 families will be living there."

A few months ago, just to show what could be done, the Government built a house in ten hours. All the component parts were prepared beforehand, and were put up in ten hours, from ground to roof. That gives people a picture of the way in which things are happening in Guiana.

Soil surveys are being made, so that new land settlement schemes may be laid down. New industries are being opened; there are new agricultural developments. I had a delightful letter yesterday from one of my house boys: "Since you went away development has taken place, and we are now building a beer factory." Development is going on very quickly. We are building factories as fast as we can. It means people are living in new areas altogether. It happens here in England. People move out from the slums. Here in England there are very considerable resources to meet such a situation when it arises. The Church of the West Indies has no resources at all. It lives from hand to mouth. Here am I suddenly faced with this challenge and opportunity. Here is the country going forward so fast, wonderful things happening around us.

The country is going forward in a great economic evolution, almost a revolution. People are moving out to their new houses and new housing areas. Many of them are Church people, and they are saying: "What is going to happen now that we are six miles away from our Church?" The Government says: "We are putting up a new housing estate, and the town planner has reserved a place for the Church." In other places we see that the Parish Church is left almost desolate, because the population has moved away, in a few months. It is indeed a very challenging situation.

It is to meet this situation that we have come to ask you to give us your help. We don't want you to try and keep us. We do not want you to behave as though there were two Churches: one in England and another in the West Indies. There is only one Church, and each member has a share in the responsibilities of the whole Church; for our Lord has only one Body, the mystical Body which is his Church. You and I and the people of the West Indies are all members of this one Church and one Body, living to the glory of God, and to fulfil the purpose of that Body, which is the salvation of souls. We don't want you to come and give us any kind of patronage. We must act together. Therefore now we come to you feeling quite sure that in our need you will rise to the occasion and help us.

There is a wonderful motto which has been taken by the University College of the West Indies. The motto is: *Oriens ex occidente lux*. The idea is light rising from the West. We are always accustomed to light coming from the East, and the light has come from the East in the past to the West Indies. Now there is a candle in each of the Dioceses of the West Indies. What we want to do by the Providence of God is so to build up the spiritual life of the West Indians, so to do our work that light may shine from the West, and the time may come when the light may shine from these new parts of the world to illumine the old world, where perhaps twilight in many places seems to be falling. That is our object; that is why we are here.

If the Church fails the people now at this time, I think it will be many, many years before it can recover its place. If the Church fails the people now, the future that is being built up for the West Indies will be materialistic. People will substitute politics for religion, and the cause of Christ will be definitely hindered; the witness of Christ will be neglected. It is this matter of urgency

which has brought us here. Economic development is going forward; political development is going forward; social development is going forward. What about spiritual development? The Church is not slow to see what has to be done. Unless you are going to help us in a very big way this year we cannot do it. That is why we call this whole situation critical. Light rising from the West. God grant it may be so.

# THE FOURTH GOSPEL

## A New Commentary

By C. KENNETH SANSBURY

THE American scholar, Dr Burton Scott Easton, when reviewing William Temple's *READINGS IN ST JOHN'S GOSPEL*, spoke of how English theology was often dominated by a great name. He gave Westcott's commentary on the Fourth Gospel as an example and pointed to Temple's work as an illustration of the inability of English scholars to escape from the conservatism of Westcott in their approach to the critical problems of the Gospel according to St John. His charge was, I think, justified. None of us can afford to neglect the depth of spiritual insight revealed in such writers as Westcott and Temple, but critically their work will not do. The problems surrounding the Fourth Gospel are too many and too involved to make the conservative solution any longer tenable, and we must go to other writers to help us see this greatest of all the writings of the New Testament in its proper *Sitz im Leben*.

Where shall we go? This is an important question, for since Westcott's day many different theories have been put forward. By one school the Fourth Gospel has been regarded as the first corrupting Hellenization of the originally simple Gospel of Galilee, the first step on the road to the repellent dogmas of Nicaea and Chalcedon and to the Catholic perversion of Christianity. Greek philosophy or the mystery religions, we were told, were the key to the author's mind. Another school has interpreted the Fourth Gospel in terms of spiritual experience. Dean Inge described it as "the charter of Christian mysticism" and Evelyn Underhill spoke of it as "in no sense a historical but a poetic and devotional book".

It was Hoskyns who recalled us from these and other methods of interpreting the Fourth Gospel to that which alone points the way to the right solution. "He [sc. the Evangelist] insists with the whole power of his conviction that what he records is what actually and really occurred. His gospel, like the others, is a 'bodily' Gospel. But, and this is the problem of the Fourth

Gospel, the author has so presented the 'sensible' history of Jesus that his readers are confronted in the history, and precisely there, with what is beyond time and beyond visible occurrence, with the veritable Word of God and with the veritable life of eternity" (*THE FOURTH GOSPEL*, vol. 1, p. 4).

Hoskyns' Commentary broke with the traditional view, while yet remaining fundamentally orthodox. Now English scholarship has given us in quick succession two further major works on the Gospel. Both contain creative thinking and exposition of the subject by scholars who are thorough masters of their material and who in each case use the same key as Hoskyns used for the unlocking of the mystery of the Fourth Gospel. Dr Easton's charge can no longer be justifiably brought.

The first of the two works was Professor C. H. Dodd's *THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL*, published in 1953. This work discussed in great detail the intellectual and religious thought of the age in which the Fourth Gospel was written and expounded most illuminatingly its leading ideas. It was only in Part III, however, when Dr Dodd came to the argument and structure of the book, that he adopted something akin to the Commentary method.

The second book is the volume with which we are immediately concerned.<sup>1</sup> This is a full-scale Commentary on the Greek text, complete with an Introduction that covers all the major questions from the Purpose and Theology of the Fourth Gospel to its Origin and Text and with a comprehensive series of indexes. It is a most satisfying work and it is safe to say that it will take its place as the standard English Commentary on St John for a long time to come.

In his preface Mr Barrett acknowledges his debt to three writers in particular on the Fourth Gospel: R. Bultmann, whose "commentary is beyond question one of the greatest achievements of Biblical scholarship in the present generation", the late Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, and Dr C. H. Dodd. The latter's *THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL* only appeared after Mr Barrett's manuscript had passed out of his hands, so we must see him, not as influenced directly by that work, but by what we may call in critical jargon Proto-Dodd, the earlier writings of the Cambridge professor.

<sup>1</sup> *The Gospel according to St John*, C. K. Barrett, S.P.C.K. 63s.

Mr Barrett begins by acknowledging the complexity of the problems presented by the Fourth Gospel. The evidence shows, he believes, that John knew the Old Testament so well that he could use it not piecemeal, but as a whole, and also that he (or his sources) knew the oral teaching that was later crystallized in the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Midrashim. But he also finds in John not a little popular Platonism, an acquaintance with Stoic ideas, and a familiarity with the kind of religious syncretism represented in the Hermetic literature. "Both Hebraic and Hellenistic elements are to be found in the gospel . . . fused into a unitary presentation of the universal significance of Jesus. John . . . sets forth a synthesis of Jewish and Greek thought" (p. 32). (On those who would claim for the Fourth Gospel an exclusively Hebraic and Palestinian *milieu* he makes the apt comment "they seem to forget that Palestine was part of the Hellenistic world.") John, however, is no Gentile syncretist, ready to absorb the Christian Gospel into an existing religious system, in a way many Gnostics of old and Hindus of to-day might approve. "John does not so much import foreign matter into the gospel as bring out what was already inadequately expressed in the earlier tradition. It is of supreme importance to John that there was a Jesus of Nazareth who lived and died in Palestine; but to give an accurate outline of the outstanding events of the career of this person was no part of his purpose. . . . He sought to draw out, using in part the form and style of narrative, the true meaning of the life and death of one whom he believed to be the Son of God. It is for this interpretation, not for accurate historical data, that we must look in the fourth gospel" (p. 44).

Mr Barrett discusses this Johannine interpretation in a long chapter on the Theology of the Gospel. He considers first the subject of Eschatology and points out that, just because John's main concern was with the age of the Church, with the Church set "between the times", it was necessary for him, writing at a time when earlier apocalyptic hopes had not been realized, "to find a new way of expressing the fundamental Christian affirmation of the Christian faith, that in Jesus Christ the new age had come, but had done so in such a way that it still remained to come, so that Christians live both in this age and in the age to come" (p. 57).

The classic example of this re-interpretation is John's transformation of the apocalyptic discourse (Mk. 13 and parallels) into the last discourses of John (chs. 14-16). Professor C. H. Dodd has pointed out the many parallels between the themes of the Synoptic and Johannine discourses (see *THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL*, pp. 390 ff.), and they are most striking. It is indeed only when one has taken careful stock of them that one can appreciate the full significance of John's transposition of the discourse from a key of futurist apocalyptic to one of "realized eschatology" within the life of the Church.

There is a similar transposition of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel. Here also Jewish terminology remains, but, as Mr Barrett points out, its meaning is transformed and other categories more suited to the world of the turn of the first century are employed. This is not to say that John's Christology is "higher" than that of the Synoptic Gospels; the Synoptists are "full of the raw material of Christology", but John is the "profound and responsible theologian, more conscious than the synoptic writers of [its] importance and centrality" (p. 58). Hence also the Johannine view of miracles. Whereas for the Synoptists they are the sign of the dawning Kingdom of God, for John they are evidence that he who wrought them is the Son of God and equal to God.

Miracles, however, are also evidence of the purpose for which the Word became flesh. The Gospel is essentially a Gospel of salvation, and John, like all the New Testament writers, is concerned to proclaim the saving work of God in Christ as the very heart of the Christian message. Mr Barrett is clear that John's doctrine of salvation is set in a Jewish provenance. Salvation is of the Jews. Yet John is aware of other doctrines of salvation and sometimes uses the language of the Gentile world. For him "salvation is the point of the whole incarnate life of Jesus Christ, including his death and resurrection; consequently, it is revealed in all his actions" and in the miracles in particular. "Salvation means the healing of the ills of mankind, and the imparting of light and life" (p. 67). Sacrificial ideas are not in the forefront of his thought.

Mr Barrett emphasizes strongly the Fourth Evangelist's concern with the life of the Church. The apostles prefigure the Church and also occupy a special place within it as witnesses to the saving facts of the Gospel. But the Church, properly speaking,

comes into being only through those saving facts, through Christ's death and resurrection and through the gift of the Spirit. The Spirit is the power at work in the Church's mission and the source of its authority; indeed, the sphere in which all the sayings about the Paraclete become true is the Christian society.

This society has its sacramental rites of Baptism and the Eucharist; and Mr Barrett stresses that "there is more sacramental teaching in John than in the other gospels" (p. 69). Like Professor Dodd, he rightly sees great significance in the reference to the water and blood that flowed out of Christ's side at the moment of his dying. The two great sacraments of the Gospel do not spring from religious experience, but "from the historical scene of human obedience, suffering, and death which manifested the humble and ministering love of Jesus for his own".

Why then does John never refer to their institution? Dr Dodd, it will be remembered, explained this omission on the basis of a *disciplina arcani*. John could not reveal the secrets of the Christian mysteries in a book primarily intended for the unbeliever. Mr Barrett has a more theological and, I think, more satisfactory explanation. In John's view, he believes, the sacraments "hang not upon one particular moment or command, but upon the whole fact of Christ in his life, death, and exaltation"; "they convey nothing less than this whole fact" (p. 71). "Because he was concerned to root the sacrament as observed by the Church in the total sacramental fact of the incarnation he was unwilling to attach it to a particular moment and a particular action" (p. 42).

Mr Barrett sees here a principle at work which, I believe, is of great value in understanding the method by which the Fourth Evangelist reinterpreted the material that came to him from Synoptic sources or from other oral or written tradition—and Mr Barrett is ready to believe that John knew Mark and possibly Luke. It has often been recognized, for instance, that John omits the story of the Transfiguration because he sees the whole Incarnate life as an unveiling of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. For him the Cross, so far from being the place of humiliation, is the place where there is revealed supremely the glory that was visible for those with eyes to see from the first beginning of miracles in Cana of Galilee. Mr Barrett sees this principle in operation on a wide scale. Thus John omits the narratives of the Virgin Birth and the Baptism, because they were

open to a misinterpretation of Jesus as Son of God in terms of pagan mythology and Jewish adoptionism respectively, and in their place he weaves the theme of Jesus as Son of God from all eternity into the whole Gospel. Similarly, the Temptation narrative is dispensed with, for Jesus' conflict with Satan was not a matter of a mere forty days; throughout the ministry there was conflict between him and the prince of this world. Gethsemane is omitted, for the theme of obedience to the Father's will, even in humiliation and suffering, runs right through the Gospel.

What does all this mean for the problem of historicity? Granted that "the critical and scientific writing of history was no common art in the ancient world" and "certainly not a primary interest with John", yet the Western mind to-day cannot just ignore the problem. The preacher needs some guidance in this field if he is to use the Fourth Gospel aright in his sermons.

First, we must face the fact that the discourses are, in Mr Barrett's words, "theological commentaries". They bring out the inner significance, as the evangelist understands it, of the events to which they are attached and cannot be regarded as the *ipsissima verba* of the Jesus of history.

But what of the events themselves? Here two things must be said. First, because the Fourth Gospel is concerned to set forth the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father in the Word made flesh, because for the author any form of Docetism is the ultimate enemy, the evangelist cannot have invented any of the incidents of his Gospel. Nor is the view any nearer the mark, which argues that John gave equal validity to what he received from tradition and what came to him in ecstatic vision. "Of mysticism in the proper sense" says Mr Barrett, "there is nothing in John". The ultimate source of the Johannine material is the apostolic tradition of the words and works of Jesus, whether in synoptic or other form.

Secondly, because the Fourth Gospel is concerned with each incident, not just as an interesting anecdote about the Jesus of history, but as a window through which the Divine glory shines forth among men, the evangelist works over and shapes the traditional material to make plain his theme. Mr Barrett believes that this theological control is so strong that there is little to be said for preferring Johannine order or timing to the Synoptists at any point where they differ. The cleansing of the Temple is rightly

placed in Mark; John's substitution for it of the Raising of Lazarus as the immediate cause of Jesus' arrest is not historical. John's dating of the Last Supper is equally due to theological motives—Jesus is the true Passover Lamb—and Mark's identification of the Supper with the Passover is correct. On all this Mr Barrett regards the arguments of J. Jeremias as "of fundamental and (it seems to me) decisive importance" (p. 39)—a conclusion, which, if generally accepted, will necessitate the rewriting of a good deal of recent history on Eucharistic origins.

In view of his strong emphasis on the theological interpretation, readers will not be surprised that Mr Barrett has not much use for those who seek to discover the historical substratum of the Fourth Gospel. Nor does he regard with much favour the views of those who would postulate a Judaean source or seek to trace evidence of direct knowledge of the Jerusalem scene. Rightly or wrongly, Mr Barrett is less confident about the possibility of recovering original historical material than is Professor Dodd.

Who, then, was the man who gave to the Church this profound theological reinterpretation of the original Gospel? Mr Barrett gives us a thorough treatment of the whole problem of authorship, origin, and authority. He shows how impossible it is to attribute the Fourth Gospel to John, the son of Zebedee. Date, provenance, theological insight, acquaintance with the current thought forms, all rule out the traditional ascription. Nor is it possible, he believes, to credit John the Elder (whose existence he quite rightly accepts) with the authorship. Mr Barrett offers his own solution, though only as a hypothesis for further discussion. He suggests that John the Apostle migrated to Ephesus, wrote apocalyptic works, and gathered round him a number of pupils. When at length he died, some were inspired to fresh apocalyptic fervour, others to a reconsideration of Christian eschatology. One incorporated John the Apostle's works with other writings in the Apocalypse, another was responsible for the Johannine epistles, another "a bolder thinker, and one more widely read in Judaism and Hellenism" wrote the Gospel, chapters 1-20. The book, perhaps unpublished in his lifetime, was seized upon first by Gnostic speculators: "only gradually did the main body of the Church come to perceive that, while John used (at times) the language of gnosticism, his work was in fact the strongest reply to the gnostic language". Chapter 21 was then

added from materials left by the author whose name was now forgotten; and the Church noting the references to the Beloved Disciple identified the author with the Son of Zebedee. No final solution of the problem is possible with our existing knowledge, but this seems as likely a solution as any.

It is then from this point of view of the origin and purpose of the Fourth Gospel that Mr Barrett writes his commentary on the text. In doing so, he takes the order of the chapters as they stand. Rather more favourable to theories of displacement than Professor Dodd, he yet believes that none is more than a possible hypothesis. In any case, John's interest was theological, not a tidy topography. Chapters 15-16 he regards not as misplaced, but as an alternative version of the discourse in the Upper Room to that given in chapter 14: so many themes recur in the two parts. Always he is learned, exhaustive, and scrupulously fair; every view is carefully weighed against every other and the pros and cons exactly measured. Sometimes even a Cambridge man may find Mr Barrett's Cambridge caution a little excessive—there is *something* to be said for the Oxford willingness to take a plunge, if only because it provides another Oxford man with an occasion for writing another book to point out how wrong the plunge was! But at least no one can complain that Mr Barrett leaves his readers without the full evidence on which they can base their own views, nor will anyone work through the commentary on the text section by section without gaining a profound insight into the depth of meaning that exists in the Fourth Gospel. For all that Mr Barrett has given us, every reader will be most deeply grateful.

A word of appreciation is due also to the publishers and printers for a book that is a pleasure to handle and a typographical delight to read.

# THE WAY OF AFFIRMATION

**A Study of the Writings of Charles Williams**

**By GLEN CAVALIERO**

THE unpleasantly appropriate title "Cold War" has brought home to many a Christian layman and secular priest the practical impact of the present-day divorce between religion and culture. The decay of civilization and the decline in morals, religious ignorance and religious apathy, alike prompt the re-emergence of the apocalyptic element in Christianity, with its attendant features of prophetic witness and a revived asceticism. Indeed the dissociation of the Church from the fag-end of a religious civilization is no surprising thing in view of her abiding and fore-ordained vitality; but the fact nevertheless remains that the man in the street is, for better or worse, still in the street—and moreover still responsible, as a Christian, for the transforming of his environment. The work of leavening has to proceed, however near the fire the bread may be. The breakdown of the medieval synthesis has left him with the eternal problem of adjusting Christian morality to Christian teaching about the goodness of the redeemed creation, the tension between being and becoming; and this moreover in a world which no longer recognizes that there are divine sanctions for its most cherished institutions. Indeed an external synthesis such as was almost achieved in the Middle Ages is no longer possible: but an internal synthesis, a religious way for those in the world, still may be.

It is with this problem that the writings of Charles Williams are primarily concerned. His poems, plays, and novels, literary criticism, biography, and theology, alike proclaim the existence of such a way which it is in fact possible for a man to follow without sinking into mere acquiescence, sloth, or worldliness. His starting point as a writer was a volume of sonnets published in 1913 under the title of *The Silver Stair*; and in them the love between man and woman is seen as interpenetrated with the love of Christ for the world and needing the discipline of a passionately held morality to preserve its true nature. Equally poetry was his

starting point as a theologian, and provides the clue to his particular achievement in this field; moreover, since he was himself deeply interested in the nature of poetry, it enables one in part to assess and define his work by his own canons. In one of his early critical books he drew a penetrating distinction between the nature of poetry and that of prose. Verse, as distinct from prose, has a pattern which proclaims it to be the deliberate creation of a human mind. This pattern, this convention, prose lacks, and accordingly we are persuaded to forget that whatever the proposition it voices, that proposition is the work of man's nature, and not, of itself, an absolute.

"Exquisitely leaning to an implied untruth, prose persuades us that we can trust our natures to know things as they are; ostentatiously faithful to its own nature poetry assures us that we cannot—we know only as we can."<sup>1</sup>

This limited capacity of human knowledge is fundamental to Williams' thought. The function of poetry as the apprehension of truth through images he took seriously enough to affirm those images—as being, precisely, images. Pointing to an absolute verity, and, to a greater or less degree effectively expressing it, they are by their very nature witnesses to a God at once immanent and transcendent. His deep personal religion led him to see the ultimately religious nature of all experience; but his keenly accurate mind and his ardent study of the craft of poetry ensured a realization of the perpetual tension between image and reality. For this reason he so valued the anonymous dictum, "This also is Thou: neither is this Thou." "As a maxim for living," he commented, "it is invaluable, and it—or its reversal—summarizes the history of the Christian Church." It might also stand for the motto of his own thought.

He himself studied poetic images creatively: one can watch his method as one reads his unfinished study of the Arthurian legends. Meditating on the development of the myth, the weaving by various writers of its several strands, he found, with the entry of the Graal that "the whole development of the myth is a kind of working out of a theme which is eventually discovered to be the Christian theme". Believing, as he did, passionately in its truth, he was able to charge the legend with fresh images, in poems which drew their inspiration not so much from his own fancy as from his awareness of the legend as a living thing in which its very develop-

ment formed part of its significance. He had, in brief, an understanding of its function.

As with poetic images, so with theology. *He Came Down from Heaven* is a kind of discursive meditation on the orthodox creed in which the intellectual and spiritual lives of the Church are fused in images and phraseology of suggestive beauty and original freshness: and the same method is applied to Church history in the most ambitious of his books *The Descent of the Dove*. So also in his work on Dante. It is a technique as original as its expression, since Williams was essentially a creative rather than a critical writer; but his tightly packed and highly charged prose and his curiously mythological approach to theology have been stumbling blocks to many of his readers. He saw in literature, theology, and history "huge cloudy symbols of a high romance", and it is the tension between staunch orthodoxy of view and exalted unorthodoxy of expression which is apt to bemuse and, occasionally, alarm his critics. That the "high romance" was to be attained by a due understanding of the symbols (by no means always cloudy) was of the essence of his creed; moreover it was, he maintained, of the essence of orthodox Christianity.

In *The Descent of the Dove*, he drew attention to the existence of two ways of living within the Christian community. One, the more generally recognized, was a way of rejection, the ascetic life, the denial of all that was not God in order that the soul might find her perfect felicity in him alone; the other, the way of affirmation, was less generally recognized as a way at all, and as a result we have the false dichotomy of the dual standard. The two ways might not unfairly be represented by two literary products of medieval Christendom—*The Cloud of Unknowing*, and the *Divine Comedy* of Dante. On the one hand everything created is, in its degree, an image of God, and can become a means of drawing the soul back to him: on the other hand an image is but an image, and considered apart from its Maker, will lead ultimately to damnation. Hence the Dionysian rejections, but "rejection", he wrote, "was to be rejection but not denial, as reception was to be reception but not subservience".<sup>2</sup> He found the affirmative way summed up in the Athanasian Creed: "Not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of the Manhood into God". "All images", he commented, "are to be carried on; all experience is to be gathered in." As a poet, he was himself

committed to that particular way, but he also recognized in it the divinely appointed way for mankind in general. It is a calling as much as the more specifically Religious Life, but it has had far fewer masters.

One such had been Dante, whose works Williams searchingly examined in *The Figure of Beatrice*. The basis of all affirmations is the Christian affirmation of the validity of the image of the human body, an affirmation which has divine sanction through the Incarnation of Christ. In this respect Williams was a Scotist theologian. The Incarnation is no mere result of man's fall, but "the point of creation and the divine 'reason' for it".<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the union of God and Man in Christ means that

"The principle of our sensuality is unique and divine . . . The operations of matter are a means of the operation of Christ, and the body has not, as some pious people suggest, fallen a good deal lower than the soul."<sup>4</sup>

Such "unofficial Manicheicism" is responsible for that muddled thinking on sexual matters that led Patmore's daughter to ask, "Father, isn't marriage rather a wicked sacrament?" But sexual love is in fact one of the main starting points of the way of affirmation. The story of Dante and Beatrice, from the *Vita Nuova* to the *Paradiso*, images forth the part lovers can play to one another in the scheme of redemption. To most men at some time there comes what Williams called the Beatrician Vision, which, when the object is the beloved,

"flashes for a moment into the lover the life he was meant to possess instead of his own, by the exposition in her of the life she was meant to possess instead of her own. They are 'in love'."<sup>5</sup>

The beloved becomes the focus of all creation, the sight of her arouses

"a sense of intense significance, a sense that an explanation of the whole universe is being offered . . . The glory is apt to dazzle the beholder, unless he has a mind disposed to examine the pattern of the glory."<sup>6</sup>

To examine the pattern is a slow, often painful process; it may take place through marriage and sexual union, it may not, but "the intention of fidelity is the safeguard of romanticism; the turning of something like the vision of an eternal state into an experiment towards that state."

Romantic love indeed involves a double discovery, that of soul

to soul, and that of what lies hidden in each soul. The first involves the fact of chastity, a virtue which Williams regarded as something vibrant and purposeful, adventurous and colourful, a quality of identity opposed to all muddle and self-indulgent incoherence. It exists to be ultimately surrendered to the Supreme Love whether in the flesh it yields to a mortal lover or not. Hence there must be no greediness in love, since that is to make an idol of the image: lovers only exist for the purpose of love. "The glory in you is greater than you in the glory."

But even the Beatrician image may be perverted: it may be known for other than it is. Such indeed is the very essence of the Fall, and Williams saw the effects of sin as the effects of an alteration in knowledge. He accepted Aquinas' teaching that God could know evil by simple intelligence without calling it into existence, and attributed the fall to man's desire to know likewise—which was impossible to his nature. "We know only as we can." Man wished to know something other than pure good, "to know an antagonism in the good, to know what the good would be like if an antagonism were introduced into it." But to know it meant, for man, to experience it. "All difference lies in the mode of knowledge . . . The contradiction in the nature of Man is thus completely established. He knows good and he knows good as evil . . . Sin has many forms, but the work of all is the same—a preference of an immediately satisfying experience of things to the believed pattern of the universe; one may even say the pattern of the glory."

This perversion of images is found everywhere, not least in the powerlessness of human virtue, the clashes between mercy and justice, loyalty and loyalty. No man was less of a jaunty optimist than Charles Williams, or more acutely aware of the depths of evil in the world. "Deep, deeper than we believe," he wrote, "lie the roots of sin; it is in the good that they exist; it is in the good that they thrive and send up sap and produce the black fruits of hell." In his admirably restrained book on *Witchcraft* he examined the relation between these perverted images in the heart of man and those external forces of destruction symbolized in the myth of the fallen angels. This second mode of evil, the diabolic, while no more finally real than the human, does provide a motive power tending towards chaos: Williams would have agreed with Tillich's conception of the demonic as essentially form-destroying. In his

novels, most notably in *War in Heaven* and *Descent into Hell*, there are terrifyingly realistic pictures of the path a lost soul treads to its damnation; but no less does one find a burning affirmation of those "uncovenanted graces" which "make up the pattern of the glory". If Hell and evil are incoherence and dissolution, order and community are of the nature of Heaven. An image to be found throughout Williams' work is that of the City, the orderly, fully functioning communion of living souls, an image of Divine Order, which, in Mr C. S. Lewis' words, is "something of a flawless and mathematical precision imposing itself on the formless flux of natural moods and passions, imposing itself in the shape of virtue, courtesy, intelligence, ritual."<sup>8</sup> The right affirmations are essentially creative and redemptive, and, as such, part of the Divine plan.

But contradiction, a dual knowledge, is inherent in man's nature, and most of our lives are spent in seeking to avoid that contradiction. Like "the sweet reasonableness of prose" we ignore the fact that our knowledge is conditioned by our nature; but to all men there sooner or later comes the "poetic" moment when that contradictory experience is forced upon them. In his book *The English Poetic Mind*, Williams examined the treatment in English poetry of this crisis, the crisis which is, he declared,

"the only interior crisis worth talking about. It is that in which every nerve of the body, every consciousness of the mind shrieks that something cannot be. Only it is."<sup>9</sup>

Hamlet who found his mother unchaste, Troilus who found Cressida unfaithful, both experienced this.

"Entire union and absolute division are experienced at once; heaven and the bonds of heaven are at odds. All this is in [Troilus'] speech, but it is also in one line. There is a world where our mothers are unsoled and Cressida is his; there is a world where our mothers are soiled and Cressida is given to Diomed. What connection have those two worlds 'Nothing at all unless that this were she.'"<sup>10</sup>

Here is the inescapable fact, a fact which has somehow to be dealt with, for to ignore it is spiritual sterility. Williams has shown us how Shakespeare's poetry dealt with it; but the really important thing about this crisis, in this case the uniting of contradictory experiences of one woman in her inseparable personality, is that it is a kind of union of two natures in one person, and a manner of describing the crucified Christ. The supreme contra-

dition of all is the cry from the Cross, when God demanded of God, "Why hast thou forsaken me?" He, who was the source of the goodness of all things, "knew all things in the deprivation of goodness." And this is nothing less than atonement.

"Men had determined to know good as evil: there could be but one perfect remedy for that—to know the evil of the past itself as good, and to be free from the necessity of the knowledge of evil in the future; to find right knowledge and perfect freedom together, to know all things as occasions of love."<sup>11</sup>

The principle still holds: we know only as we can: but now it is with a difference.

It is the interior crisis, what Williams called the Impossibility, which is the fact of and the summons to the Cross. It is indeed no other than the prelude to the Lutheran point of conversion. The Divine Love drives men on to their crisis, but usually his nature is hidden. He is typified in many of Williams' plays: as Satan (Job's Satan), the Accuser, the Flame, and, most effectively, in the Festival play, *Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury*, as the Skeleton. It comes from the cupboard of man's soul to mock at all his efforts after righteousness, driving the weak Cranmer to his heavenly doom with taunts and jeers and sardonic laughter. It proclaims itself the Judas who betrays man to God. The Atonement is in some sense a reversal, and Williams discerned in it a kind of celestial irony, not least in the fact that the entire Way of Affirmation leads to a point of negation. The images must be surrendered, known for what they are—images merely. "This also is Thou." Yes, but "neither is this Thou." There is no by-passing the Cross, and in the Cross the two ways are bound together.

"The Crucifixion and death are rejection and affirmation at once, for they affirm death only to reject death; the intensity of that death is the opportunity of its own dissolution; and beyond that physical rejection of earth lies the reaffirmation of earth which is called the Resurrection."<sup>12</sup>

Once the submission is made, the soul is free. Submission is not easy, but it is not solitary: behind it lies the divine principle of substitution. Williams had a peculiarly vivid sense of the coinherence of mankind, both in each other and in Christ. His exposition of the Atonement has an Anselmic flavour, but with him Substitution was not so much arbitrary as organic. Christ is the brother of men, and his sacrifice was congenitally on their

behalf: we share in his life, he in ours. From this spring our own substitutions; we live each other's lives, we die each other's deaths. "All life is to be vicarious". The novels are full of this idea. In *Descent into Hell*, Peter Stanhope the playwright bears the fear of Pauline Anstruther, a fear which she was unknowingly bearing for an ancestor, martyred in the Marian persecutions. Nothing then is to be solely our own, not even our sufferings, and the life of Heaven is a continuous exchange of love. In *All Hallow's Eve*, his last novel, this willingness to give is seen as the ultimate test of salvation: the fact that it is inherent in the creation is the explanation of all irony.

"Usually the way must be made ready for Heaven and then it will come by some other; the sacrifice must be made ready, and the fire will strike on another altar. So much Cain saw and could not guess that the very purpose of his offering was to make his brother's acceptable".<sup>13</sup>

Indeed we have in the affirmation of our neighbour the Beatrician affirmation multiplied a thousandfold in the affirmation of the City. Under the controlling rule of charity we can afford to affirm opposites, to affirm Blake's dictum that "contraries are not negations", but not to affirm with personal passion, which is inevitably one-sided. Williams discerned in the history of the Church a God-given spirit which he called the Quality of Disbelief, the recognition of what poetry tells, that man's knowledge is limited by his own nature. Discussing Montaigne's saying, "It is not possible for a man to rise above himself and his humanity", he commented: "Anything is possible—even that all things are possible or that nothing is possible." The precise proportion of our affirmation was defined by the Flame, in his last play *The House of the Octopus*, in characteristically rhythmic and vibrant verse:

"Will God dispute over words? No; but man  
must, if words mean anything, stand by words  
since stand he must; and on earth protest to death  
against what at the same time is a jest in heaven.  
Alas! You are not in heaven! the jests there  
are tragedies on earth since you lost your first poise  
and crashed. Yet pray that His will be done on earth  
as it is in heaven—tragedy or jest or both,  
and so let be."

This joyous self-mocking humility is of the essence of the New Life. The Redemption means that everything in life can become

an occasion of love: hence "all luck is good". The Atonement is the name given

"to an operation beyond our comprehension, but not beyond our attention; an operation by which everything—even hell—was made a part of that final glory."<sup>14</sup>

There indeed is the reason for all affirmations. The way as Williams revealed it is primarily an attitude of mind, and its qualities—joy, humility, and a protective scepticism—are present throughout his work. Moreover they are infectious. Although he had many masters—Dante, the lady Julian, Milton, Kierkegaard, and Patmore are a few—his style and content were completely his own; and his readers are seldom left unaffected by his thought. Moreover it is always thought on the borderline of prayer as all good poetic thought should be.

But this is not the place to make a critical assessment of his achievement: instead it may be permissible to draw attention to two factors in that achievement. Firstly, his approach to theology is what produces his astonishing originality. He was himself a loyal and devout Anglican, but his writings nowhere reflect a party spirit: indeed they are so totally free from any taint of theological jargon that they appear to the nervously orthodox to smack of heresy. He taught no new doctrines, though he may have stressed some which have been neglected for many years; but the received doctrines gain fresh expression at his hands. Brooding on the Christian mysteries as he had brooded on Dante and the *Arthuriad*, he retold their development in his own terminology—a disconcerting trick to those not ready to receive it. Thus he was wont to refer to the Godhead in terms of his particular function for the point at issue—for example as The Mercy, The Permission, or The Omnipotence: our Lord he would call Messias, while the Holy Ghost becomes, most beautifully, our Lord the Spirit. Occasionally his utterance would be too redolent of the oracular and his prose was often so highly charged with meaning as to be not easily intelligible; but in all his writing we are presented with an individual poet's adoring vision of those truths which so intimately concern us. As such they provide food for thought and nourishment for the soul.

Secondly, one must presume that our Lord the Spirit raised up Charles Williams for some purpose. It may be that the teaching of the Way of Affirmation as a Way may go towards solving at

any rate part of the dilemma referred to at the beginning of this paper; it does at any rate provide the "internal synthesis". It is possible that we have been too exclusively under the influence of the great masters of the negative way (most notably perhaps in the sexual field), and their writings, when ill digested, produce the uneasy dilemma of the apparent dual standard among those not called to the Religious Life as such. The hallowing of our daily life does surely mean more than clergymen trying, with vague good will, to keep up with the times, or preaching a half-articulated doctrine of vocation. But however this may be, the work of Charles Williams bears witness to the truth that "Nature and Grace are categories of one identity" and as such can never be wholly divorced in the annals of Christian experience.

<sup>1</sup> REASON AND BEAUTY IN THE POETIC MIND (1933), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> THE DESCENT OF THE DOVE (1939), p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> "Natural Goodness" (from THEOLOGY, October 1941), p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> "Sensuality and Substance" (from THEOLOGY, May 1939), p. 353.

<sup>5</sup> HE CAME DOWN FROM HEAVEN (2nd edition 1950), p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 21, 22, 36.

<sup>8</sup> ARTHURIAN TORSO (1948), p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> THE ENGLISH POETIC MIND (1932), p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> HE CAME DOWN FROM HEAVEN, p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> THE FIGURE OF BEATRICE (1943), p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> HE CAME DOWN FROM HEAVEN, p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS (2nd Edition 1950), p. 183.

## THE VATICAN AND POLITICS

To ask what *is* the Vatican may seem a naïve question with which to begin a discussion of the Vatican's political activities, yet it is an important preliminary to such discussion. Confusion is too easily caused by the use of collective nouns or titles which conceal a complicated organization. It is commonly assumed without examination that the Roman Catholic Church and its central organizations in particular are directly governed in the same way as a Government directs the policy of a highly centralized secular State. But there are significant differences.

Dr Nathaniel Micklem has recently written a pamphlet entitled *Papalism and Politics*.<sup>1</sup> It is based on a series of articles which he wrote for the *British Weekly*, and it provides an opportunity for some reflections on the general subject which he treats. His own approach is a little confusing in spite of cross-headings because the quality of his evidence is uneven and not quite systematically arranged. But his facts are numerous and interesting and, so far as one can tell, carefully accurate, except that Dr Micklem is ignorant of the fact that the Vatican has its own coinage as well as stamps.

The answer to the question — what is the Vatican? — could be that it is the State established by the Lateran Treaty. But it is much more than this, for the Vatican State is only one part of the multifarious activities which centre on Rome and which might all properly be called activities of the Vatican. The Vatican is, as Dr Micklem says, not merely the headquarters of a very large Church, but is also an extremely small sovereign State. Many political activities of the Vatican are carried out in virtue of the existence of this State, so far as these are concerned with formal relations between the Vatican and other sovereign States; but apart from these there is a vast political activity in which the members of the Vatican diplomatic corps play almost no part.

It is essential to realize that in Rome there are a large number of important and powerful institutions, all of which have some influence on the activities of Roman Catholics throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Independent Press, 1s.

world, and that these institutions are semi-independent in character. The size and complexity of what might be called the Rome civil service is immense, if one includes in it all those engaged in administrative work at Church institutions which have their headquarters in Rome. There are the official institutions like the Secretariat of State and the Holy Office; liturgical, propaganda, missionary, oriental institutions; heads of the world-wide religious orders and many smaller organizations, not to mention the purely Italian work which is centred in Rome. In the result, although no doubt the Pope can and does rule on matters of supreme policy when this has to be done, most of the work goes on without direct interference and many of these institutions have only a small knowledge of one another's detailed work and plans.

The general policy is for each organization to follow its own plans so long as they have the general result of benefiting the Roman Church, increasing its numbers, or adding to the renown and power of the Vatican and the Pope.

With such broad terms of reference as these it is plain that different interpretations will be put upon them by different people. In consequence one may find in the Vatican itself people working in official positions who have different views from one another on important matters. This becomes even more evident the further away from the centre one goes, and it would be difficult to find anything in common between the outlook of a South American village priest and an educated English Roman Catholic layman, except that both profess the Christian faith and accept the Pope.

The efficiency and omniscient character of the Vatican is therefore not to be taken for granted. In many ways the Vatican civil service is inefficient and betrays the worst characteristics of officialdom. It keeps going at its present level mainly because it is overwhelmingly staffed by Italians with a strong sense of tradition, a fact which is important for understanding certain of the attitudes of Rome in international politics. A Roman Catholic Bishop of high intelligence once said that the Italians were always committing stupidities because they were quite incapable of distinguishing between religion and politics, an illuminating comment.

On the other hand it must be recognized that the strong Italian tradition of the Vatican civil service is probably an inevitable feature of it and that it would not be a practical proposition to try to make it international in any full sense. Of course there are large

numbers of foreign Roman Catholics who come to be trained in the Secretariat of State and other important offices, but they form only a small proportion of the whole.

The Italian mentality is shown in Vatican foreign policy, but also in the fact that the Vatican is over-preoccupied with Italian home politics and sometimes seems to be led into taking action in relation to Italian affairs which has a deleterious effect on positions elsewhere. The instructions to Italian voters how to vote in elections which have been given on a number of occasions are not of wide importance. But the decree of excommunication against Communists and those helping them which was issued in 1949 had much wider application. The decree seems to have been aimed mainly at the Italian situation, but it had the effect of making much worse the relations between Communist Governments and the Roman Catholic hierarchy and preventing any possible *modus vivendi*, Czechoslovakia being especially affected. The whole operation raised the difficult question of principle as to whether ecclesiastical sanctions ought to be used as a threat to influence the votes of electors, but there seemed to be no doubt in the minds of those determining Vatican policy in the matter.

In foreign affairs a prominent recent example of Italian mentality was the case of Cardinal Stepinac, the whole course of which was confused by propaganda emanating from the Vatican aimed at showing him as a saint and a hero. The Italians were of course deeply implicated in the Ustasi regime which ruled so cruelly in Croatia during the war. Stepinac as the head of the Church appeared publicly with Pavelic constantly throughout the period of his power, and whatever he may have done privately, his public actions did not succeed in disassociating himself or his clergy from terrible outrages. He was condemned on political grounds and was in fact treated exceptionally lightly in the face of strong propaganda all over the Roman Catholic world.

The position of the Vatican as a State gives it many advantages in its dealings with foreign governments and in such matters it conducts its affairs in the same way as any other foreign State. Nuncios and Apostolic Delegates move and have their being in a "foreign office" atmosphere, and they judge and act like any other diplomats, except that, as Dr Micklem points out, their "subjects" are already subjects of the countries to which they are accredited. In Roman Catholic countries the Nuncio is automatically the

Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, taking precedence over all other ambassadors. His connections with the local hierarchy give him added standing and he is an extremely influential figure. He has of course to exercise tact in his relations with the local hierarchy, but he has been well trained at Rome before going abroad *en poste*.

Vatican policy is one of expediency. Dr Micklem brings out very well the objects of the concordats which are directed to obtaining for the Roman Catholic Church a privileged position in the State, and if possible the help of the secular power to support them and to keep down opponents. This is the situation wherever the Vatican has its way. Spain is the classical example in Europe but there are many others. Some Roman Catholics find it distasteful that Rome claims toleration for itself but denies it to other Christians, but that this is the official attitude of the Vatican there can be no shadow of doubt. Cardinal Ottaviani, head of the Holy Office, explained it in great detail comparatively recently. There is no need to examine how this is justified on Roman principle: it is the plain fact which counts.

It is of course necessary to distinguish between the local hierarchy and the Vatican. Sometimes local prelates act in a way which the Vatican dislikes, but these local aberrations do not affect the main trend.

Dr Micklem suggests what would happen in Britain if the Roman Church were to gain predominant power, and his remarks are not at all far-fetched. It is pertinent to recall this at a time when consideration is being given to the possibility of closer relations between Malta and the United Kingdom. The British public ought to realize that in Malta Roman Catholic Canon Law has the force of law, and the interference of the Roman Archbishop has on a number of occasions had the result of preventing the Bishops of Gibraltar and other English Bishops from appearing in public in their robes at official functions of the British armed forces and caused other insulting restrictions. Indeed Malta provides an excellent example of the political domination of the Roman Catholic Church to the disadvantage of other Churches, and of the denial of religious freedom to its citizens.

At the end of his pamphlet Dr Micklem deals with the publication of a book purporting to be extracts from Vatican secret documents. He concludes that these are probably genuine in the main and points out that they seem to indicate secret information

from sources in the British Foreign Office and American State Department over and above official communications. In other words it suggests that there are Roman Catholic officials in the Foreign Office and the State Department who are prepared to tell official secrets to Roman Catholics outside, by whom they are reported to Rome. Some of these items are quoted and are rather startling.

There are of course communications which are made verbally and are therefore unlikely to appear as formal information passing between governments. It not infrequently happens that it is advisable to keep diplomatic friends informed of the progress of events in general terms when officially no communication could be made. No doubt some of the items quoted in the pamphlet are of this sort.

The interference in the internal affairs of the United States, here disclosed, in opposing Truman at the elections is intolerable if true, though one of the reasons given, namely that Truman hindered the nomination of Cardinal Spellman for the office of Secretary of State, seems somewhat far-fetched, in view of his general unpopularity in Rome. But in general the report that the Vatican uses Roman Catholics in the United States to prolong rather than shorten the cold war is certainly conceivable. In one sense there can never be an end to the cold war between Christianity and Communism as rival religions, but that is another thing from the perpetuation of a political cold war which may at any time lead to catastrophe.

Unfortunately not only does the Vatican indulge in intrigues for its own political advantage, but many Western foreign offices see the Vatican, not as a Church, but as a useful political ally which they are always trying to use politically. It is therefore quite credible that the State Department should welcome a proposal to organize an underground movement of resistance in Communist countries, and that it should be prepared to give huge sums of money for such a purpose by under-cover methods. Doubt must however persist as to whether such a scheme was ever put forward by the Vatican.

Nevertheless there cannot be any doubt that the basic outlook of the Vatican and of Roman Catholics generally, taking their cue from the centre, is that political means can rightly be used to further the ends of the Church and to gain for it a position of

political predominance. Dr Micklem says: "The Vatican identifies the cause of the Roman Catholic Church with the cause of Christ and is always ready to further the cause of Christ (that is, of the Church) by political means and the exercise of political power" (p 29). This is the root of the trouble, a theological heresy, which gives rise to so many doubtful activities. The totally unchristian doctrine that the end justifies the means is still a ruling principle with many Roman Catholics because of this heretical identification.

One of the tragedies of the day is that the Vatican sees the Communist problem so much in terms of political resistance and that even in the religious sphere it is force rather than persuasion which is the instrument of resistance. The political mentality of the Roman Church naturally appeals to governments who are also trying to resist Communism by political means, but the Roman Catholic Church does a great disservice to Christianity by this attitude. It has within itself great reserves of true spirituality and sanctity, it has great potential powers of intellectual leadership, but it is not on these that it seems primarily to rely in the contest with Communism. By misusing political methods it weakens its own resistance and this, with its authoritarian structure, is a constant hindrance to the preaching of the Gospel. It is perhaps these elements which explain the fact that when political pressure is released and they can come into the open the biggest Communist parties are to be found in Roman Catholic countries like Italy and France.

There is much more to be said about the Vatican and still more about the Roman Catholic Church as a whole. Dr Micklem himself provides a fitting conclusion. "Many Roman Catholics are liberal-minded men, democrats, lovers of freedom. I would not identify the Roman Church with the policy of the Vatican without considerable qualification, but the Vatican with the hierarchy controls the political machine. Its policy, resting upon expediency in action and medievalism in principle, involves a constant grasping after political power; it is incompatible with freedom as we understand it, and is not the answer we need to Communism. Papalism in politics is a sinister movement. Romanism as a religion is to be judged by other standards".

## THOMAS BECKET AND THOMAS MORE

### Were they both Martyrs ?

By J. L. C. DART

IN many ways Thomas Becket and Thomas More were alike. Both were men of great personal holiness—although it was holiness of a different character. Becket was a typically good prelate of the twelfth century. He exhibited all the marks of sanctity, which impressed his age. To him, after death, were attributed many miracles. More was a very good man after the the fashion of virtuous laymen of the sixteenth century, which was the beginning of our “Modern Age”. Its standards seem far more admirable to us than were those of the times when Becket lived. We can understand More far more easily than we can Becket. He was a faithful layman, an exemplary husband and father, an honest lawyer, a loyal subject of his king. Both defended the claims of the papacy to universal jurisdiction, and for the same reasons. Both died, the victims of a savage tyrant. The cause of their deaths was the same—they refused to give to their king the obedience which they believed belonged to the pope. At first sight it seems arbitrary and illogical to call one *Saint* Thomas and the other *Sir* Thomas More. We will consider them in turn.

Becket was born in London in 1118, of Norman parents, who a few years before his birth, had migrated to England. His education, begun at Merton Abbey, was continued at the universities of Paris, Boulogne, and Auxerre. When he was about 30, he entered the service of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, recognizing his great ability, made him deacon in 1154 and appointed him Archdeacon of Canterbury. In those days this was almost entirely a secular post concerned with the property of the Church. When he was 37, Henry II made him Chancellor of the Kingdom, so that he became the most powerful subject in the wide dominions of the greatest sovereign of the day. We possess a contemporary description of him at this time. “To look at he

was slim and pale, with dark hair, long nose and a straightly featured face. Blythe of countenance was he, winning and lovable in his conversation, frank of speech, but slightly stuttering, so keen of discernment and understanding that he could always make difficult questions plain."

The chroniclers speak with wonder about the closeness of the friendship between king and chancellor, although the king was twelve years his junior. People declared that they had but one mind and soul. Often they behaved like two boys at play. They wrestled and joked and hunted together and even rode together at the head of an army. They were both hard workers, and the servant shared to the full his master's imperial views and love of splendour. When in 1158 Becket was sent to France to negotiate a marriage treaty, he travelled with so great a train of knights and servants, with such pomp and splendour, that people asked in what way the glory of the king could possibly be greater than that of his resplendent ambassador.

In 1159 Becket organized Henry's expedition to Toulouse and accompanied him upon it. He took a leading part in the military operations and, deacon though he was, led the most daring attacks in person. He was as ruthless in laying waste enemy country, and as regardless of the suffering caused to helpless innocent people, as any secular commander of the time.

But there was always another side to his character. Foul conduct, foul speech, and lying were always hateful to him, and beneath the glorious cloth of gold, next to his skin, the Chancellor wore a hair shirt. Often he would slip away from banquets and merry-making to spend a night in prayer, kneeling on the stone floor of some church.

In 1161 Archbishop Theobald died, and the king thought that if he made his friend, the Chancellor, archbishop, he would be able to control the Church as completely as he did the State. Becket struggled against the promotion, but at last bowed to the pressure put upon him by all his friends, who told him that it was his duty to accept the archbishopric, because of the opportunities he would be given to serve the cause of religion. He was ordained priest on the Saturday in Whitsun week, 1162, and consecrated the next day. He ordered that Sunday be kept in England as the Feast of the Blessed Trinity. A century later the pope made it a feast of the Universal Church.

A change took place immediately in Becket's manner of life. All the pomp and splendour, which had distinguished him, were laid aside. Silks and jewels were exchanged for a plain cassock. His life became filled with prayer, fasting, discipline, and with efforts to relieve and comfort poverty and suffering. His friends thought that it was a conversion—his enemies a hypocritical courting of the admiration of the mob. Neither knew about the austerities which the splendid Chancellor had always practised in secret. Even to-day it is not generally realized that all that happened was that what had been kept hidden by the courtier was allowed to come to light when he accepted the vocation to the priesthood.

Society in the twelfth century was based on the feudal system, that is upon loyalty to a man's personal superior. Nations, as we know them, had not come into being, therefore there could be no such virtue as patriotism. A man swore allegiance to his immediate superior and it was his duty to serve his interests. As a mere deacon (almost a layman) and as Chancellor of England. Becket was "the king's man", and it was his bounden duty to implement his oath of obedience to him. Therefore he served his sovereign with all the great energy and skill that were his. But when, against his will, he was made archbishop, all this changed. He became a chief official of the Church, and his oath to his king was superseded by his oath of loyalty to the pope. In the idiom of the day, he now became "the pope's man". In consequence, it became his duty to promote the interests, not of the kingdom, but of the Church, to safeguard its property and to preserve its privileges. While Becket was the king's man, the magnificence of his life was the expression of the glory of his master. As the churchman, the austerity of his life was the consequence of exactly the same ideal of loyalty. The change was due to the change of master. He had been compelled to forsake the service of an earthly monarch for that of the King of Kings, who had worn, not silk and a jewelled diadem, but had been stripped of his raiment and crowned with thorns. His changed manner of life was an imitation of Christ, the outward expression of his loyalty to his new superior.

But, somewhat naturally, Henry did not see things in that way. It was he who had promoted his Chancellor to the archbishopric, and he expected the same whole-hearted service that he had had

before. When he found the archbishop resolutely forwarding the interests of the Church, and thwarting his policy of reducing it to obedience to himself, his love turned to hate.

Into the details of the struggle, which now began, between king and archbishop, we need not enter. It was part of a struggle between Church and State, which had been going on for centuries, and which, even now, is still not wholly resolved. The essence of it is simply: "Who is to be the ruler of the Church? Shall the king—to-day parliament—make laws for it with the same final authority that the State is ruled, or shall the Church be independent in its own sphere?" In Becket's day the quarrel did not involve faith or worship—even Henry II acknowledged that spiritual matters were the province of the Church. The king's claims covered such things as the right to appoint to high office clerics in sympathy with himself, the control of all clerics in matters of property, including the right to tax them in the same way as laymen, their subjection to the jurisdiction of the royal courts in all cases of civil or criminal nature, and the freedom of laymen from any punishment meted out by ecclesiastical authority alone.

Becket's opposition to the king's will led to a series of unworthy and vindictive persecutions, until at last, when his life was threatened, he fled in disguise to the protection of King Louis of France. For less than a year he lived happily in retirement, in the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny, in Burgundy. Henry retaliated by confiscating all his property and banishing all his relations. Then he threatened to wreak his vengeance on the Cistercian Order in England, if he was harboured longer in one of its houses, and Becket moved to another abbey in France. For four years the quarrel dragged on. At last, in 1170, a peace was patched up and the archbishop landed in England on 1 December. He was received with every demonstration of love and devotion by the people. His progress to Canterbury was a triumphal procession.

Trouble broke out at once. The immediate cause was the fact that the pope had excommunicated some English bishops and officials for grave breaches of the rights of the archbishopric. The king demanded that the archbishop should annul the sentence pronounced against them. Becket refused on the ground that no one but the pope could lift a ban imposed by the pope. How far the picturesque story of the king's furious question "Who will

rid me of this turbulent priest?" is true, it is not possible to say, but there is little doubt that most of the blame for what happened must rest on Henry. The four knights, who murdered the archbishop, came directly from the court of the king in France. On December 29 they had a stormy meeting with the archbishop in his palace. At Vesper time they sought him again; he was in his cathedral and he had refused to allow the doors to be barred against them. "It is not meet to make a fortress of the House of Prayer." The four knights stormed into the church shouting: "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" Becket replied "I am here; no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me? I am ready to suffer for his name, who redeemed me by his blood."

One of the eye-witnesses—Becket's old schoolmaster Grim, who was wounded in his defence, tells the story of the end. Here it is in his own words. "Having thus spoken, he turned to the right, under a pillar, having on one side the altar of the Blessed Mother of God . . . and on the other that of St Benedict . . . The murderers cried, 'Restore to communion those whom thou hast excommunicated.' He answered, 'There has been no satisfaction, and I will not.' 'Then thou shalt die,' they cried. 'I am ready,' he replied, 'to die for my Lord, that in my blood the Church may obtain liberty and peace. But in the name of Almighty God, I forbid you to hurt my people whether clerical or lay' . . . Then they laid sacrilegious hands upon him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the church . . . But when he could not be forced away from the pillar one of them (the man was one of his own knights) clung to him more closely. Him he pushed away saying, 'Touch me not, Reginald. You owe me fealty and subjection.' 'No faith,' he cried, 'nor subjection do I owe you, against my fealty to my lord the king' . . . Then the unconquered martyr . . . inclined his neck as one who prays and joining his hands he commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to St Mary, and to the blessed martyr, Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight . . . leapt upon him . . . cutting off the top of the crown, which the sacred unction of the chrism had dedicated to God, and by the same blow he wounded the arm of him who tells this. For he . . . held him in his arms, till the one he interposed was almost severed . . . Then he received a second blow on the head, but still stood firm. At the third blow he fell on his

knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim and saying in a low voice, 'For the name of Jesus, and the protection of the Church, I am ready to embrace death.' Then the third knight inflicted a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was broken against the pavement, and the crown was separated from the head . . . That a fifth blow might not be wanting to the martyr, who in other things was like to Christ, no knight, but a clerk, put his foot on the neck of the martyr and scattered his brains and blood on the pavement calling out to the others, 'Let us away, knights. He will rise no more.'"

Becket was immediately acclaimed as a martyr by the people of England. Within a few days stories of miracles worked near where he fell, and by relics of his blood, were circulating throughout the country, and indeed throughout Europe. He was formally canonized by the pope little more than two years after his death.

Now, let us set side by side with this story that of Thomas More. He was born in London in 1477, and was, what Becket was not, an Englishman. His father was a judge. Like his namesake he was educated by monks until he was 13, when he became a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, archbishop and Chancellor. His sunny character and brilliant intellect attracted the notice of the archbishop, who sent him to Oxford in 1492. Although he never became an exact Greek scholar, he mastered that language and he learnt to speak as fluently in Latin as he did in English. After two years' residence at the university, he was recalled to London and entered as a student of law at New Inn, about 1494. In due course he was called to the Bar, and the governors of Lincoln's Inn appointed him Lecturer on Law. He drew many of the greatest and most learned men in the kingdom to hear him teach.

But the law did not absorb all his energy. He wrote poetry, both Latin and English—which, however, was not of a high standard—and he became at this time the close friend of many important people, amongst whom were Colet, Dean of St Paul's, who became his confessor, Lilley, and Erasmus. Between 1499 and 1503 his mind was largely occupied with theology and the question of his own vocation to the priesthood. He went to live near the Charterhouse so that he might assist at the services of the monks. He began to wear a hair shirt next his skin, which he never afterwards left off wholly. He considered joining one

of the two strictest religious Orders of the day—the Carthusians and the Observant Friars. Erasmus says that at this time “he applied his whole mind to exercises of piety, looking to and pondering on the priesthood, in vigils, fasts, prayers, and similar austerities”. It was through the direction of Colet that he came at last to realize that he had no vocation.

He now threw himself whole-heartedly into the work of the Bar. In 1504 he was elected a member of Parliament and began his parliamentary life as an opponent of the exactions which Henry VII was making, through the notorious ‘publicans’, Empson and Dudley.

In 1505 there came a curious interlude. He wanted to marry the second daughter of a gentleman of Essex, called Colt. But “when he considered that it would be great grief and some shame to the elder daughter to see her sister preferred before her, of a certain pity he framed his fancy to the elder”. Instead of becoming the tragic failure, which we might have expected, this marriage turned out to be a supremely happy one.

We have a pen picture of More at this time, drawn by Erasmus. “In stature he is not tall, though not remarkably short. His limbs are formed with such symmetry as to leave nothing to be desired. His complexion is white, his hair fair, rather than pale . . . His eyes are greyish blue . . . It is said that none are so free from vice. His countenance . . . is always expressive of an amiable joyousness, and even incipient laughter, and, to speak candidly, it is better framed for gladness, than for gravity or dignity . . . He seems born and framed for friendship . . . In human affairs there is nothing from which he does not extract enjoyment . . . No one is less led by the opinions of the crowd, yet no one departs less from common sense.”

In 1514, More was chosen by Wolsey as one of an embassy to Flanders to negotiate a treaty for the protection of English merchants. During this six months’ absence from England he wrote his *Utopia*. In 1519 he became a Privy Councillor. Next year he attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and was knighted. In 1523 he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. He became one of the men whom the king delighted to honour, but he was never deceived by the royal favour. When his son-in-law congratulated him on the king’s friendliness, he

answered, "If my head should win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go."

In 1529 he became the first lay Chancellor of England. He administered, as was his bounden duty, the savage anti-heresy laws, but he did so with as much leniency as possible, and only four heretics suffered the supreme penalty during his three years of office.

His fall from royal favour was occasioned by the king's divorce and the results which flowed from it—the question of the succession to the throne and the replacement of the papal jurisdiction over the Church by the royal supremacy. He resigned the chancellorship in 1532. For the next 18 months he lived in retirement with his family in Chelsea, doing his best to avoid an open breach with the king. He considered that it was wrong for a subject to sit in judgement on his king or to condemn his policy openly, and he did not try to convert anybody, even members of his family, to his opinions. But in his heart he believed that the policy of the king was wrong. Henry, however, had no use for neutrals. He wanted whole-hearted approval and co-operation. More was implicated in the affair of the mad "Holy Maid of Kent", who had prophesied against the king, but because of his popularity, as well as the weakness of the case against him, Henry caused his name to be removed from the Bill of Attainder. The Duke of Norfolk urged him at this time to become active in support of the king. But when he warned him that "the displeasure of the crown means death", More replied, "Is that all, my lord? Then, in good faith, between your grace and me is but this, that I shall die to-day, and you to-morrow." He was committed to the Tower in 1533, because of his refusal to take the oath of Royal Supremacy, which repudiated the jurisdiction in England of "any foreign authority, prince, or potentate". It was not until he had been condemned to death for treason that he openly declared his faith. Then he said, "The supreme government of the Church may no temporal prince presume by any law to take upon himself." In prison, although he suffered from a disease of the chest and from gravel, stone, and cramp, he was his usual gay self, whenever he was visited by friends. When he was alone he wrote the *Dialogue of comfort against tribulation*, and he began a treatise on the Passion. He spent much time in prayer.

When he was being conducted to the Tower by the Constable,

his old friend, Sir William Kingston, who was unable to prevent the tears from running down his face, More attempted to comfort him: "Good Master Kingston, trouble not yourself, but be of good cheer: I will pray for you that we may meet again in Heaven, where we shall be merry together for ever and ever."

His last days on earth were full of beauty and dignity. Addison wrote: "That innocent mirth, which had been so conspicuous in his life, did not forsake him at the last . . . He did not look on the severing of his head from his body as a circumstance which ought to produce any change in the disposition of his mind."

He contrived to have his hair shirt smuggled out of prison to his daughter, in order to avoid any ostentation of piety. Six days after he was formally condemned to death he was told that he was to die the next day. His answer was: "So help me God; I am bounden to the king, his Highness, that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of this wretched world, and therefore I will not fail earnestly to pray for him, both here, and also in the world to come."

The day of his execution was the eve of St Thomas of Canterbury, his patron saint, 28 December 1535. When he reached the steps of the scaffold he said to the Lieutenant, "I pray you see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." He desired the spectators to pray for him, and to bear witness that he suffered death in and for the faith of the Holy, Catholic Church. Then he knelt down, and prayed, and placing his head upon the block, said to the executioner, "Pluck up thy spirits man, and be not afraid to do thine office." His son-in-law completed the story: "So passed Sir Thomas More out of this world, upon the very same day, which he most desired." Pope Leo XIII beatified him in 1886, and he has since been canonized. It should be noticed that More died, not for active opposition to the king, but for opinions which he did his best to keep private.

Now we are in a position to ask why we should regard St Thomas of Canterbury as a martyr and refuse that glorious title to Sir Thomas More. For, of the two, there is no question that, from our point of view to-day, More was at first sight the better man

There are many reasons. Here are some of them. More was canonized by the pope centuries after his death, but Becket was hailed by Church and people as Saint and Martyr immediately

after his passion. He is a Saint of the Church of England, if ever there was one, and many of our parish churches have been placed under his patronage. On the other hand, great as may be our admiration and respect for More, his cultus is a modern one and it comes to us from abroad. It did not arise, as did Becket's, out of the spontaneous love and reverence of the people.

Secondly, by the time of More, there had been an immense change in thought and feeling. Both Henry II and Henry VIII were savage tyrants. But in Becket's time the Church possessed the love of the people, because it, and it alone, stood between them and terrible oppression. Pope Hildebrand, some two hundred years before the days of Becket, had written, "Who does not know that kings and leaders are sprung from men who were ignorant of God, who by pride, robbery, perfidy, and murders have striven, with blind cupidity and intolerable presumption, to dominate over mankind?" The accusation was true when it was made, and it was still true of the feudal lords of the twelfth century. It was the Church and the Church alone which then stood between the common people and irresponsible tyranny. Becket, when he fought for the traditional rights of the Church, was regarded by the people as their champion. The papal system for which he strove represented justice and liberty. But by the sixteenth century, the Church, headed by the popes, had thrown away both love and loyalty. It had become riddled in high places with simony, nepotism, avarice, luxury, and sloth. The popes looked far more like evil foreign sovereigns than like the Vicars of Christ, and the common people were swamped in superstitions. Henry VIII was no saint, but he was an angel of light in comparison with the popes who had reigned in his youth. In consequence, when the king took to himself the authority which the popes had exercised in England, the great majority of thinking Englishmen rejoiced—and this majority included, not only the men who cast covetous eyes upon the riches of the Church, but some of the best in the land: such men as Archbishop Warham, Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall, all of whom were profoundly Catholic in outlook. When the clergy were summoned to take the oath of Royal Supremacy, More said that they signed "right merrily". The dissidents, who included himself, were a microscopic minority. We can assert with certainty that Becket died for a principle which Englishmen respected and which they believed

furthered their great good; while More died for something which seemed to most men of his generation, including his family and his closest friends, to be hurtful to true religion, to be in the interests of a hated foreign power and harmful to his own country.

Next—a social revolution had taken place. The old feudal system was giving place throughout Europe to the modern system of independent nations. The movement was far more advanced in England than anywhere else. In the time of Henry II Englishmen were the subjects of a monarch whose dominions in France were larger than those in England, who ruled over more territory in France than the King of France. He and his court habitually spoke French. Becket was at least as much a Frenchman as an Englishman. But by the time of Henry VIII England had become a self-conscious State, and the patriotic love for our island, which soon reached perhaps its noblest expression in the works of Shakespeare, was burning fiercely in men's hearts. Undoubtedly one of the reasons why men welcomed the breach with the papacy was because the pope was a foreigner. In this matter More represented a fashion of thought which was out of date.

That, in itself, would not be at all a serious fault, even though a chief reason for the unpopularity of the popes was their unworthiness. To be up to date is not necessarily to be right. But the real crux of the matter was not the unworthiness of the Vicars of Christ, or the corruption of the organization over which they ruled, but the truth or falsehood of the claims which they made. If our Lord had instituted a system which evil men were using for their own ends, that did not mean necessarily that the system itself was wrong. So the questions to be answered were: "The papacy worked well in early days—ought it to be continued in spite of the fact that it seems to have outgrown its influence for good?" "Is it in itself of divine appointment?" In days when almost all men were illiterate, when the Bible was available only in a tongue understood by scholars, when the story of what the papal claims had been in the early Church, and how they had grown through the centuries, when the very existence of the Eastern Churches, which from the beginning had opposed them, were almost unknown—the papacy was accepted, without question, as part of the will of God for his Church. But in the sixteenth century enough was known about the scriptures, and the past, to allow men to perceive that the authority and power claimed by the popes were unjusti-

fiable. St Thomas of Canterbury can be excused for leaning upon the pope; indeed he could have done nothing else. But Sir Thomas More exhibited a conservatism which was contrary to facts with which he ought to have been familiar.

The papal supremacy for which both died was never justified. It was never part of God's plan for the Church. But it worked reasonably well in early days and probably we may say that God overruled for the good of his children what was never really his will. In consequence, to support the pope against the king was right in the days of Henry II, but it was wrong some three hundred years later. Herein lies the reason why we venerate St Thomas Becket as a martyr, while we accord to Sir Thomas More no more than the great respect due to a very noble and holy man, who gave his life most bravely in a mistaken cause.

## THE COMMUNITY OF GRANDCHAMP

THE following article is an abridged translation of the story of the beginnings of the Swiss Calvinist Community of Grandchamp, written in French by one of their members.

In 1953 two Sisters of an English Community attended one of the Interconfessional Conferences at Grandchamp and as an outcome of this, two Grandchamp Sisters stayed for some weeks at the Mother House of the Community early in 1954. During their visit they read, and made extracts from, a number of books on the Religious Life and studied the methods of organization of the various departments of the Convent. They wore a plain blue serge dress and cape and a short blue veil. They attended all the services in the Community Chapel. Much of their own Service Book is taken from material to be found in Monastic Breviaries. Since their return to Grandchamp the Sisters have written occasionally and added further news of their Community and of their two latest houses referred to at the end of the article. One of the Sisters who visited the English Convent was the Novice Mistress of the Community, which now numbers twenty-four. The other, on her return, found herself appointed Superior of the new Retreat House in German-speaking Switzerland. The language difficulty was a serious one, as neither she nor the other two Sisters with her knew more than a very little German, and they had to translate the Service Book and carry on the business of the House in a language foreign to them. Nevertheless they were thankful to find that the new centre was greatly appreciated, the Retreats ranging from one for thirty children of working people to another for Deaconesses, conducted by one of the Brothers of Taizé-lès-Cluny, the Protestant Community for men, who observe the same Rule as do the Grandchamp Sisters.

In Algiers, three Sisters are living their life of prayer and of Christian witness in a Mohammedan quarter of one of the poorest suburbs. One of them works as cook in a Mohammedan clinic, another as domestic help in a private family, and the third, who is older, makes little articles for sale and tends some sick folk who have no one to care for them. The three Sisters are ministered to by their own Pastors, and have also been in touch with Roman Catholics, including the "Petites Soeurs de Jésus", who live in the spirit of Charles de Foucauld. They wrote that happily the earthquake in Algeria had not hindered their work for Christ.

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**First Call**

"They shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day that I shall make ready."

God knows beforehand those whom he will call into his Harvest. He knows the time and the moment. And that is why nothing that has been done, from the first Retreat at Grandchamp to the foundation of the Community, has been the act of man's hand, or the result of a human will. All the initiative is in the Hand of God. "To God alone be glory."

So God chose Grandchamp (truly a "great field"), framed by the peaceful line of the Jura to the north and by the sunlit Lake of Neuchâtel, to plant there the seed of the first spiritual Retreat in the year 1931. A little group of women were there into whose hearts God had put the thought a year before to make themselves ready, for at that period the Calvinist Church knew nothing of such Retreats. There were to be three days of Prayer, of silence in communion with Christ, of meditation on the theme of the Love of God.

"They shall belong to me." It was a Vocation, the irresistible grasp of a Hand, to which all must be unreservedly abandoned. It was the Hand of God, all was his. He himself disentangled the knots, and in the revelation of his love, he called to himself his handmaids. In the silence of Retreat, this sense of his ownership made itself apparent.

"They shall be mine, in the day that I shall make ready."

In this very first Retreat, the idea of a Reformed Community arose according to the word of our Lord: "Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them." They were decisive days, when the women whom God had called worshipped together, opened their hearts to the Love of God and responded to his call. In prayer, the Community was born. The seed which had fallen into those hearts began to grow.

**The Retreats**

Each year that passed saw the development of a fresh Retreat, then several in the year, as more people desired to come — nurses, social workers, mothers of families. As the months went on, the little nucleus of those responsible brought before God the preparation for the three days of each Retreat. A Communion service, each morning during the Retreat, established the reality of the Presence of Christ, and sisterly fellowship. Silence reigned. In

the course of the morning there was a service, consisting partly of music and partly of silence. The Word of God was pondered: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." Certain hours during the day were reserved for spiritual conferences and for intercession in common.

In 1936 a new call came. One among the Retreatants was called by God to establish at Grandchamp a House of Prayer, open all the year, where could be found spiritual discipline and the possibility of making a private Retreat. There were a few cells, and a little Chapel in which many experienced the Presence of Christ, and were enlightened, strengthened, and purified. A flame was lighted, which shall never be put out. Humbly, faithfully, prayer and adoration continued to rise to God. There were two women there like Martha and Mary. Four years later, a third Sister was given them. A little Community House was planned. It was only a feeble beginning, which could not yet be called a Community. But God had willed it and was already preparing it and carving out the channels for the inflowing of Grace. The Retreat House quickly became the living centre of the work. When the Retreatants dispersed, the Sisters' House remained open and pursued its ministry throughout the year. This permanency of prayer and meditation allowed the development of the Retreats, and laid the foundations of the Community.

During the war, cares and trials of every kind rendered the spiritual life particularly difficult, but the very dislocation of the daily routine proved to be the means of regaining the grace of interior silence before God. At the same time the Retreats themselves increased in number. Soon there were twenty in a year. The first little group of those responsible was augmented and secured the direction of the pastors of the Reformed Churches of French-speaking Switzerland.

### **Birth of the Community**

In the year 1944, the design of God took definite shape. "They shall be mine, in the day that I make ready." Now the time had come for the Community actually to materialize. The woman to whom God had given the original vocation with regard to the Retreats, and who had been their inspirer for fourteen years, now received from God the call to set out on the way of Conventual life, as Mother of the Community of Grandchamp. Six new Sisters joined the Community in the years that followed. It was a time of

great spiritual intensity. Alongside of the material work, which would have been crushing without its counter-balance of prayer, the Community sought their path, considered their Rule, found their deep unity. They put themselves to school under their Master's orders. Each morning, kneeling together in the Chapel, they dedicated themselves to him, and prayed to see the true way to love and unity.

They adopted the form for the daily Divine Office which is used also by the Community of Taizé-lès-Cluny, and by a growing number of pastors and of the faithful. The appearance of this first book, which was followed by a much fuller second edition, was a joy to the Community and met a real need.

The Community established at Grandchamp had no precedent to follow in the Reformed Church, but felt they ought to find in the Gospel itself the principles of community life. Before formulating and undertaking definite obligations, they felt bound to pursue together this research, in order that the Community might mature and find its true life. The Common Life demands a willing discipline and obedience, purity of heart, renunciation of self and of the spirit of possession. The Sisters came to worship their Saviour, and to lay at his feet their offering: the gold of material riches, the incense of prayer, and the myrrh of loving sacrifice.

#### **The Rule**

The Community of Taizé-lès-Cluny and the Grandchamp Community have adopted the following Rule in common:

Throughout your day, let work and leisure be quickened by the Word of God.

Maintain in everything interior Silence that you may dwell in Christ.

Be penetrated with the spirit of the Beatitudes      Joy,  
Simplicity, Loving-kindness.

and for Motto:

Pray and work that he may reign.

Let us take the three points of the Rule:

*“Throughout your day, let work and leisure be quickened by the Word of God.”*

The Word of God is the daily nourishment of the Community of Grandchamp. At the morning Office the Psalms are chanted antiphonally; after the reading of a chapter of the Old Testament, the

Gospel for the day is made the subject of meditation. The reading of the Epistle and of the evening Psalm concludes the day. These Lessons, and especially the meditation on the Gospel, "quicken both work and leisure" throughout the day. It is in the light of the Bible that the Community seeks its path, finds its inspiration, resolves its problems; it is on its promises that it bases its intercessions and its hope. Again, it is the Bible that the Community offers to its guests and, in the Retreats, the Word of God is the treasure received by the Retreatants. During the winter months, when the Retreats are fewer and the work lighter, the Community undertakes a course of systematic Biblical instruction, given by the pastors and by a Professor of Theology, and since 1951 by the Chaplain, whose appointment marked a fresh stage in the life of the Sisters.

*"Maintain in everything interior Silence that you may dwell in Christ."*

It is in deep interior silence that the members of the Community open their hearts to the presence of their Lord and the coming of his Spirit. The fruit ripens in silence, the silence of communion and of humble self-oblation. This silence is not a matter of external rule. It is an attitude of love for Christ, the fruit of his Presence. And if the Retreatants need a word to be spoken to them, must it not be heard and received from Christ before being given to them? Meals are taken in silence during Retreats, and are accompanied by reading aloud at other times.

*"Be penetrated with the spirit of the Beatitudes — Joy, Simplicity, Loving-kindness."*

Daily on the stroke of mid-day, the Beatitudes are recited aloud in the Chapel. "Happy . . . happy . . . happy!" This heavenly joy, promised by Christ to his disciples, is a tribute of praise.

*"Pray and work that he may reign."*

The whole life and existence of the Community are summed up in the old phrase, *Ora et labora ut regnet!* The Community pray that he, their Saviour, may reign, they pray because he reigns, and offer to him within the Church a ministry of worship and intercession, and, because he has called them to his service, they work in order that his rule may be extended, and his Kingdom come. Prayer is their first work, as also their work is prayer.

### **The Liturgical Life**

The morning and evening Offices support the life of the Community. The morning Office is the first act of the day. The Community rejoice in God their Saviour, they sing his praises, hear his word, and meditate on the Gospel; they offer to God the work of the day and consecrate themselves to his service. The recitation of the Beatitudes forms the midday Office, and in the afternoon the Sisters meet privately for prayer. At six o'clock daily, the Chapel bell sounds out, inviting to common intercession. The call of the bell echoes afar in the plain of Areuse, as does, in other countries, the Angelus.

Each day of the week, the Sisters' intercession bears on a special subject: Monday: work. Tuesday: youth and family life. Wednesday: the Ministry. Thursday: the country and its rulers. Friday: the Cross and the sufferings of the world. Saturday: the Church. Sunday: praise and adoration.

The evening Office unites once more the Community and their guests. Then the whole household observes the Night Silence, until the Office of the following morning.

A Communion Service is celebrated each Sunday, and, during Retreats, every day.

The private prayer of the Sisters and their liturgical life nourish their ministry, and unite them with Christ, the great Intercessor at God's right hand. The Community love their liturgical life, they find in it their inspiration and their strength, for spiritually as well as materially they feel their weakness, in face of the task committed to them. They know that of themselves they have only a few loaves and fishes for the feeding of the multitude. Therefore their fervent prayer rises constantly to God for the fulfilment of his promises and for the strength of his Holy Spirit.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Retreat House, a pastor, the first to encourage the Retreats, spoke of the Community as follows:

"Grandchamp is a place of Prayer throughout the year, for every parish in the country, for the young and for the sick, for toilers and administrators, for all those who are indifferent whether others are praying for them—Grandchamp bears before God the loads of all. Grandchamp has taken upon itself the responsibility of continuous persevering intercession. It is a Community of Prayer and Worship. God wills that the Community should

remain faithful to the 'life hidden with Christ in God' in a state of humility, obedience, and service. The vocation it has received is a sign of the compassion of God for the Church which is sleeping, while her Saviour, in the Garden of Olives, suffers and agonizes in prayer."

### **The Greater Community**

In 1941 several Sisters went to spend the winter at Geneva, to follow courses of study and strengthen their contact with the Church. They lived their community life in some rooms lent them, and their little attic Chapel became a centre of prayer for those with whom they came into touch. Some of these wished for a closer link with the Community, for the deepening of their own spiritual lives and for the strengthening of their Christian witness in their homes and surroundings. Thus was born "The Greater Community", now numbering over seventy members. They observe the same rule as the resident Community, as far as this is possible in their various circumstances, and make their promises at Grandchamp, after a year's postulancy. Some are married couples, some are missionaries overseas, and others live in France and in Holland. All are kept in touch one with another and with the resident Community by means of a "Community Message", issued several times a year.

### **Expansion**

In 1948, the Community numbered eight resident Sisters and the number of Retreatants increased constantly. Only space was lacking, and it became necessary to build. A property was acquired in the hamlet of Grandchamp and gifts poured in from those who had attended Retreats, tokens of gratitude to God and of appreciation for the work of the Community. The very walls as they arose were permeated with praise. The beautiful new house contains a Chapel which has become the centre of the liturgical life of the Community, a library, and thirteen cells for Retreatants. When four years later the building of twelve further cells proved necessary, the Community also added to itself a new section, "The Friends of Grandchamp". The members of this group observe a simpler Rule of Life than do those of the Greater Community, but support the Sisters by their prayers and share their financial responsibilities. In a few months the number of the Friends reached two hundred.

In 1950 the Community was called to make its first new foundation, a house called Benoist Préau in the neighbourhood of Paris. It provides both for conducted and private Retreats and is a new island of prayer in French territory.

Two other houses were opened in 1954, one a fresh Retreat House at Gelterkinden, near Bâle in German-speaking Switzerland, and the other for work among the poor in a Mohammedan suburb of Algiers.

### **The Community in the Church**

Several years before the formation of the Community itself, pastors and Retreatants together studied the subject of "The Church, what she is and what she ought to be, according to the Word of God". This resulted in a great call to prayer and a fresh desire to serve Christ in his Church. When the Community came into being it learnt that it was a servant of the Reformed Church and that a mission to that Church was laid upon its heart. To strengthen this bond, the Community became attached in 1948 to the Federation of the Protestant Churches of Switzerland. On her side, the Church is discovering and responding to her God-given call to silence and prayer. She is opening her heart with joy both to the idea of the Religious Life and to the new-found treasures of the Liturgy. At the same time she is giving fresh spiritual food to the Community through the teaching of her pastors and professors.

In between the Retreats organized by the Community, groups of pastors, parochial councillors, and heads of Christian Youth Movements come to renew their vocations and their communion with Jesus Christ.

The chief kinds of organized Retreats are:

- (1) Seasonal: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost.
- (2) Biblical courses.
- (3) Retreats for special groups: pastors' wives, Sunday School teachers, nurses, Deaconesses, social and educational workers, and missionaries. Retreats for married couples are also largely attended.

Forty Retreats now take place annually at Grandchamp—and all these contacts feed the intercession of the Community.

The Community has developed in the soil of the Reformation and is profoundly Evangelical, but it suffers from the rending of

the Body of Christ. The Week of Prayer for Christian Unity is observed regularly at Grandchamp, and at all times the Community unites itself fervently to the prayer of Christ, "That they may be one . . . that the world may believe".

For many years now Grandchamp has been a meeting place for interconfessional gatherings. Theologians, priests, and Religious of the Anglican, Lutheran, Orthodox, and Roman Churches have prayed together in the Chapel and have held fraternal conferences, enriching the Retreats with the treasures of their knowledge and spiritual experience. Sisters from France and Holland have joined the resident Community, praying God to open the way for the Religious Life in the Reformed Church of their own countries.

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Like a tree in full growth the Community finds itself every year sending forth new branches of activity. Though up to the year 1952 it existed for the purpose of Retreats, more than a thousand guests and Retreatants coming annually to renew their interior life in the Community's Retreat Houses, yet it now seeks for God to confide to it further ministries and bestow on it fresh graces. Some of the young Sisters have felt vocations for which God is opening new paths. But that is to-morrow's story.

Supported by the assurance of the presence of Christ in their midst, the Community experienced some solemn moments in 1952. The Mother of the Community and the first group of resident Sisters, surrounded by their families and the young Sisters and Novices, made their response to vocation by the consecration of themselves for life.

They have indeed found most fully the reality of our Lord's promise of a hundredfold blessing on those who have left all for his sake.

"They shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day that I shall make ready."

## AFFECTIVE PRAYER

By P. M. S. ALLEN

THE type of prayer which occupies the intermediate position between discursive meditation and the prayer of Loving Attention or Simplicity, is the prayer of acts of the will, to which the general name of Affective is usually given.<sup>1</sup> This is an instinctive, direct way of praying, which (like meditation in its simplest form, and of course contemplation) an enormous number of Christians must have practised without knowing that they do; all that they have known (and what else do they need to know?) is that they have prayed. This is very obvious, and yet it may bear repeating to mark the difference between the instinctive, unformed expressions of prayer and the self-consciously elaborated methods of the sixteenth century. No one could make a full Ignatian meditation unawares, with Composition of Place, use of *all* five senses, and a Resolution, in its more developed thought-out forms. Affective prayer is especially associated with the name of Fr Augustine Baker. HOLY WISDOM is available in most theological libraries and has been recently re-issued by the publishers after a long interval. There is everything to be said, therefore, for turning direct to the classical treatment of the subject in preference to the modern summaries. Baker's is easily the fullest and most authoritative account of Affective prayer. Many of the older standard works scarcely treat of it except as a kind of appendix to meditation: so, for instance, the INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE;<sup>2</sup> or, again, as a preliminary to Contemplation (St Teresa<sup>3</sup>); nor, unless I am mistaken, is there much on this matter in the works of St John of the Cross. But Baker expounds it at length,<sup>4</sup> and with enthusiasm. His seventeenth-century English is quaint at times, and wordy, but perfectly readable; and his whole book is a gold-mine of instruction and inspiration. I shall begin, then, with a fairly full exposition of his teaching, with plenty of quotation.

Baker's starting-point is the traditional one, from which no author of importance dissents, that meditation is the normal way of prayer for beginners :

"Now there being so great and inexpressible variety in the internal dispositions of persons, it is not possible to give certain and general

rules to fit all, except this, that in the beginning of a spiritual contemplative course, all souls that are not naturally incapable of raising affections by internal discourse ought to apply themselves thereto, and to tarry therein till they find themselves ripe for a future exercise.”<sup>5</sup>

But he qualifies this principle in three ways :

First, meditation is only a means to an end.

“a preparation to the perfect prayer of contemplation,”<sup>6</sup> “which is the end of all our spiritual and religious exercises.”<sup>7</sup>

This is a cardinal point in his doctrine. The only exception he makes is for “active distracted livers”; “such may continue all their lives in meditation and follow the methods of it.”<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, while

“souls are not easily and lightly to be permitted to apply themselves to exercises of the will till a convenient time spent in those of the understanding . . . yet this is not so to be understood as if souls were to be obliged to those nice, distracting, painful methods of meditation which are described in many books, or to frame curious pageants and scenes of the mysteries to be meditated on.”<sup>9</sup>

“. . . For as for discursive prayer or Meditation, the world is but even burdened with books which with more than sufficient niceness prescribe rules and methods for the practice of it, and with too partial an affection magnify it.”<sup>10</sup>

Such discursive exercises may be proper for “active distracted livers”; but for those

“who have an active effectual call to an internal life, their meditations will have little study or speculation in them; for after a short and quick reflection on the matter, mystery or motive, they will forthwith produce acts of the will . . . and this sort of meditating is proper for many ignorant persons, especially women, which have not the gift of internal discoursing.”<sup>11</sup>

Thirdly, Baker recognizes that some people have never been able to meditate:

“This is a prayer to the exercise whereof all sorts of persons are neither disposed nor enabled, neither is it a token either of excellency of wit and judgement or of true devotion to be apt for the practice of it; on the contrary the more that a soul doth abound with devotion and good affections to God, the less she is enabled or disposed thereto, yea, incapable of continuing long in the exercise of it.”<sup>12</sup>

And there are some

“that are naturally utterly disabled and incapable of meditating.”<sup>13</sup>

A consecutive reading of the chapters in *HOLY WISDOM* from which I have quoted gives the impression at first that Baker's "interior livers" are confined to Religious, in contrast with the "active distracted livers" in the world. This is only what you would expect from a Religious of that period writing primarily<sup>14</sup> for monks and nuns of his own Order. There seems to be a fairly clear assumption of the Double Standard theory in its crude and discredited form. But this would be a misjudgement. In an earlier part of the book<sup>15</sup> Baker at length and with emphasis extends the possibility of the contemplative life to persons living in the world:

"The only proper school of contemplation is solitude."<sup>16</sup>

which, though it be found

"... both more perfectly and more permanently in a well-ordered religious state, which affords likewise many other advantages (scarce to be found elsewhere) for the better practising the exercises disposing to Contemplation, yet is not so confined to that state, but that, in the world also, and in a secular course of life, God hath oft raised and guided many souls in these perfect ways, affording them even there as much solitude and as much internal freedom of spirit as He saw was necessary to bring them to a high degree of perfection."<sup>17</sup>

In fact

"... the poorest, simplest soul living in the world, and following the common life of good Christians there, if she will faithfully correspond to the internal light... afforded her by God's spirit, may as securely, yea, and sometimes more speedily, arrive to the top of the mountain of vision than the most learned doctors, the most profoundly wise men, yea, the most abstracted confined hermits."<sup>18</sup>

The two chapters from which these extracts are taken are an admirable re-statement of the old tradition of the general accessibility of contemplation to all men of goodwill and sufficient opportunity.

We come then to the description of affective prayer itself—"the only efficacious instrument that immediately brings souls to contemplation and perfect union in spirit with God."<sup>19</sup>

There is, first, a distinction between forced acts of the will "made without any concurrence of sensitive nature", the producing of which "does not cause any gust in inferior nature": and affections of the will (of love, joy, hope, desire, etc.) which "are much immersed in sense."<sup>20</sup> Each person must be guided by his own

natural inclination and disposition, but Baker is far more concerned with forced acts than with affections. He regards the latter as proper only for emotional people:

"And as for the exercise of sensible affections, it belongs only to such souls as in their natural temper are more tender and affectionate; whose love expresses itself with great liquefaction in sensible nature, so that they are easily moved to tears, and do feel warmth and quick motions about the heart . . ."<sup>21</sup>

Not only do such "effects or symptoms not argue love to be greater",<sup>22</sup> but those who are disposed to them ought to try to control the luxuriance of their feelings;<sup>23</sup> for of course it is not to be supposed, he says, that fervour resides only in "sensitive nature": the better and safer sort is found in "the superior will alone, though sensitive nature seem to partake nothing of it":<sup>24</sup>

" . . . so that our prayers may then be said to be instant and fervourous when the will, out of a worthy and high esteem of this most necessary and most excellent duty, resolutely and with perseverance pursues them, notwithstanding any contradiction in nature or discouragements from without, for that must needs be a great fervour of spirit that contradicts the contrary malignant fervour of nature, and undervalues all sensible ease and contentment compared with the spiritual good that is caused by prayer."<sup>25</sup>

I feel sure that Baker was right in insisting (as no one else has done with such clarity) that dry forced acts are much commoner, and more valuable, than any amount of emotional activity. Those who are not much given to "liquefaction in sensible nature" find themselves puzzled by accounts of affective prayer which give the impression, as many do, that its main characteristic, its *differentia*, is a spontaneous flow of emotional acts. So, for instance, at least in one place, even Evelyn Underhill: "in affective prayer the emphasis lies almost entirely on feeling";<sup>26</sup> and even in the well-known treatment of the matter in Poulain's *GRACES OF INTERIOR PRAYER* a certain ambiguity in his use of the word "affections" makes it uncertain, in several places, whether he is describing volitional (forced) acts or spontaneous outpourings of emotion.<sup>27</sup> Admittedly "affective" becomes a misnomer when applied primarily to the prayer of forced acts: but it is too late in the day to meddle with well-established terminology now. I doubt very much whether in modern times as many people experience strong sustained feelings in prayer as they did even in

Baker's day. Emotional habit changes, and people seem to have wept, both in prayer and out of it, far more freely in earlier times (judging from the literature) than they do now.<sup>28</sup> This is the nub of that sense of unreality which attaches to some of the instructions in the books; for those who have the "fervourous" tendency will use it, any way, instinctively; while those who have not, cannot and ought not to try. It seems otiose to urge people to make acts of a type which can only come spontaneously and which even then need controlling and restraining lest they "rather endanger to depress the operations of the spirit than advance them".<sup>29</sup> De Besse quotes<sup>30</sup> an interesting case of a woman with a strong propensity to sensible fervour who used to spend two or three hours each morning in an intensely emotional affective prayer, which appeared to bear no fruit at all in her life outside prayer-time. At length she found a director who (in accordance with Baker's precepts) advised strong restraint and a concentration upon a more volitional prayer. She followed his lead readily and gladly, and at once a remarkable difference in the quality of her daily life began to be apparent. Baker's whole discussion<sup>31</sup> about the relative importance of feelings and acts of the will is very illuminating and most worthy of note.

The actual exercise of immediate<sup>32</sup> acts of the will is described as follows:

"The soul's aim is to recollect herself by that general notion that faith gives her of God; but not being able to do this presently, she doth in her mind, and by the help of the imagination, represent unto herself some Divine Object, as some one or more perfections of God, or some mystery of faith, as the Incarnation, Transfiguration, Passion, Agony or Dereliction of Our Lord, etc.; and thereupon, without such discoursing as is used in meditation, she doth immediately, without more ado, produce acts or affections one after another towards God, or upon herself with reference to God, adoring, giving thanks, humbling herself in His presence, resigning herself to His will, etc."<sup>33</sup>

This way of prayer, though not so "busy and laborious" as meditation, will often seem to be "more harsh and difficult".<sup>34</sup> Distractions are more intense, the intellect and imagination being unoccupied,

"an advice, therefore . . . is again and again to be repeated, and never to be forgotten—to wit, that the devout well-minded soul that shall be called by God to walk in these internal ways of prayer be cour-

ageous and diligent in the pursuance of them, after the best manner she can, amidst all desolations, obscurities and distractions, practising these exercises as much as may be in the superior will, not caring whether sensitive nature concur therein or no.”<sup>35</sup>

The variety of acts, and the method of making them, is to be governed by the foundation-principle, that what suits you, and makes for profit, is right:

“The general rule and advice, therefore, in this matter is that accordingly as souls upon experience and observation do find themselves disposed to any kinds of acts or affections, whether of one kind only, or several kinds mixed together, so they must order their exercises and recollections, preferring the savour and profit that their souls find in them, before any rules, methods, or authority of examples.”<sup>36</sup>

Some find that one exercise is sufficient for always, or at least for a long time; and in general the tendency is towards simplification and reduction of the number of acts: for as all acts “ultimately terminate in God”, there is no occasion to multiply them unnecessarily. If you are drawn to direct your acts upon God—upon the bare idea of him, without distinction of attributes or qualities or particular mysteries—this is an excellent way of praying, for all is summed up in the one, simple, comprehensive act. Similarly in the matter of books: some, especially at first, find written acts helpful. Baker himself drew out a large collection of “Patterns of Devout Exercises”<sup>37</sup>—acts of contrition, love, resignation, and the like—which are printed at the end of *HOLY WISDOM*. Here are some specimens of his “Acts upon the life and Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ”:

“1. Hail, Sweet Jesus; praise, honour and glory be to Thee, O Christ, who for my sake hast vouchsafed to come down from Thy royal seat.

“2. Choose, I beseech Thee, my heart for Thy dwelling-place; adorn it, replenish it with spiritual gifts, and wholly possess it.

“3. O that I were able, by profound humility, to unite Thee to it, and with an ardent affection to receive Thee; and after having received Thee, to retain Thee with me!

“4. O that I were so fastened unto Thee, that I might never depart or turn away my mind from Thee! . . .

“7. O that it were Thy will to be continually born in me by a new fervour of spirit,

“8. And that I may be wholly burnt with the fire of Thy love!”<sup>38</sup>

Some of Baker’s Acts read quaintly in these days, as this one.

from the "Amorous Speeches of the Soul to Herself in Prayer":  
 "Arise, forsake the puddle of thy negligent life."<sup>39</sup>

Others are too verbose for contemporary taste:

"Hail, sweet Jesus; praise, honour and glory be to Thee, O Christ, who, by Thy silence condemning Herod's vain desire, wouldest not, without good cause and for a good end, delight his curious eyes by working a miracle; and didst thereby give us a lesson to avoid ostentation in the presence of great men."<sup>40</sup>

Others, again, are delightfully direct, and such as rise naturally to the lips of the devout of all periods:

"O all my hope!  
 O all my glory!  
 O all my refuge and my joy!"<sup>41</sup>

Better known, however, amongst Anglicans, and better adapted for modern use are the PRIVATE PRAYERS of our own seventeenth-century Bishop Lancelot Andrewes. These are profoundly biblical and patristic in language and thought, always theocentric, and, in a good translation,<sup>42</sup> splendidly expressed with a terse dignity which makes them very attractive. A more recent collection is that of Gilbert Shaw. A PILGRIM'S BOOK OF PRAYERS<sup>43</sup>. The Cowley Fathers put out an admirable paper of ACTS BEFORE MENTAL PRAYER,<sup>44</sup> of which here are two examples:

#### *Faith and Adoration*

My God, I come now into Thy presence to make my prayer.  
 out of the depth of my nothingness,  
 my many sins and numberless negligences.  
 I adore Thee, my God,  
 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
 my Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier.  
 Heal my soul, O Lord,  
 for I have sinned against Thee,

#### *Love*

My God, I desire to love Thee  
 with all my heart and above all else,  
 because Thou are infinitely worthy of all love,  
 my chief and only good;  
 and for Thy sake I would love my brethren  
 as Thou hast loved me.  
 Take from me all that hinders love:  
 all selfishness, self-centredness, pride, impurity, worldliness;

and then pour Thy love into my heart.  
Oh that I may yet love Thee  
with all the love I might have had,  
if I had not so sinned against Thee!

So much for written acts; but many, naturally, prefer something less formal—a favourite text or lines from a hymn, which they make the focus of their prayer for so long (as Baker would say) as the soul finds “gust” in them. Some, again, and this is the usual experience, find their acts growing less explicit and more obscure; if at first the acts were vocally expressed, the mind savouring internally the meaning of the words, in course of time unexpressed actuations of the will—blind up-heavings of the soul to God—tend to take their place. The words may still be used occasionally, but only as sops to keep the imagination occupied, while the will rests peacefully upon God. But at times of tiredness or special distraction, the words come back into their own in full vocal prayer. Unlike the childish *petitionary* prayers, which *ought* to be left behind, *an act of adoration* learned as a child can be enriched with experience and association, and grow mellow with the years.

“Jesus, my Lord, I Thee adore:  
O let me love Thee more and more”—

A child of three can learn this as his first explicit God-ward aspiration, and still, as an old man of eighty-three, have it at hand like the friend of his youth, to lean upon in case of need. Or, again—just as some can never meditate profitably, so multiplicity of forced acts never seems right for others, and the soul stays from the beginning, and perhaps for many years, in the arid, much distracted, but deeply tranquil reachings-out of the will upon the unexpressed, undefined and indefinable, idea of God above.<sup>45</sup> What a contradiction in terms—arid and distracted, yet deeply tranquil! But the tranquillity is deeper than the aridities and distractions: it is rooted fast in an unmovable conviction—that in this prayer (whatever the senses say) the soul is at one with God.

One final point. The language used above about the growing simplicity of the prayer of acts, and its peacefulness, implies a very different thing from the voluntary cessation of *all* acts, which is sometimes advised, under the name of “listening to God”. The sound traditional doctrine is that acts should not cease until God

makes them to do so in the very highest flights of contemplation, though whether in fact they cease even here is a very delicate and difficult point of theology. However imperceptibly, the will in all ordinary states is *active*. The will of God is not to be ascertained by making the mind a blank, and waiting to see what idea or impression first takes possession of it. This procedure is sometimes advised on the plausible ground that we ought not to be talking to God all the time, but should allow him opportunity to talk to us. The argument supposes that prayer is like a conversation between two human beings; but we are not in prayer talking to a mere man, from whom we look for an audible answer; we are committing ourselves to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for the adoration—above all, for the adoration—of God. His will is revealed to us by the illumination of the understanding after the ordinary course of prayer, not (usually and normally) by the interpolation of extraordinary impressions into a mind made blank to receive them. Baker's advice is well-founded. Do not, he says, make that which you wish to know the direct subject of your prayer, nor entertain during the time of prayer any "discoursing, debating thoughts"<sup>46</sup> about the matter: for this only turns the prayer away from God into "a distracting meditation"<sup>47</sup> which is not prayer at all, and opens the way for our "mistaking our own imagination or perhaps natural inclination for the divine light and motion".<sup>48</sup> On the contrary, the soul, after "secretly and briefly wishing that God would teach her His will about the said difficulty".<sup>49</sup> should pursue "her accustomed recollection"<sup>50</sup> with as much quietness and steadiness as possible. Thus she disposes herself in the best possible way for the divine light; and whatever after a period of such prayer commends itself to the understanding as the right and sensible course, may reasonably be taken to be in conformity with the will of God. Baker's position is well expressed in the following paragraph:

"There may come much harm to a soul by cessation from internal working, and from all tendency to God in her recollections, if so be the motive of such cessation be a desire and expectation to hear God speaking after any unusual manner within her, and telling her some new thing or other; for by giving way to such a foolish presumption she will deserve, and put herself into a disposition to receive, diabolical suggestions, or, at least, vainly to conceive and interpret her own imaginations to be internal speakings of God; and this may prove very perilous if a soul give credit to such fancies (as probably

such souls will); but they ought to consider that if God's pleasure be such as to communicate His will internally after an extraordinary manner, He will speak and work whether the soul will or no, and whether she will or no she must hear and suffer. And, therefore, let her abstain from such indiscreet invitations or expecting such divine conversations; let her continue quietly her exercises, and not cease till God force her to cease them."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name was first used, according to Poulain (*GRACES OF INTERIOR PRAYER*, p. 10), by Alvarez de Paz in 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Pt. 2, ch. 13: tr. Ross, pp. 91-5.

<sup>3</sup> The place of Affective Prayer in St Teresa's scheme is a delicate question. Saudreau (*DEGREES OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE*, I, p. 251) and Butler (*AFTERTHOUGHTS*, xxiv) find it in "the prayer of recollection" in *WAY OF PERFECTION*, chapters xxviii and xxix; but de Besse (*SCIENCE OF PRAYER*, E.T. p. 46) calls this his Prayer of Faith, i.e. the first grade of contemplation.

<sup>4</sup> About 120 pages: 349-406 and 421-489.

<sup>5</sup> *HOLY WISDOM*, p. 407, cf. pp. 398-9, also 37-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349. Cf. also pp. 400, 406 ff., 421 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 422.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408, cf. p. 592: ". . . such devout souls as, being naturally indisposed for discursive prayer, are consequently obliged to begin an internal course of prayer with immediate acts or affections." And cf. also the preface *TO THE DEVOUT READER* §2 (prefixed to the *CERTAIN PATTERNS OF DEVOUT EXERCISES* at the end of the book).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135-45.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

<sup>26</sup> *WORSHIP*, pp. 180-3.

<sup>27</sup> Poulain, pp. 7, 21, 24.

<sup>28</sup> Possibly the change has become more marked even within the last century or so. I once read a vivid account (I cannot remember where) of the bringing of the news of Byron's death to a dinner-

party of hunting-men, who (and this was the point of the narrative) were, one and all, moved to tears. Would this happen in the Quorn country to-day?

<sup>29</sup> HOLY WISDOM, p. 367: cf. 433.

<sup>30</sup> de Besse, THE SCIENCE OF PRAYER, E.T. p. 36.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 366-77.

<sup>32</sup> i.e., without discursive preliminary.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 434.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 434-5.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 444.

<sup>37</sup> Some of these Acts were derived from Blosius; cf. those printed in A BOOK OF SPIRITUAL INSTRUCTION (tr. B. Wilberforce, 1925, pp. 190 ff.).

<sup>38</sup> HOLY WISDOM, p. 567.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 618.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 577.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 615-6.

<sup>42</sup> e.g. Newman's, printed in the TRACTS FOR THE TIMES and republished in book form in 1843.

<sup>43</sup> See also W. L. Knox, MEDITATION AND MENTAL PRAYER, pp. 75-83.

<sup>44</sup> These Acts were the work of Fr Longridge, S.S.J.E.

<sup>45</sup> Or, it may be, "reaching *down* upon . . . the idea of God *within*."

<sup>46</sup> HOLY WISDOM, p. 114.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 436.

# THE NEW LECTORY

By **DOUGLAS HILL**

IT has been justly claimed that the Church of England is the most scriptural Church in Christendom. In such a Church the lectionary is something of prime importance. And the revision of the lectionary is not something to be entered upon lightly or inadvisedly. The lectionary can greatly enrich or impoverish the Church's life and worship. The Church of England has been uneasy about the choice of lessons for many years. And the present confusion of lectionaries testifies to an urgent desire for a more wisely ordered scheme of the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church's worship.

Although a just estimate of the New Lectionary of 1955 cannot be made until it has been preached and prayed for some time, a first examination gives good reason to think that it will supply us with what we have been looking for. The lessons, and this includes the Sunday lessons after Trinity, are arranged according to a rational scheme which can be easily grasped. The confusion of alternatives has been swept away. The layman can know beforehand what is to be read and make it a basis of private prayer and meditation in the same way as the Epistles and Gospels. He will no longer be at the mercy of the personal choice of the minister. But in this connection it would be a great advantage if the practice of the Irish Prayer Book were followed and the references of the Sunday lessons printed with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel of the Day.

One of the great merits of the new scheme is its simplicity in spite of the two-year basis of the Sunday lessons. The series of readings from Advent to Trinity does not differ greatly, at least in principle, from the Revised Lectionary of 1922 (1928). "The Advent series has the general theme of prophecy of and preparation for our Lord's coming . . ." The invariable First Lesson (years I and II) for Mattins on Advent I, is Isaiah 1. 1-20. The invariable First Lesson for Evensong, Advent IV, is Isaiah 40. 1-11. The latter is an innovation and a good one. The Second Lessons for Mattins, Year I, are Matthew 24 and 25. The Second

Lessons for Mattins, Year II, are the letters to the Seven Churches. Rev. 2 and 3, and on the Fourth Sunday there is the Final Harvest. Rev. 14. 13—15. 4. At Evensong on Advent II, in both years, the theme of the written Word of God is skilfully combined with the themes of preparation for the Judgement and preparation for the Incarnation in 2 Tim. 3. 14—4. 8 and Luke 1. 1-25. In Year II the Second Lesson for Advent IV at Evensong is the story of the Annunciation.

“In Christmastide, the story of the Incarnation concludes on the octave day with morning lessons about circumcision and its true meaning, while a New Year theme of God’s commands and Christian duty occupies the evening. Epiphany brings the general subject of manifestation foreshadowed in prophecy. There are two sets from Isaiah in the first year, while Amos and Micah are read in the second. The New Testament lessons speak of ‘Christ in the Church’ (Ephesians) and recount miracles manifesting divine power; a series from St John shows our Lord manifesting himself in work and teaching. In Septuagesima we see the purpose of God moving forward from creation to redemption and final triumph. After the Fall come stories of the patriarchs by which the earliest revelation of God to man is depicted. The New Testament lessons open with worship of the Creator, the new heaven and earth, and the summing up of God’s purpose in Christ in the words of St John’s prologue.”

In the choice of lessons for Septuagesima there is cause for some slight regret. It was always rather pleasant that the riches and beauties of the old creation could be paralleled with the vastly greater beauties of the new. In the 1922 Revised Lectionary we could read in the first lesson at Evensong of “the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyx stone”, and in the second lesson read of the heavenly city that “the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second sapphire, etc., etc.” In an age of austerity we do not have the jewels of the first creation, for Genesis 2. 10-14 is snipped out. The splendours of the new Jerusalem are now, and appropriately, in an Eastertide lesson.

“Through Lent there are the parables of redeeming love and

passages concerning the heavenly High Priest in the morning, and the Passion according to St Mark and St Luke in the evening." During Year I it is St Mark's Passion and during Year II it is St Luke's. Here the two-year scheme is a real enrichment.

"For the great weeks from Passion Sunday to the octave of Easter the traditional lessons are retained." There is, however, one odd excision. The lesson from St John 20 for Easter evening ends at verse 18. The account of the Lord's appearance and commission to the Apostles on Easter evening is omitted. Is it because the passage is read as the Gospel for Low Sunday? The American Prayer Book has the same omission; and the Amended Table ("A" and "B"), in the year in which it is permitted to read the passage, puts verses 19 to 23 in brackets. It seems to be an unnecessarily austere piece of pruning.

"For the remainder of Eastertide there are the stories of Israel's progress from Egypt to the promised land; examples of our Lord raising the dead; his appearance by the lakeside, and his parable of life beyond the grave; apostolic witness to the Resurrection, and the Seer's great dream of the glories of the final triumph of the kingdom of God."

Perhaps the real test of the New Lectionary is its choice of lessons for the Sundays after Trinity. It was here most of all that "A" and "B" broke down and drove many of us back to 1922. The new plan is straightforward and intelligible. The Trinitytide lessons are divided into two parts. The division takes place between Trinity 10 and 11. "In general, the first ten Sundays are devoted to the history of God's people under the Old and the New Covenants. On the subsequent Sundays we pass to sets of lessons presenting the teaching of God's people." There is the possibility that the rather long course of the Acts of the Apostles combined with historical books of the Old Testament may prove dry fare. But only actual use will show if this is so. It may have the good effect of bringing home the importance of the Church and the continuity of the new Israel with the old.

Wisely and properly, just for once, alternative lessons from the fully canonical books of the Old Testament are provided for Sundays when readings from the Apocrypha are prescribed. There is the possibility that if the lessons were read at home or at a cottage meeting a Bible with an Apocrypha might not be available. There is also the need to provide for those who might feel that the

Apocryphal books were not truly part of the Word of God. But it is curious how the fashions about what is suitable for public reading change. Joseph and Potiphar's wife are out (for Sunday reading), but David and Bath-sheba are in (Trinity 8, Year I, E.). In 1871 and 1922 the story of Potiphar's wife was reckoned an edifying cautionary tale.

The "Lessons proper for Holy Days not included in the foregoing Table" follow in the main 1922. The few alterations are obvious improvements. St Barnabas now has a nice lesson from Tobit, 4. 5-11, about almsgiving. The Nativity of St John Baptist has the appropriate parallel of Judges 13. 1-7—the angel and the conception of Samuel. On St Mary Magdalene's Day the quite inappropriate Proverbs 31. 10-31 goes—"A virtuous woman who can find? For her price is far above rubies"—and we have Isaiah 25. 1-9, "He hath swallowed up death for ever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces." For the Transfiguration, Elijah is brought in as well as Moses by Ecclesiasticus 48. 1-16. This as a summary of the prophet's life and works is a better choice than the still small voice story which is in any case used on three other occasions. At Mattins on All Saints's Day the superb 2 Esdras 2. 42-8 is introduced: "Then said I unto the angel, what young person is it that crowneth them, and giveth them palms in their hands? So he answered and said unto me, It is the Son of God, whom they have confessed in the world. Then began I greatly to commend them that stood so stiffly for the name of the Lord."

In this group of lessons First Evensongs are limited to two major feasts of the Blessed Virgin—the Purification and the Annunciation—and the Transfiguration and All Saints. This is a valuable underlining of what is important, and a useful simplification and a minimizing of the interruption of the ordinary course of the lessons. How many clergymen when they have read their office suddenly realize that it should have been a First Evensong? It is interesting to compare with this the new Roman rules. According to these First Vespers are abolished except for Sundays and greater feasts, and this is only a step towards *plenam simplificationem*. First Evensongs are a survival from the Jewish reckoning of the day from sunset to sunset, and, strictly speaking, if you keep a First Evensong you should not keep a Second. Of course, the Church, if she wishes, can have the best of both

worlds, Jewish and Gentile, but there is no reason why she must do so on every occasion. The revisers have however had qualms at the last, and there is an appendix: "A Table of Lessons for use at the First Evensong of certain Holy Days should Convocation so order."

The weekday portions of the New Lectionary are a revision of the Revised Lectionary of 1922. The whole of the Book of Revelation is now read. "It will now begin on the Monday evening before Advent, so that it is concluded on the day before the fourth Sunday in Advent." This is an important and necessary improvement. "As it is a closely knit book from the standpoint of literary construction, omissions do violence to its structure." Another considerable improvement is that in Trinitytide "the attempt to conflate the first three Gospels which occupied the Revised Lectionary from Trinity Monday to the day before the eleventh Sunday after Trinity has been abandoned . . . St Mark, as the basis of the synoptic Gospels, is here read first, followed by St Luke and St John. St Matthew is read in January. This leaves room for a second reading of Hebrews, which in the Revised Lectionary is read only at Ascensiontide . . . Acts is read a second time and the week of the 26th Sunday after Trinity is used for the Lucan eschatological passages now transferred from Christmas week." This might seem to some to give rather too much of the Acts when the Sunday readings from this book in the Trinity series are taken into account.

It is much to be desired that the question of lessons for the *Thanksgiving for the Institution of Holy Communion* and the *Commemoration of All Souls* may be reconsidered. It would be felt by many to be a real loss not to have them among the "Lessons for Special Occasions". The Amended Lectionary provided excellent lessons for All Souls, although even here there was an odd omission: 2 Tim. 1. 8-14 should surely read 2 Tim. 1. 8-18. As it stands, "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day" is left out.

On the whole this New Lectionary is a really valuable piece of work. We may well hope with the compilers that it will be "well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable and conscientious sons of the Church of England."

## CORRESPONDENCE

## THE PRIEST-WORKMEN

SIR,—May I point out that a gross injustice has been done to the late R. P. Sertillanges, O.P., by the writer of the article "The Tragedy of the Priest-Workmen in France" in your July-September issue. He writes: "The tragic impossibility of harkening to the voice of conscience in Roman Catholicism has been clearly stated by Sertillange (*sic*): 'We are submissive to the Church, and must thus be prepared not only to suffer for the Church—that goes without saying—but also to suffer through the Church; that is the last witness.'"

I do not, of course, attribute to you, Sir, the view that it is impossible to harken to one's conscience in Roman Catholicism, but am writing to protest again such a "bearing of false witness against thy neighbour" being attributed to Sertillanges, whose words neither state (let alone clearly), nor imply any such thing.

Yours, etc.,

MARTIN HANCOCK

Dr Zander has seen the above letter and writes as follows.—*Ed.*

SIR,—I was very astonished to learn from the letter of Mr Martin Hancock that I did a gross injustice to the late Fr Sertillanges and bore a false witness against my neighbour. Unfortunately I have lost the reference of my quotation. I know only that I took it from a reliable Roman Catholic journal. Trying to find the original I asked a learned Roman friend; and he told me that the quoted words became a sort of proverb among French Catholics. As to their interpretation I would advise my critic to read the article in *Activité Religieuse* of 15 February 1954. He will find there a tragic description of the conflict between conscience and obedience.

It is possible, however, that the remark of Mr Hancock is based on inaccuracy of the translation. In the original text I speak about one special case of the "tragic impossibility" and so on. In the English version it can seem that such a tragedy is considered by me as a general rule. Such a monstrous idea came never in my mind. But I maintain my assertion that in the case of priest-workers, the priest-workers themselves as well as the French hierarchy faced a terrible and tragic problem which was formulated by Fr Sertillanges when he felt himself in the same situation. I can assure Mr Hancock that there was no hostility against the Roman Church in my article but an attempt to understand and to analyse the situation which I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. It is possible that my critic does not realize the acuteness of this problem.

Yours very sincerely,

L. ZANDER

## REVIEWS

## CICERO AS A PHILOSOPHER

THE HUMANISM OF CICERO. By H. A. K. Hunt. Melbourne University Press. 30s.

THE bulk of Dr Hunt's 200-page book consists of a fairly detailed analysis and discussion of those philosophical works which Cicero composed during the last two years of his life, the *Academica*, *De Finibus*, *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, and *De Officiis*. Their reputation during the centuries has undergone surprising vicissitudes. Few people to-day read them for their philosophy; most are content with the view that Cicero was merely exercising his pen and distracting his mind with an interesting problem in translation, that his thought (in philosophical matters) was shallow, and that he was incapable even of understanding the philosophical questions which his Stoic and Academic sources were arguing about, let alone of producing an answer or a sensible contribution to the discussion. The most that he is credited with is the humble function of preserving in his pages a great deal of information about the teaching of Academic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean thinkers, of which we should otherwise know very little. And yet Saint Augustine avows that Cicero's lost *Hortensius* (not, presumably, vastly different from his extant philosophical works) altered his whole life and outlook for the better; and I suspect that in far more recent times, (before classical studies became the preserve of the specialist), "Tully's Offices" have set many readers pondering profitably on ethical problems.

Dr Hunt has no illusions about Cicero's acuity of thought, but he makes out a good case for believing that all the philosophical works were written with a master plan in mind. "Cicero's purpose was to examine the Posidonian doctrines (i.e. the Stoic denial of human freedom) in his group of theological and cosmological works after stating in the *De Finibus* and *Tusculan Disputations* the problems in ethics raised by Antiochus [who made the attainment of morality dependent on human efforts] and before giving his verdict in the *De Officiis*. Cicero's plan may be summarised thus. In the first stage, the *Academica*, he intended to describe the direct contest between the New Academy and Antiochus over the problem of perception. In the *De Finibus* and *Tusculan Disputations* he would narrate the conflict of Antiochus against certain aspects of Stoic ethics, standing outside the dispute and coming in only towards the end of each work to hint his own view. In the cosmological and theological works he would attack the Middle Stoic physics for their denial of freedom. Then in the *De Officiis* he intended to revert to the ethical problem raised in the *De Finibus* and *Tusculan Disputations* and to end by

his own statement of ethical standards for the ordinary man of imperfect understanding."

Dr Hunt devotes a chapter to each of the works (except that the *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, and *De Fato* are taken together), summarizing Cicero's argument, discussing his sources, criticizing their (and Cicero's) thought, and, what is most important for his particular purpose of showing Cicero's plan in action, making clear the connection of each work with that which preceded and that which followed it. A considerable task; and the reader is sometimes tempted to wish he had gone more fully into some of the subsidiary problems which the task gives rise to. An interesting book could be written on the philosophy of such Academics as Carneades and Antiochus and the extent to which they were arguing about the same problems as the philosophers of to-day. But on the whole there can be no doubt that Dr Hunt is right to limit himself to the scale he has chosen. A more detailed treatment would make it very difficult to keep the necessary bird's-eye view of the problem as a whole.

Dr Hunt concludes with a chapter on the humanism of Cicero. It is this to which the other chapters have been leading (rather as the earlier works of Cicero led up to the *De Officiis*) and, valuable and necessary as the earlier chapters have been, the general reader, who may well have been wondering to what the book owes its title, will probably find the last chapter the most rewarding. "Cicero", says Dr Hunt, "had a coherent system and it deserves the name of humanism because it was concerned with man first and foremost and with other things only in so far as they were relevant to man's position in the world. First it inquired into man's nature, the validity of his perception, the nature of his highest virtue, the condition of his happiness, the degree of his freedom and his relation to the forces which control the world; it ended by asserting a theory of freedom and a rule of conduct enjoining the highest respect for man and systematically based on the theory of human nature." We might call the system humanism also because it comprises rules of conduct which do not need divine sanction; it is independent of the belief that God exists.

Nevertheless, unlike the modern humanist, Cicero appears to believe genuinely in the existence of God, and, following the *Timaeus*, to have attributed all that is good to a creator; but, as Dr Hunt says, "Cicero's retention of the Platonic confusion between the conceptions of God as artificer and God as father of the world prevents him from reaching the position of Christianity. Christianity has an answer to the naturalistic humanist. The criticism which the latter makes is that to suppose a God wholly other than man implies ends beyond time and raises an impassable barrier between man and God: for the means intended to achieve them, being temporal, cannot be linked by a causal or logical continuity with the ends. Against this Christianity can oppose the argument that its doctrine of incarnation implies a God who is not 'wholly other' but is yet above man: man shares the

divine nature, and the divine part of him, the soul, is different from the material."

Thus, to the Christian, Cicero's humanistic ethics, though inevitably less satisfactory than the teaching of orthodox Christianity, are far superior to the arid doctrines of modern atheistic humanism, and we can well understand his influence on Saint Augustine. *De Officiis*, the fine flower of Cicero's ethics, was written while he was girding himself for the final struggle with Antony; and we may well believe that, as Cicero elaborated his variations on the austere theme that nothing can be expedient unless it is right, he was not only writing words that would do practical good to posterity but also, perhaps without knowing it, building up his own resolution to die in such a way as would cancel the memory of certain less heroic episodes in his earlier career.

R. S. STANIER

## APPROACH TO ETHICS

**MORAL JUDGEMENT.** By D. DAICHES RAPHAEL. Allen & Unwin. 16s. In face of the general moral confusion of this generation we stand in great need of help from every source to make our ethical teaching at once coherent and persuasive. The unsystematic nature of Biblical ethical thought may seem to increase our difficulties. Even where the underlying principles of Biblical ethics are coherent enough, their presentation does not always make this immediately obvious. The temper and style of much modern ethical writing is too oracular and emotional to be always helpful in the endeavour to make our own moral convictions impregnable to the prevailing scepticism.

This sober, patient piece of work by the Senior Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Glasgow provides a salutary mental discipline. He demonstrates how to approach and work one's way through the problems of ethics. Whilst religion and the Bible receive little mention, the book nevertheless will enable many of us to go back to our Bible and to discover and present its moral teaching far more effectively.

At one time or another we all ask ourselves whether we can trust, and whether we can verify, our moral judgements. Mr Raphael is quite sure that we have as our primary data the moral judgements that are in fact made in ordinary life; and further that the task of the philosopher is to draw out and systematize the implications of these judgements. The goal of philosophy is to unify. Attempts at unification in moral philosophy have centred round two concepts, the Right and the Good, and their relations to each other. This writer regards "Obligation" as the primary moral concept, in relation to which others find their place.

The book falls into two parts, The Logic of Morals, and The Metaphysic of Morals. Logic is concerned with the relation of thought to thought: Metaphysic with the relation of thought to fact.

It is under the second heading that Mr Raphael develops his theory of moral obligation. "I am saying that an obligation (and therefore a claim) depends on the thought of certain, real or supposed, natural facts which, as we say, give rise to the obligation." Obligations form part of the relations between persons who are to be regarded as ends-in-themselves.

This strong emphasis on personality is wholly in accord with Christian thinking. Into the account of the relation of person with person could be woven many of the most distinctive Christian ideas. Since we regard God as personal we could find illustration of the element of obligation in religion. Israel was bound to God by gratitude, in a covenant. Gratitude for past services is singled out by Mr Raphael as typical of one form of obligation—that which is based on past acts.

Besides these "obligatory acts of specific incidence" there are "obligatory acts of general incidence"—or "obligations of social morality". These arise from the needs of the persons constituting society. The Welfare State is based on the conception that we are able so sympathetically to imagine the needs and interests of others that we fall under an obligation to supply those needs and promote those interests. And in these pages we find many acute observations on the moral problems which have been pushed into the forefront by the social legislation of modern times.

It will be plain from what has been said that Mr Raphael owes a great deal to Kant's theory of ethics: and that for him morality's task is to attach value to persons.

Having very briefly sketched the main theme of this book I shall pass to mention certain sections of the discussion which I consider notable for penetrating insight and luminous exposition.

1. The nature of justice, equality, and liberty. His discussion of the elements involved in theories of punishment is a model of lucidity. Punishment has utility as safeguarding the interests of society by acting as a deterrent: as *merely* the infliction of pain it could have no justification. On the reformatory value of punishment Mr Raphael appears to have his doubts.

But he is perfectly clear that the claim of social utility is always a valid claim; and that guilt involves forfeiture of the claim to be treated as an end; and that the infliction of punishment is a matter for the State, not the individual.

Liberty is the right of the individual to pursue his own interests unhampered and unmolested, except when they conflict with the interests of other members of society. The maintenance of the interpersonal bond which constitutes society is a paramount obligation. Also the individual's wishes must not be "contrary to any moral injunction".

The meaning of equality is fully discussed on pp. 79-94. For its quality I shall content myself with one quotation: "The cry for equality is really a cry against unjustified inequality . . . We try to

make up for the natural inequality and to give the handicapped, so far as possible, equal opportunities and equal satisfactions to those possessed by the non-handicapped. We think that they have a claim to this."

2. The practical difficulty of conflicts of obligation is one for which Mr. Raphael feels he has no adequate solution. But he puts forward a suggestion which Christian thought can well take up and develop. Using as the basis of his account of obligation the sympathetic imagination of the moral agent, he suggests that "the strongest obligation is that which we think an ideal moral agent would actually feel most strongly". Surely in regard to ethical problems we think of Jesus Christ as the ideal moral agent, and study the Gospel records to discover how he felt and reasoned when confronted by life's dilemmas.

3. The final chapter on *Ethics and Science, the Problem of Free Will* is masterly. Mr Raphael is certain that there can be no ultimate clash between fields of knowledge. He points out that the very notion of cause involves purposeful action: that there are laws which do not imply 100 per cent regularities of sequence—e.g. psychological "laws" of behaviour. Determinism requires that in human conduct there should be this 100 per cent regularity of sequence; and thereby fails as a theory of conduct.

I trust enough has been written to show that this is a book to be read and pondered by all seriously interested in Moral Philosophy.

C. J. BARKER

## MONASTICISM

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. Vol. II: The End of the Middle Ages. By DOM DAVID KNOWLES. Cambridge University Press. 45s.

DOM David Knowles, whose recent accession to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge has been welcomed with due appreciation, contributes in this volume the second instalment of a work which has resolutely refused to be anything less than a trilogy. It is a way which books have unless their authors possess the characteristics which Lady Macbeth desiderated in her husband. But at any rate there will be pages which enable him to show that he knows how to "mingle with society" and even with "the English epicures". And if the result seems at times singularly uneven and almost distracting there are sections which furnish what the Vulgate makes the prophet (Isa. 25.6) call *convivium vindemiae pinguium medullatorum* even if not always *convivium defecatae vindemiae*. The volume is divided into two parts: I. "The Historical Framework" (sc. 1336-1485), Chapters I-XVI; II. "The Institutional Background", Chapters XVII-XXVI, with a final Retrospect and three noteworthy appendices on "Chaucer's Monk", "Henry V and the Westminster Recluse", and "Regulars as Bishops". The Contents Table describes the first chapter

with presumably unconscious humour as "The Opening of the Period—The Benedictine Constitutions and their Sequel—the Black Death". Others Chapters in this section deal with "Developments within the Orders" including "Cistercians, Carthusians, Premonstratensians, Carmelites, the Austin Hermits, on the fortunes of the Cluniac houses and the alien priories". To these are added such topics as Monks and Canons at the University, 1300-1450, Monks and Friars in controversy, trends in speculation (Ockhamism, justification, and grace), criticisms of the Religious and Spiritual life of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the loosening of discipline and the second century of Visitation, 1350-1450, with some account of patrons and architects: Ely and Gloucester and King Henry V as I. The Monastic Founder, II. The Monastic Reformer, and two even more vivid chapters containing "Portraits of Monks" including eleven separate studies and a discussion of the friends and foes of Margery Kempe—one of the few concessions to femininity in the book for reasons which are explained but leave a real gap. But roughly speaking, the *farrago libelli* manages to include almost the full connotation allowed by the poet. Almost, but not quite; for even with occasionally stringent compression there are limits to what can be done in 228 pages. Three illustrations of its manner may perhaps be pardoned:

"Wigmore, himself a craftsman, engaged the services of a group of masons from the Severn valley whose resource in dealing with structural problems had already been shown in the inverted arches devised to shore up the central tower at Wells and in the high aisles and transoms of St Augustine's abbey at Bristol. The work at Gloucester was on a far larger scale and wholly original in design" (p. 36).

"Wessyngton, who hailed from a village known in later centuries as Washington, bore a name the fame of which a future scion of the house was to carry to the ends of the earth, and was entitled to a blazon—gules, two bars, in chief three mullets or—which was in a derivate form to have a future greater than that of the eagle of Habsburgs. He was sent as a young monk to Durham College, of which he appears as bursar in 1398, and for which he wrote a tract vindicating its exemptions from the control of the *prior studentium* appointed by chapter, on the grounds that it had been in existence before the office of prior had been instituted. He must therefore have been born soon after 1370" (p. 191).

"Those who deplore the light that pours in floods from east window and clerestory may not have made a sufficient effort to be consistent in imagining the sanctuary of Gloucester as it was in the days of Abbot Frocester. It would indeed be difficult to find a more admirable setting for a pontifical mass [Abbot Frocester was the first to obtain the use of *pontificalia*] than that spacious pavement bathed in light that would have fallen upon the cloth of gold, the lawns and linens and damask, the silver candelabra and the

rising clouds of incense. And perhaps only those who have known by long experience year in, year out, what rest is given by natural light to eyes tired by glare and shadows will feel the full refreshment of Gloucester choir, and only those who have watched the dawn stealing upon the end of a long Office—*lux intrat, albescit polus, Christus venit*—will know how the shafts of June sunlight over Cleeve brought hope and faith to many who saw that great window gleam in the level rays" (p. 37).

Like the too lenient estimate of Giraldus Cambrensis and too cursory one of Walter Map (damned as a "shallow atheist") or the effort to explain Wyclif as a pathological subject ("Restlessness and irritability are familiar symptoms of advanced arteriosclerosis") the above quotations may seem to suggest to readers that the author's findings — to quote himself in another and, as it happens, rather unfortunate connexion — "though valuable cannot be pronounced definitive" at least in all cases. But then, it may be said, "whose can in so vast a field?" And in any case his account of budding ecclesiastics at Oxford and the more elaborate portrait-studies of men like Thomas de la Mare, Uthred, and Simon Langham may well be a stimulus to further investigations. In regard to the results of visitations it is hardly necessary to add that a real effort is made to present a fair account. In the peculiarly characteristic rhodomontade of the "blurb", "the treatment avoids the unhistorical picture of the monasteries hastening to Niagara".

In the second part an effort is made to study in ten chapters such themes as recruitment, employment, and the horarium and numbers, the wage-system, the election and privileges of superiors and the public obligations of heads of houses, the monastic economy 1320-1480, literary work and monastic liberties, the monasteries and society including the claims of patrons, vicarages, the cure of souls, and schools. If students who have devoted attention to one or more of these topics in isolation can scarcely fail to detect gaps or points for criticism or to regret that the author's plan should have compelled him to compress the whole in 125 pages, ordinary generosity and common sense, even if it be as Voltaire said *pas si commun*, will debar them from withholding some measure of admiration at the achievement. Text and footnote alike are full of thought-provoking sentences, of which we may be allowed three from a single page (p. 245). "At Launceston . . . the canons had not only private rooms, but a house, dog, boy, herb-garden and dove-cot apiece; these were to be abolished". Recreation "has no part in the life of a Carthusian or Trappist at the present time". "As late as 1527 it was a charge at Malmesbury that chapter was held 'in lingua materna et non in lingua Romana'." By contrast we may put the citation on the previous page from Mr W. A. Pantin's invaluable **CHAPTERS OF THE BLACK MONKS** which shows that "in 1343 a certain number of private chambers are assumed to exist in each abbey, for certain classes, such as priors, retired superiors and doctors of theology are expressly allowed to have them" or as to language the

return cited from Professor Hamilton Thompson's *VISITATIONS OF THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN* which shows a formal complaint in 1525 that at Humberstone the abbot "compellat monachos suos in anglicis to [go] in the water to the calff of the legg or to the knee to fetche the hay owt off the water" (p. 237). Dom Knowles calls it "a surge of emotion that broke the bonds of a learned tongue" where familiarity with parallel examples from secular records might suggest a more prosaic explanation. Indeed at the risk of temerity it may be suggested that the extent not only of literary but even of linguistic capacity and achievement in monastic and quasi-monastic institutions has often been somewhat seriously over estimated. Nor is such a statement really incompatible with the laborious compilation of Manitius or the fruitful researches of M. R. James and others whom he inspired. In any case no re-adjustment of ideas in that direction would produce so startling an effect on the minds of some readers as the economic and social sections of this volume, especially in relation to the questions of *proprietas* and the details of administration for which it affords a series of illustrations individually striking and cumulatively quite remarkable in the impressions which they leave.

CLAUDE JENKINS

## THE PERSON OF CHRIST

THE FOUR GREAT HERESIES. By the Rt. Rev. J. W. C. WAND, D.D. Mowbray. 8s. 6d.

In this book, which comprises his Lent Lectures for 1954, Dr Wand enters the field of the early history of Christian doctrine, as he would point to the ideas which lie behind Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism, and the way in which such "bad theology" was excluded by the Church at her General Councils. We are indebted to him for a compact and fascinating study, which helps the reader to appreciate that Christian theology could not have reached its full and rich content had it not been for the challenge of those who dared to experiment.

In a useful introduction, attention is drawn to the divisions between Jew and Greek, and the consequent rise of two modes of thought. To those following Harnack's classification, Dr Wand gives the names "Adoptionist" and "Pneumatic", and shows how the extremes on either side were cut off as a result of early controversy. At the outset, too, the reader is called upon to notice the influence of the great sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, as these three centres of thought, each with its own distinctive point of view, sought to elucidate the belief that God is Three in One, and that Jesus is one Person, at once God and man.

What was at stake in the Arian controversy is emphasized in the contrast drawn between the teaching of Arius the intellectual and that of Athanasius the pastor; and though we miss extended reference

to the place of the West at the Council of Nicaea (325), the importance of the *homoousios* is duly stressed. The reaction which followed is given skilful treatment, and particularly useful is the consideration of the work of the Cappadocians, as these, "struggling after the idea of God as multiple personality . . . prevented belief in the identity of substance from losing altogether the distinction of persons". And space is found for a brief account of the Macedonian controversy.

A carefully-worded explanation of the meaning of the terms used in doctrinal debate stands at the beginning of the chapter on the Apollinarianism. At the same time, one could wish that the Alexandrians' use of "nature" (*physis*) in the sense of "person" (*hypostasis, prosopon*) in Christological discussion had received some examination; for it seems certain that when Apollinaris and Cyril speak of the "one nature" of Jesus Christ, they do not mean that after the Incarnation there is in him "only one resultant nature"—in fact, they explicitly state that the two elements remain the one and the other in the union—but that he is one Person (*physis*), namely, the Logos himself in his incarnate state. Thus what they would stress is the cardinal truth—of which so much is made in this study—that "the ultimate element of personality" in Jesus Christ is that of the divine Logos himself. But we would not minimize the value of what is said here on the error of Apollinaris—"the first to make a genuinely psychological approach to the examination of the Person of Christ"—or on the transactions of the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Church's condemnation of Apollinarianism.

From the "Pneumatic" Christology of Apollinaris, we are brought to the "Adoptionist" Christology of the Antiochenes. These, it is claimed, start from Christ's perfect manhood, and hold that the union of the divine and human natures lay in the region of will. Consequently, Theodore of Mopsuestia, with his theory of "a union according to good-pleasure", can be charged with teaching "two persons as well as two natures" in Jesus Christ, and "it is difficult to see how, in spite of his supreme effort to escape his dilemma, Nestorius can be acquitted of the same charge". But to others the evidence may seem to show that the primary interest of the Antiochenes lay, not in anthropology, but in soteriology, and that their starting-point is, not the manhood, but the divine Logos who, for men's salvation, united that manhood to himself in the Person of Jesus Christ, he being the one subject to whom the two natures belong. One may say, too, that the heat of controversy is hardly conducive to careful expression, and that the Antiochenes, confronted with Cyril's Anathemas (which themselves were not carefully explained), were assured that it behoved them to emphasize to the full their doctrine of "two natures". Consequently, their teaching on the unity of Christ's Person is relatively undeveloped, and, again in defence of the truth of the reality of the two natures, they lay stress on the idea of divine indwelling. As Dr Wand in his concluding pages so aptly puts it, the views of the three ancient schools can be summed up in the phrases, "God as man"

(Alexandrian), "God in man" (Antiochene) and "God and man" (Latin), and we shall agree that of these "God as man" comes nearest to an adequate summary of the truth that the Logos "was and remained the co-ordinating and directive element, the ultimate personality" in the Incarnation. But it would seem that the Antiochene "God in man" yields just what Dr Wand pleads as necessary in this connection: "any danger of minimizing the part played by the manhood is reduced as we consistently remember its perfection, and the perfect harmony between it and the Logos".

Like the Council of Ephesus (431), that of Chalcedon is reviewed in the light of its attendant circumstances, and the parts played by the "honest but stupid" Eutyches, Dioscorus, "the heir of the Cyrilline doctrine", and Pope Leo, who was "something of a theologian after the magisterial pattern of Rome at her best", are described with the historian's pen; as is also the sorry reaction after Chalcedon. In his discussion of the Chalcedonian doctrine, it is interesting to find that Dr Wand questions the Council's wisdom in giving its authority to Cyril's letters, and Leo's Tome, which represents two different points of view ("and in any case it is dangerous for a representative committee to tie itself to the *ipsissima verba* of a single person however eminent"), and suggests that it would have done better had it merely reaffirmed the Creeds and coupled with them its own definition of the faith. Of this he speaks in terms of high praise: while ruling out certain errors, the Council stated in the most positive way what it believed to be the truth about our Lord's Person; seemingly, it managed to combine together the three main Christologies of the ancient Church; in fact, Chalcedon set the standard of statement for the Church down to the present day. Yet it failed to establish the unity in the Empire so ardently desired by the political power. Did it deserve to fail? The answer is that in days which saw the growth of an independent spirit it never had a chance to succeed.

In an instructive epilogue, Dr Wand outlines the main features of recent thought on the Christological problem, and points to the foundations on which any modern answer, if it is to be satisfactory, must be built.

This is no dull book, which merely covers the ground. It is at once both illuminating and thought-provoking, and will be read with profit by the interested layman and the theological student alike. We hope that Dr Wand, now that he is relieved of his heavy task as Bishop of London, will be able to give us more of his thought and learning.

### GOSPEL ESSAYS

R. V. SELLERS

STUDIES IN THE GOSPELS: ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF R. H. LIGHTFOOT.  
Edited by D. E. NINEHAM. Blackwell. 30s.

If there was any substance at all in the philosopher's complaint last year that the irrelevant and esoteric verbiage of biblical scholars was

evidence of theological decadence, there is very much less now: if it has sometimes seemed to those who expect the stylistic achievements of J. B. Lightfoot or Streeter or Burkitt that our contemporaries do not even know "how to write a book," handsome amends have been made. Nowhere does the writing in this book fail for obscurity, while at times it soars to the masterly command of language which we expect from Dr Dodd and to the verve and lively lucidity of the editor. And could we not reasonably urge Christian philosophers that the essayists' conclusions, cautiously expressed though they are (as befits Dr Lightfoot's admirers), ought not to be passed over with a lordly indifference? Notably is this true of Dr Dodd's contribution, which shows that the narratives of the appearances of the Risen Lord cannot be distinguished, from the point of view of form, from other recognizable classes of narratives in the gospels, and that they merit an equal degree of critical consideration "not only in their aspect as witnesses to the faith of the early Church, but also as ostensible records of things that happened." Oddly enough, however, the single essay which explicitly relates its theme to the contemporary world is the only one to afford any justification for the charge of "underlining all that is most remote from the presuppositions and ideals of the twentieth century mind." In this essay Dr Sparks maintains that the popular idea of the universal Fatherhood of God, with its corollary of the brotherhood of all men, is alien to the teaching of Jesus—though it may be compatible, and "rightly" compatible, with Natural Theology; and even if one regrets the asperity of a criticism from Cambridge which pointed to this essay as proof of the "bankruptcy of the lexicographical approach," it remains true that evidence drawn from a wider field, including the Old Testament as well as Natural Theology, might "rightly" modify its point of view. As however there are preachers who reiterate in a minatory tone that men are sons of God only in virtue of their re-birth, it is useful to have all the material set out which, stated independently, appears to support this view, and enables a judgement to be made upon it.

STUDIES IN THE GOSPELS is in no sense the manifesto of a group, and the contributors do not accept all the opinions of their colleagues. Thus the view that St Mark implies a mission to the Gentiles is affirmed by Mr Fenton but denied by Dr Kilpatrick. And it would be interesting to know whether Dr Dodd has been convinced by Professor Nineham's attempted refutation of his famous article which made out the case for an order of events in Mark which was chronological; probably not, for there is a hint in the appendix to THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL that the pericope which Dr Dodd built up by joining together all the scattered notes of time and place in St Mark could be plausibly paralleled in St John. If this inference is legitimate, obviously Dr Dodd will not lightly abandon the principle. But the very variety of subject and treatment make this book gratifying witness to the vitality of pure New Testament scholarship in spite of

the mounting claims of patrology and the welcome revival of philosophical theology. It will be often referred to—though with the inconvenience attaching to a book of this calibre (and price) which has no indexes—which, incidentally, several other of Lightfoot's pupils would surely have gladly compiled during the course of the book's protracted travail-pangs!

The editor's brief memoir of Dr Lightfoot (which can be supplemented by some additional details in Mr R. L. P. Milburn's<sup>1</sup>) will be of great interest to all who read theology at Oxford from about 1934 till 1953. It is followed by twelve essays, arranged alphabetically by authors' names, though logically Professor Nineham's own essay should perhaps be read first, followed by Dr Farrer's and Mr Evans'; then might come two important essays on the Lucan writings by Mr C. P. M. Jones and Dr Lampe. The remaining contributions consist of Dr Dodd's examination, already referred to, of the narratives of the post-resurrection appearances; there is a comparison to demonstrate the theological similarity of St Mark and the epistles of St Paul the only surviving Christian writing composed before 70, by Mr J. C. Fenton; Dr Kilpatrick arrives by means of an investigation of linguistic usage at the conclusion already mentioned, which will be unpalatable to some who prefer a more adventurous method; Dr T. W. Manson argues that the messianic secret in the gospels is concerned not with the identity of the Messiah but with the nature of his task; Professor D. M. Mackinnon, in a short essay which contains two of the only three allusions in the whole volume to Roman Catholic scholars, writes on the fellowship meal as a biblical image; Mr L. H. Brockington discusses the use of *δόξη* in the LXX; and the book ends with Dr Sparks' study.

Readers are bound to react differently to such varied fare. Thus, while Abbot Butler, a supporter of Dr Farrer's main contention (that the Q hypothesis is mistaken), has nevertheless to admit that he finds himself "allergic to the type of argumentation which, here as elsewhere, Dr Farrer obviously finds congenial," at least four of the contributors to *STUDIES IN THE GOSPELS* would appear to welcome the kind of light which Dr Farrer is throwing on the manner of the composition of the gospels. Certainly many of his readers have in the past been so enthusiastically persuaded that they have been embarrassed by his subsequent retractions: they are therefore fortunate in having in this case what must surely be Dr Farrer's second thoughts already available in the previously published *ST MATTHEW AND ST MARK*. The present essay seems to the reviewer to be a convincing demolition of the hypothesis as it was expounded by Dr Streeter, and our only doubt is whether the possible objections to his own view, which as usual Dr Farrer willingly admits (though with just a slight air compounded of pain and surprise and which soon "melt away on examination") might not prove more obstinate in the hands of a living exponent of the four-document hypothesis. But at the very least we have been given a striking contribution in a field which had already become of

singular interest. The argument, that St Luke recognized the six-fold pattern which St Matthew had designed to answer to the Hexateuch, is corroborated by Mr Evans, who shows that Luke 9. 51—18. 14 remarkably corresponds in order and content with Deuteronomy, no doubt to give typological expression to the conviction (Acts 3. 22) that Jesus is the prophet like unto Moses, whose coming was predicted in Deut. 18. One or two of the parallels are strained, but the general picture is wholly compelling. And so we have an alternative to the Proto-Luke theory, which Lightfoot himself rejected<sup>2</sup>, though an article in the *Expository Times*, which described it as "extremely doubtful," was reprinted as chapter 8 of **THE GOSPEL MESSAGE OF ST MARK** with those words modified to: "It is, I believe, correct to say that the Proto-Luke hypothesis is less widely accepted on the Continent and in America than in this country."<sup>3</sup> Whether or not any apologetic motives are unconsciously at work in advocating or in denying the theory of a written source contemporary with Mark and perhaps rather less apocalyptic, it is certain that we are here far removed from the mere "isolated raids and attacks on (the) outposts" of "proto-Luke";<sup>4</sup> we have an alternative account of what an evangelist was; and some will think a much more credible one.

Two other essays which are likely to be influential for the future are those by Mr Jones and Dr Lampe. The former's finding of a kinship of outlook between Luke/Acts and Hebrews is altogether more plausible than a similar relation which Professor C. Spicq<sup>5</sup> alleges between Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel. One result of Mr Jones' detailed examination is that "we may find it possible to use the more systematic and thorough theology of Hebrews to amplify the rather jejune and nebulous theology of Acts." Dr Lampe would perhaps accept *jejune*: "St Luke cannot always make his theology entirely clear." But *nebulous*? "His theme of the activity of the Spirit in relation to the birth, life, death, and exaltation of the 'Prophet like unto Moses' and in the origin, life, and mission of the apostolic Church is impressive and ably worked out." It looks as if, after St Mark and St John, St Luke may now engage the interest of theologians; and, if so, we shall eagerly await the next English commentary on this gospel.

W. R. F. BROWNING

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. Cumberlege. 2s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> *HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION IN THE GOSPELS*, p. 164: "misleading and unnecessary."

<sup>4</sup> **THE GOSPEL MESSAGE OF ST MARK**, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., V. Taylor, *THE FORMATION OF THE GOSPEL TRADITION*, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *L'EPITRE AUX HEBREUX*, I, 102 ff.

## BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

THE LOOM OF GOD. By R. P. C. HANSON and B. HARVEY. A.P.C.K. (Dublin). 6s.

THE first edition of this little book was reviewed by Dr Phythian-Adams in these pages in July 1945. "Accepting the general conclusions of 'scientific criticism', the authors seek to commend, not in spite of them but through them, the veritable Christian study of the Old Testament", wrote the reviewer. "As an introduction to the right way of studying the Bible this is just the kind of thing we want. Here is real theology—Biblical Theology—expounded in simple language." THE LOOM OF GOD has now been reissued with a few small alterations; thus, we notice a passing reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls; the account of the meaning of faith and of Torah has been improved; and the authors appear to have thought better of their previous commendation (on page 89 of the first edition) of an allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs. The first part of the book discusses the forms in which God's revelation is made known. There is a chapter on accommodation, defined as "explaining a difficult thought in language which is necessarily simple, as the only language which the person concerned would understand, but which does not therefore express the full meaning of the thought," which, with the exception of the mistake mentioned below, is wholly admirable. An unembarrassed defence of the Genesis mythology in a chapter on Religion and Science is followed by chapters on the Tools of God, Prophecy, and The Last Things. Part II treats of the unity of the Bible by expounding the fulfilment in the New Testament of the manifold themes of the Old, which "form the basis for a 'progressive revelation' by God of Himself and of His relation to the world." So we have sections on the Bride, the Vineyard, the Kingdom; the Sacrificial System, the Temple, the Lamb, the Law; and in each case it is made clear how Christ fulfils the Old Testament anticipation. Our one complaint in this would be that the diverse themes are kept in too much isolation and that the fundamental theme to which they are all subsidiary, of suffering, death, and resurrection, is not adequately expounded at all.

In 1945 THE LOOM OF GOD set out to popularize what had been appearing in specialists' books and articles, and it fully merited all the kind words of Dr Phythian-Adams, for it was a pioneer work. Since then other introductions written from a similar point of view have been published, but there was still room for a new edition of this one. Undergraduates who are not satisfied with Dr Graham would be helped by it; and clergy who are neither Literalists nor Liberals can be assured that here is a book they can recommend to any educated person who wants to understand the message of the Bible.

A third edition however might possibly be able to take into account the following three criticisms :

1. On page 39 the authors are at pains to prove that an "unhistorical"

legend may be the means by which God conveys truth to his people. "We must banish from our minds", they italicize, "the absurd but popular idea that because a writer tells a story which is a fable or a legend he is therefore a liar or in any way dishonest." And as a modern example, the legend of St Philomena is cited. Yet in chapter IV of **THE CHURCH OF ROME: A DISSUASIVE**, Dr Hanson adduces the cult of the unhistorical Philomena as "another instance of the inability of the Roman Church to guide us to Christian truth." Dr Hanson cannot have it both ways!

2. Page 71: "We usually define the last things more exactly than has been done here so far, dividing them into death, judgement, hell and heaven, and modern scholarship has produced a single word to describe the whole subject, 'Apocalyptic' . . . which means, 'having to do with God's revealing of Himself at the last time'." This is a matter of terminology, for more often the word *eschatology* is used as a general term to cover the various biblical and non-biblical kinds of teaching about the last things, while *apocalyptic* is reserved for one form of eschatology, that is the dualistic and transcendental thought which, in its developments after 100 B.C. at any rate, ceases to be helpful for a discussion, as in **THE LOOM OF GOD**, on the eschatological hope for history. For "Jewish phantasy about a purely heavenly world, like certain forms of Christian millenarianism, represents essentially an evasion of the historical question" (W. Manson).

3. Page 18: "In the book of Revelation Christ is often referred to as 'The Lamb'. But how are you to explain this to the people of Greenland who have never seen a lamb in their lives, and to whom therefore the word lamb means almost nothing? You have to resort to accommodation; the missionary in such places refers to 'The Little Seal of God'; rather amusing to us, but quite serious and full of meaning to them: though not exactly correct, it is still the only way in which the thought can be conveyed to them." But what meaning, and what thought? How could such a biblical concept be understood apart from its Hebrew context? Do the authors mean to imply that the revelation may be divorced from the external forms in which it was delivered? But in any case they should not implicate the poor missionaries. Six years before the first edition of **THE LOOM** Dr R. Kilgour wrote in his **THE BIBLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD**: "For many years a story was circulated and repeated on many a Bible Society platform, stating that, as the Eskimos of Labrador had no word for 'lamb' translators had substituted a term meaning 'young seal' in the text of 'Lamb of God'. Moravian missionaries have exploded this myth over and over again. The Eskimo tongue, they tell us, may lack many words, and have to introduce a German term for 'lion' and the English word 'horse' (pronounced 'hokse'). It may call a chariot 'a sledge on wheels' and have difficulty in explaining some agricultural operations impossible in districts of snow and ice. But we are assured that it is quite capable of rendering St John's lovely phrase in words which suggest to the Eskimo reader what 'Lamb of

God' suggests to us." And five years before the second edition, Mr W. J. Bradnock wrote in his **NEW LIGHT FROM NEW TRANSLATIONS** (p. 18), "The story which has gained wide credence that the Eskimo version translates 'Lamb of God' by 'Little Seal' is entirely untrue."

W. R. F. BROWNING

## TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

**A HISTORY OF TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND 1800-1874.** By F. W. B. BULLOCK. Budd and Gillatt, St Leonards-on-Sea. 20s.

THIS book supplies a real need, and with such skill and thoroughness that the work will never require to be done again. There must be many interested persons who, like the present reviewer, thought they knew something about its subject, but will find under Canon Bullock's masterly guidance how partial and scanty their knowledge was. We were familiar with a number of trees in this particular wood; Canon Bullock shows how many more there are than most of us had suspected, though in drawing our attention to them he never loses sight of the wood itself. It is a fascinating study, and of great practical value for the present time. For the problem of finding and using the best methods of training for the Ministry is always with us; apart from certain broad principles we shall never reach finality. But the history here set before us is full of instruction and provides us with some trustworthy sign-posts.

The period covered by the book is comparatively short: 1800-1874: but it was of crucial importance. The author divides it into four sections, giving a chapter to each; I, 1800-1831; II, 1832-1845; III, 1846-1859; IV, 1860-1874. A fifth chapter deals with the handling of the subject by Convocation and by speakers at Church Congresses. There is also a very useful introduction, summarizing the relevant history from 1539 onwards, and a ten-page appendix of short notes on training for the Anglican Ministry in countries other than England and Wales. Ireland and Scotland occupy the first two places here: thereafter the scope is world-wide.

One point on which Cranmer agreed with the Council of Trent was the need of seminaries in which vocational training should be given to the future priests of the Church. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury from 1689 to 1715, was probably the most successful and is certainly the best known of those bishops who endeavoured to give practical effect to Cranmer's plan in the period covered by Canon Bullock's Introduction. But other names deserve remembrance; notably Sir Thomas Gresham, and amongst the bishops, Morton of Durham, Hacket of Lichfield and Coventry, and the famous Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man, whose uncle Dr Richard Sherlock had done pioneering work in this connection during his twenty-seven years as Rector of Winwick. Bishop Burnet's aim was "to have a nursery

at Salisbury of students in divinity who should follow their studies and devotions" till the bishop could provide for them. He had ten students, and carried on the work at considerable expense to himself for five years. Its termination was due to the opposition of Oxford University, whose representatives regarded the bishop's undertaking as a vote of censure on themselves.

This exhibition of academic jealousy draws attention to a prolonged debate which has lasted in some form until very recent times: whether the training of ordinands should be left to the Universities, and if so, what steps should be taken to increase its adequacy. We have to remember that at the beginning of the period with which this book is mainly concerned Oxford and Cambridge were the close preserves of the Church of England; most of their teachers were in Holy Orders, and a very large proportion of the undergraduates were intending to be ordained. In 1800 there was no other place in which ordinands could be trained, with the exception of a small seminary at Ystrad Meurig, which provided a short course for the non-graduate ordinands of the diocese of St David's. The need for something better led Bishop Burgess of St David's in 1822 to found St David's College at Lampeter; this was one of several notable foundations in the period 1800-1831—St Bees in 1816; the C.M.S. College at Islington in 1825; Queen's College, Birmingham, in 1828; and King's College, London, in 1831. Side by side with these new foundations there was a considerable awakening at the Universities—most remarkably through the inspiring influence of Charles Simeon at Cambridge—and many plans for further improvements were in the air.

These tendencies continued strongly throughout the next period, 1832-1845 (chapter II), which also saw the beginning of the Oxford Movement. At Cambridge the most important practical reform was the institution of the "Voluntary Theological Examination" for graduates. Many plans were put forward for making the Cathedrals centres for the training of ordinands; and in two Cathedral cities—Chichester and Wells—Theological Colleges were founded. A still more ambitious achievement was the foundation of Durham University in 1832.

The continuation of the story from 1846 to 1859 (chapter III) includes two events which had a considerable, if indirect, influence on the whole movement—if that is not too definite a word—for improving the Church's methods of training her future priests; these were, first, the appointment of Royal Commissions to enquire into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and secondly, a similar enquiry by Royal Commission into the status and condition of Cathedral Churches in England and Wales. At Oxford a fillip was given to theological studies by the founding of the Dean Ireland Professorship in 1847, and at Cambridge by the establishment of the "Board of Theological Studies" in 1854. Elsewhere, Lampeter was "a struggling institution" at this period, but excellent progress was

being made at King's College, London, Queen's College, Birmingham, and St Bees. Wells Theological College flourished exceedingly under J. H. Pinder; Chichester was less fortunate. New foundations were St Aidan's, Birkenhead, in 1846; St Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1848; Cuddesdon in 1854; Lichfield in 1857: sufficient proof of the significance of this period for the whole life and work of the Church, and in particular for that part of it which is the immediate concern of this book.

The highlights of the last period, 1860-1874, covered by Canon Bullock's survey (chapter IV) are the institution of the Honour School of Theology at Oxford and the Theological Tripos at Cambridge; the abolition of tests at the Universities, a measure which radically altered their character; the foundation of six new Theological Colleges, of which four are still with us: Warminster, Salisbury, Exeter, Highbury, Gloucester and Lincoln; the unique work of Dean Vaughan with his "doves"; the setting up of a "Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders"; and the influence of Westcott and Lightfoot at Cambridge.

The last chapter, V, shows how the subject of training for ordination was handled from time to time in Convocation and at Church Congresses, and with what diversities of opinion. This review is of great interest, and makes one regret the extinction of Church Congresses, however true it may be that we spend far too much time in talking. Canon Bullock's own "Conclusion" provides an admirable finale to an admirable book.

ERIC BRECHIN.

## MOSAIC STUDIES

MOÏSE: L'HOMME DE L'ALLIANCE. Desclée et Cie. n.g.

THIS unusual collection of essays made under Roman Catholic editorship is unlikely to be generally distributed in the bookshops and so it may be of service to describe in some detail the contents of the volume. It had its origin in a special number of the *Cahiers Sioniens*, of which a previous special number, entitled *Abraham, père des croyants*, was published in 1951. There, an attempt was made "mettre en faisceau les principales données de l'Ancient et du Nouveau Testament et des traditions juives, chrétiennes et musulmanes sur Abraham . . . prendre conscience de nos racines communes, de tout ce qui lie, dans la foi et dans l'histoire, tous ceux qui se réclament de la Révélation biblique". This study of Moses presents a further praiseworthy attempt at "une confrontation pacifique et féconde".

The work is divided into six sections: I. *The Old Testament* (two essays): "Moïse devant l'histoire" (H. Cazelles) and "Moïse dans l'Ancien Testament" (A. Gelin); II. *Judaism* (three essays): "La vie de Moïse par Philon" (B. Botte) "La figure de Moïse au tournant des

deux Testaments" (G. Vermès), and "Quelques aspects de la figure de Moïse dans la tradition rabbinique" (R. Bloch); III. *New Testament* (two essays): "Moïse dans les évangiles et dans la tradition apostolique" (A. Descamps) and "Moïse et la Loi dans la pensée de Saint Paul" (P. Démann); IV. *The Christian Tradition* (four essays): "Moïse dans la tradition syrienne" (R. M. Tonneau), "Moïse exemple et figure chez Grégoire de Nysse" (J. Daniélou), "Moïse et les pères latins" (A. Luneau), and "Moïse figure du Christ et modèle de la vie parfaite" (J. Châtillon); V. *Liturgy and Iconography* (three essays): "Moïse dans la liturgie synagogale" (K. Hruby), "La fête de Moïse dans le rite byzantin" (J. Blanc), and "Sur quelques images de Moïse dans la tradition juive et chrétienne" (J. Leroy); VI. *Islam* (two essays): "Moïse dans le Coran" (Y. Mourbarac) and "L'expérience intérieure du prophète Mûsâ (Moïse) selon quelques traditions sufies" (L. Gardet). The book has ten illustrations, but no index.

Such a bare list of contents is sufficient to indicate that the editors have conceived and carried through the admirable idea of tracing the interpretation of a single historical figure in a continuous but changing religious tradition. These studies provide, therefore, a fascinating demonstration of the view expressed recently by Dr C. H. Dodd in the concluding pages of *According to the Scriptures*: "It is a thoroughly unhistorical proceeding", he wrote, "to attempt to read the biblical documents as if they were (let us say) newly discovered Ugaritic texts, coming to us out of a forgotten age, across an unbridge chasm of time. They have had a continuous life within the community to which they belong, and belonged from the first, in its changing forms, Israelite, Jewish and Christian. The Old Testament Scriptures formed part of the daily environment of the writers of the New Testament, as the writings of both testaments form part of our own daily environment in the Christian Church. The meaning of the writings cannot remain static while the life to which they belong changes with the centuries."

It was perhaps inevitable that the sixteen essays should differ in length and level of presentation, but when all allowances have been made it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that firmer editorial control would have improved the book. The interpretation of Moses in rabbinic Judaism is the subject of an excellent young monograph of some 75 pages, with an orderly description of the writer's method and sources and with much detailed documentation. Similarly, the study of St Paul's thought is substantial (55 pages), systematic, and of great interest, for example, to students of the thesis advanced by Professor W. D. Davies in *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* and (more recently) in his article on "Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come" (*Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph*, 1952).

On the other hand, what ought to be the crucial discussion of the attitude of Jesus to Moses and the Law is confined to a mere 17 pages, which contain little more than an uncritical assembly of texts. The Old Testament essays are again unequal and excessively brief.

Cazelles, writing on the "Moses of history", is conscious (as every scholar must be) of "la difficulté . . . de préciser ce que fut exactement son oeuvre personnelle, abstraction faite de ce que ses successeurs ont bâti sur le fondement qu'il avait posé", but to undertake the task at all is to commit oneself to tackling the difficulty in a more vigorous (and rigorous) spirit than may be found in this essay. One can only speculate as to how far the writer has been influenced by the letter of 16 January 1948, from the Secretary of the Biblical Commission, which spoke of the "profonde influence de Moïse comme auteur et comme législateur". He certainly takes the view that Moses was a scribe at the Egyptian court and that "on peut reconnaître des traces d'un travail mosaïque dessinant les premiers linéaments de cette grande oeuvre du Pentateuque". (A similar critical position—or lack of it—may be found in some surprising statements in a later essay about Moses' use of graven images.) The study by Gelin of the interpretation of Moses by the Old Testament writers makes greater use of critical analysis and is much more illuminating. But, as in the case of the gospels, the subject of this essay deserves more detailed treatment. It is hardly captious in a critic to take the view that more than 42 pages should have been allocated to the Old Testament evidence in a volume of over 400 pages devoted to the dominant figure of the Hebrew tradition. Nor is it a merely conventional gambit to complain of the lack of a biblical and subject index, when evidence from both the Old and New Testaments is discussed in more than one essay primarily concerned with other material.

The 30-page paper on the literature of the period between the testaments by Vermès is admirably done. It includes a brief but informative account of the place of Moses in hellenistic Judaism, Palestinian Judaism (including the Dead Sea Scrolls), Josephus, and the so-called "Biblical Antiquities of Philo".

In view of the current interest in typological interpretation, the essay on Gregory of Nyssa by Daniélou (whose *Sacramentum futuri* (1950) so clearly influenced the late A. Bentzen in *King and Messiah*) is a welcome piece of specialized study. Its significance in a volume such as this is indicated in the writer's concluding observations: "On peut juger, par cette étude d'un seul Père de l'Eglise, de la place que tient Moïse dans la pensée des Pères. L'étude d'Origène ou de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, d'Ambroise ou d'Augustin conduirait à des résultats analogues. On pourrait trouver des thèmes nouveaux; mais les lignes générales sont les mêmes."

It is in its contribution to the history and problem of biblical interpretation, which seems once again to be in the melting pot, that the importance of this ambitious book will be found. For this reason, the essays on the liturgical interpretation of the central figure of the Old Testament are particularly apposite. Whether Islam is embraced in this "confrontation irénique" must be judged by readers with more learning than

## CHRISTIAN ETHICS

ETHICS. By DIETRICH BONHOEFFER. S.C.M. Press. 21s.

THIS translation of Bonhoeffer's *Ethik* (Munich, 1949) forms part of the Library of Philosophy and Theology planned by the S.C.M. Press. When Bonhoeffer was arrested in April, 1943, for his share in the German resistance movement, parts of this major work, at varying stages of development, were hidden from the Gestapo. After the author's death in a concentration camp Pastor Bethge recovered the manuscripts and compiled them after a plan outlined by Bonhoeffer himself in 1940. This compilation forms the first part of the present volume, while the second part consists of separate essays.

Bonhoeffer's ethics are firmly rooted in the doctrine of justification by faith and the religious paradox, "I live; yet not I; but Christ liveth in me". The starting-point of Christian ethics is not, as with all other ethics, the conflict between what is good and what is real, but their identity in "the reconciliation, already accomplished, of the world with God" (p. 23). "It is implicit in the New Testament statement concerning the incarnation of God in Christ that all men are taken up . . . within the body of Christ and that this is just what the congregation of the faithful are to make known to the world . . . by their lives" (p. 72). Christian ethics is not concerned with a static imitation of Christ, or with the attempt to apply to the world certain "Christian principles" abstracted from the New Testament, but with being "drawn into the form of Christ".

This position involves several breaks with traditional ethics. There can be no division of life into spheres, whether it be the cloister and the world or the *regnum naturae* and the *regnum gratiae*, for nothing can lie outside the reality that is in Christ, and the Christian belonging wholly to Christ, "stands at the same time wholly in the world." The concept of the natural must be restored to honour in Protestant ethics as that which after the Fall is directed to the coming of Christ. Natural life has rights, given to it by God prior to its duties, one of which is the right to bodily life for the sake of the whole man. (In illustration of this point there follows a wise and Christian discussion of euthanasia, suicide, and birth control.) Conscience is not an autonomous arbiter of good and evil, but conscience and all principles and standards must be seen "in God". Scrupulousness is the mark of the Pharisee, anxiously striving with a "world of disunion, conflict, and ethical problems". Jesus is concerned only with the single concrete will of God, and he acts with simplicity and freedom. Ethics can only light the boundary of right and wrong; but the commandment of God is the element in which one lives, and implies freedom of movement and of action. Scripture mentions four mandates

<sup>1</sup> p. 253 mentions the mandate of culture and omits labour. The complete work would clearly have required a fuller treatment of the mandates.

or divine commissions, under which all men are to serve God: they are labour, marriage, government, and the Church (p. 73).<sup>1</sup> The commandment of God is always a call to action within these concrete situations.

The idea of conscience is thus subordinate to that of the response of the whole man to the whole of reality or "responsible action". Man cannot apply an absolute criterion of good to a situation from outside. He has to act within "the twilight which the historical situation spreads over good and evil". He is not isolated, but combines in himself the "selves of a number of human beings" and acts in "deputyship" for them (e.g., as father, statesman, or teacher), even as Christ bears within himself the selves of all men. He must act in accordance with reality, since all things consist in Christ, and must respect the particular law of being inherent in each thing and particular techniques, e.g., of diplomacy or administration. He must continually "prove" the will of God, to know each day how in his present situation he may remain *εὐχρηστῷ*. His responsibility is limited by conditions he did not create, which include the responsibility of others. Principle and convention may come into violent conflict with the "ineluctable necessities of the lives of men", and force upon him the hazard of responsible action, which implies both freedom and the readiness to accept guilt. The striking example of this is Bonhoeffer's own refusal of obedience to a decision of government which forced him to offend against the divine commandment. "The whole man, complete with his knowledge and his will, seeks and finds the good in the equivocal complexity of a historical situation solely through the venture of the deed." "The responsible man delivers up himself and his deed to God."

The validity of this approach to ethics can be tested only in the details of its exposition and of daily life. The difficulties raised by this book concern the theological formulations which underly the ethical ones. What does it mean to say that the will of God is "a reality whose purpose is to become real ever anew in what is in being and against what is in being" (p. 77), or that Christ has "borne and experienced the essence of the real in His own body" (p. 199)? Has the discarded notion of two spheres returned in the distinction between psychological and theological concepts (pp. 160, 176), so that the activity of the justified Christian is described theologically as "self-evident, joyful, sure and clear" (p. 150) while psychologically he is "a man of very complicated reflection" (p. 160)? These questions are not asked in a spirit of criticism. Indeed, it is a measure of the power of this book that it leads so directly to the central problems of Christian theology. It is the work of the 'true warfaring Christian', who through experience of the conflict of principles has been driven back to the one absolute loyalty, and who knows in his own life the relation between discipleship and the Cross.

Mr Horton Smith's translation is generally successful, but at times the German idiom retains too close a hold upon his English style.

J. M. BUBB

## JUDGEMENT ON MARXISM

THE BENT WORLD. By J. V. L. CASSERLEY. Oxford University Press. 21s.

How should a Christian regard Marxian Communism? This is undoubtedly one of the most difficult questions facing a believer in the world to-day, and one on which the Church has yet to speak with a united voice. On the one hand are those like Dr Hewlett Johnson, who appear to regard Communism as true Christianity lacking what one would have thought to be the essential element of Christ's Presence. Diametrically opposed to them are those, mainly across the Atlantic, who see in Communism only the League of the Militant Godless, who view the present as one more episode in the long struggle between the Children of Darkness and the Children of Light, and who are girding themselves for the Crusade behind the strangely unmessianic figure of Mr John Foster Dulles.

Most of us must find ourselves vaguely in the middle. We recognize Communism as an evil, though not as sheer black wickedness, as National Socialism was. We may agree with Archbishop Temple that Communism is a Christian heresy, but at the same time we recognize it for a far greater danger simply because of that fact. The heretic is always a far greater challenge to the Establishment than the outright pagan.

To this problem Dr Casserley has addressed himself in this book. He begins, as is only logical, with Communism itself, and with a devastating analysis of Marx's philosophy. In an outstanding passage, he manages to make dialectical materialism almost intelligible, and he exposes the real danger of Communism—not so much the nature of the particular economic system which it propounds, but the disrespect for the individual which it displays in propounding it.

"In opposing the challenge of Marxism", he says, "the Church must make it quite clear that it is defending not a particular economic system, however much there is to be said for as well as against it, but that conception of the dignity and responsibility of the human spirit which the Christian Gospel has revealed and which the Christian Church cannot cease to proclaim without betraying itself and its mission."

This sentence is the key to the whole problem, and, having removed the mote from the Communist eye, Dr Casserley turns, with considerable gusto, to dealing with the beam in our own. His main concern is to remove a conception which, unfortunately, is only too prevalent, that Christianity and democracy can be equated or that, as he puts it "Christianity is the religion of which democracy is the practice". Democracy is no more, at its best, than a good and useful social technique; Christianity is a complete way of life, and therefore something higher and deeper.

The two truths are then established; the Church cannot accept Marxism because it is neglectful, if not actually opposed to, the

dignity of the individual which is essential to Christianity, but, at the same time, it cannot identify itself with democracy because democracy is purely practical, lacking a higher spiritual side.

So far, so good. But having cast down the buildings, and prepared the ground for the builders, Dr Casserley goes off to hack down a lot more nearby structures allied to the democratic building, but not essential to it. It is all most entertaining and valuable reading—technics, economics, nationalism, and divorce are each riddled in their turn, and shown up for what they are—but it does not make a book.

Dr Casserley, in fact, is a wrecker. He can knock down what needs to be destroyed most effectively, but he offers nothing to put in its place. To the main question, with which I headed this notice, he either cannot or will not give an answer.

Should one consider this book then, as a critical study, from a Christian angle, of the two opposing forces in the world—Marxism and democracy—even though it is apparent, from the book itself, that this is not what the author intended it to be? Here again, the book must fail, because of its serious unbalance. There are 47 pages devoted to Communism; 177 devoted to democracy. Communism is treated on a broad basis; democracy in minute detail, but on a strangely selective basis. (After all, does democracy only consist of technics, economics, nationalism, and divorce?)

The explanation comes in the Preface; the whole book, it appears, is based on some unrelated essays and lectures, delivered at different times and places to totally different audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. The unifying theme is missing, and so, regrettably, the book fails. Yet it is a book well worth reading; it will spark many ideas in the mind of the reader which otherwise might never have occurred to him.

PETER KIRK

### CHRISTIAN LABOUR

POUR UNE THÉOLOGIE DU TRAVAIL. By M. D. CHENU. Editions du Seul. 330 francs.

POUR UNE THÉOLOGIE DU TRAVAIL by M. D. Chenu, the French Dominican, is a small work of about 100 pp. in the collection associated with the *Esprit* group of Christian liberals ranged around Emmanuel Mounier. The English analogue is the *Christian Frontier* and all its good works.

Chenu points out that while there is a "theology of war" there is as yet no "theology of labour". By a "theology" he means an organized and reasoned system of thought which looks at an area of actual human life and studies it as it really is, but from the standpoint of faith. The question he raises has close similarities to the old topic much ventilated in our own Christendom group—"Is there a Christian Sociology?"—a question which is being reopened in our own day with some vigour on the part now not so much of Christians with an interest in what the French felicitously call *La Condition Humaine*.

but by those who, trained in modern scientific sociology, are forced to relate their departmental study to some wider system in which it is impossible to exclude specifically religious truths—truths held, that is, not merely as grist to the sociological mill, as the last infirmity of noble minds, but truths by which the sociologist himself really lives.

The transition from the *workshop* to the *factory* has, according to Chenu, introduced a new notion into our Christian thinking about labour; and most of our ideas on the subject assume either that men are still "workers" in the old sense: or if they are not, that they ought to be. He wants us, with Maritain, to accept with both hands the "social revolution" and see in the working-class movement the opportunity for a new Christendom, in which the common good may be, not less, but infinitely more, adequately served, than in the old relations of workers and employers. Here at last, say they, is a chance for a truly priestly and sacramental attitude to the natural world. He deplores the religionist spirituality which has dominated so much Christian thinking and which has led to work being regarded as a necessary burden by which one wins time and opportunities for "the things of the spirit". In his rogues' gallery he includes St Augustine, St Bernard, the author of the *Imitation*, Pascal, and Descartes.

Chenu pleads for a more Aristotelian-Thomist approach to the question of spirit and matter. In Raphael's famous picture, *THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS*, now in the Vatican, the great philosophers are typified by two symbolic gestures. Plato points upward to some unseen world of the Spirit: but Aristotle points firmly downward. *Nihil in intellectu quod non prius in re*. Chenu wants us to follow Aristotle. In the new mood of despair and exasperation with the apparent intractability of "nature", many fine souls fly off to the "world of the Spirit" and either let the world go hang or attempt to live in uneasy dissociation in two dissimilar realms.

The formal and highly abstract manner of argument followed by Fr Chenu will not be wholly acceptable to English readers; but he is making an appeal which has never been entirely forgotten in our tradition. In our language we should call him a supporter of the Hooker-Maurice-Temple tradition in social thinking. He utters a warning that if Christians do not leave their medieval and paternalist traditions they will be left defenceless before the vivid and concrete explanatory idealism of Marxism, which speaks, and speaks clearly, to men as they are and where they are—while Christians utter vague hints to men where they are not, about what they ought to be.

This book, consisting of two essays, recalls the mood of high and creative "realist idealism" which animated much discussion during and shortly after the war: but from which there has been in recent times a sad and catastrophic decline. It is good to be summoned once again to this most necessary though exacting intellectual and imaginative effort by the French Dominican. He concludes with a short note on a passage of Maximus the Confessor, the seventh-century Father.

whose theology has been expounded with such brilliance recently by Urs von Balthasar.

He would have us treat history with true seriousness and see a proper dignity in the political task and its difficult struggle with the aspirations of natural communities. He wants us to see the democratic struggles as a real and serious effort towards fraternity and social justice. He wants us to see the technological revolution as the means by which the working proletariat to which we have grown accustomed as a feature of the old Capitalism will undergo a change as total as the liberation from feudal serfdom. He calls, with Maritain, for a "secular Christianity" which accepts the situation of Christians living amongst and sharing the responsibilities of a non-Christian or neutral culture: and he calls for an "adult laity" in the Church. The fact that this essay springs from the French situation and is not entirely true of our own should not lead us to ignore its high prophetic plea.

GORDON PHILLIPS.

## BODY AND SOUL

NEW CONCEPTS OF HEALING. By A. GRAHAM IKIN. Hodder and Stoughton. 12s. 6d.

THIS is an admirably planned and written book that is most timely, for it does what we have long wanted, summarizes the beliefs and practices of most of the more reputable agencies for Christian Healing. As the present reviewer is an official of the Guild of S. Raphael it would be both ungenerous and wrong to fail to note Miss Ikin's accurate account of the Guild's principles and activities. Indeed, her accuracy gives great confidence about the accounts of the work of other bodies.

The book is evidence of the great advance in thinking that has taken place in the field of study and practice which centres around the idea of wholeness. It is true that in many passages the emphasis is upon restoration of physical health, and one cannot regard as adequate or satisfactory the somewhat belated attempt towards the end of the book to face the problem of Christian suffering, but she can hardly be blamed for that. It is a deeply theological matter which only those who understand the Christian philosophy of St Thomas with its principle that all evil is ultimately negative, together with the New Testament assumption that we live a dual life here on earth in which evil appears as a positive thing, can attempt to explain. St Paul's assertion that he was filling up what was lacking in the sufferings of Christ is so often misunderstood because the text is not completed—for his *Body's sake, which is the Church*.

And it is here that an attempt to combine into one system the work of "the Churches" breaks down. The Guild of S. Raphael shows an incomparably more tidy and satisfying picture of healing than the others simply because its basis is not the Churches, but the One Body

of Christ. This is not to dispute the validity on their own levels of the others, nor to deny the amazing progress of almost all Christians towards the understanding of the Body Mystical, which the Church of England herself has so recently come to see with any clarity. But healing must in the end be what the Lord Jesus showed it to be, integration into himself, the Son of Man, Humanity as God first designed it. The doctrine of the redemption of the world by the re-entry of the Human Being, who should draw all men unto himself, is, of course, the basis of the real gift of wholeness.

Miss Ikin describes the work of various healers, especially women, and the theories they themselves propound of the nature of spiritual action. We could not accept their quasi-material idea of spirit on two counts. First, it destroys the nature of a sacrament, and, more important, the sacramental character of human life, to think of spirit as a rarer kind of matter or as like an electric force. It may be that the border between matter and spirit often seems narrow, but spirit is not matter, nor matter spirit. But, secondly, and this is really important beyond anything else we believe, healing can only come through the One Spirit, the Spirit of Jesus, God the Holy Ghost, who indwells the Mystical Body of Christ into which all men must be integrated in order to achieve wholeness of life. God may work, as it were, on the horizontal plane by his general spirit, *moving on the face of the waters, and sweetly ordering all things*, and so give a measure of health on the natural level, but full humanity, wholeness of life, can only be by him of whom we think, as it were, on the vertical plane, breaking into life as the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, embodied in the Church, his mystical Expression. It is, therefore, a pity that the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity should have a small *s*, but that is inevitable when we think of the *Churches*.

The author's wholehearted belief that priests, psychotherapists, and doctors must combine, and that all are ministers of God in their benevolent work of healing, is splendid, and needs to be said again and again, but it must be said also that her knowledge of technicalities of a priest's work is necessarily limited. It is not, for instance, usually essential that a person's confessor should administer the sacraments of healing. The seal of the confessional precludes the use outside it of knowledge gained in it and the very nature of a sacrament makes it quite independent of the character of the minister, otherwise it is not a sacramental but a personal ministry. Nor can we agree that the use of sacraments may be inadvisable since they may be misused. They can, of course, be misused, but *abusus non tollit usum*, and nobody has the right to say that a sincere believer is being anointed as a means of escape from reality. For Holy Unction is never simply to cure the bodily ill, nor just to tranquillize the disordered mind, nor even just to re-inforce the weakened spirit of a patient. It is always for the *whole person*, body, mind, and spirit, for if it were not it would not convey healing. The misuse, when misuse there is, is most probably

in the lack of the right conditions of faith and penitence. One can be sorry to God for sin, and trust him utterly, without in the least understanding the malady, whether it be bodily or mental or spiritual. Sacraments break through, by the irruptive action of him who performs them, the Holy Ghost, and there can be few cases where it is right, say, to forbid Confession-absolution, or Holy Communion.

But the real value of the book, despite its theological inadequacies, lies in the amount of information it gives so clearly and we hope that it will be widely read and studied. Not least amongst the many pleas put forward in it is that for a greater number of spiritual directors amongst the clergy. We can think of few vocations more essential to the health of the Church, and it is not in the least derogatory of psychological experts to say that many of the clergy would be better employed in the field of ascetic theology than of psychology, for they cannot expect the lay professional to supply an understanding of *ascesis*, any more than they can expect Miss Ikin to write their theology.

HENRY COOPER

### AQUINAS FOR ALL

AQUINAS. By F. C. COPLESTON. Penguin Books. 3s. 6d.

IT is an interesting and perhaps a significant fact that the undeniably twentieth-century thinker, the Grote Professor of the Philosophy of Mind and Logic in the University of London, has decided in his editorial capacity that the Pelican Philosophy Series, which has hitherto ranged from Leibniz and Spinoza to Pierce and Pragmatism, would be incomplete without at least one representative of medieval thought and that representative the Angelic Doctor. Certainly Professor Ayer could have chosen no one more competent to handle the subject than the Professor of the History of Philosophy at Heythrop, for, as those who are acquainted with his as yet unfinished History of Philosophy will know, Fr Copleston is very far from being the uncritical disciple that students of St Thomas are often, and sometimes justly, taken to be. He is well aware that St Thomas is only one, although perhaps the outstanding one, of the great figures of medieval philosophy, and he sees him all the time against the background of his age. But what is even more important in the present context, Fr Copleston, while he is rightly no less critical of the moderns than of the medievals, is fully *au fait* with post-medieval philosophy and sympathetic with its peculiar interests and problems. He resists successfully the temptation, which assails all modern apologists of the angelic Doctor, to represent him as having anticipated and demolished in advance all the anti-metaphysical positions of modern Anglo-Saxon linguistic empiricists, but he maintains, and I should say maintains successfully, that St Thomas would have been by no means unsympathetic to the empiricist outlook and indeed that his system, while not anti-metaphysical, was in fact radically empirical in its approach.

After an introductory chapter, in which he persuasively argues that the rest of the book will be worth the attention of a contemporary reader, Fr Copleston plunges straight into a systematic exposition of St Thomas's metaphysical doctrine, which leads on to a chapter on God and Creation. The next two chapters deal with Man, first as a hylemorphic unity of body and soul—and here there is a thorough treatment of the Thomist doctrine of human perception—and then as a moral and social being. A final chapter deals with the development of Thomism since St Thomas's time and with its place in the thought of the present day.

The treatment is eminently fair and lucid and, within the limits of his space, the author gives full recognition to the differences of interpretation that the Angelic Doctor has received in the various circles of his students. Also, while keeping his discussion, as he was bound to keep it, strictly within the limits of philosophy as distinct from theology, he makes it plain that for St Thomas philosophy could do no more than orientate a man towards his true end and that all his thought is overarched by the conviction that ultimate and lasting beatitude is to be found only in the vision of God. Where all is so good it is impossible to single out special points for commendation. I shall merely conclude by referring to one or two points on which I should myself venture to differ from Fr Copleston's views. I am not convinced, though I should like to be, by Fr Copleston's assertion, on pages 72 and 73, that St Thomas looked upon the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian cosmogonies as both of them being simple empirical hypotheses whose sole purpose was *salvare apparentias*: it seems to me that, while he held that *as predictive calculi* they were on the same level and were to be judged simply by their success in correlating the observational facts, he also considered that the Aristotelian view was right against the Ptolemaic *as a statement of metaphysical truth*. Again, it does not seem to me correct to say, on page 111, that in arguing for the existence of God in the *Prima Via* St Thomas "begins with the fact that some things are acted upon and changed by other things". Surely, *aliqua moveri in hoc mundo* means simply "Some things in this world are in motion", *moveri*, like the French *se mouvoir*, having a neutral and not a strictly passive sense. Were *movetur*, would be a sheer tautology; whereas in fact, in asserting that this not so, the second premiss, *omne autem quod movetur ab alio* "whatever is in motion must be moved by something else", it contains the heart of the argument, as critics have been quick to discern.

These are, however, minor points of criticism and no doubt Fr Copleston will have his answer to them. He and his publishers are both to be congratulated on one of the best, and also one of the cheapest, introductions available to the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor.

## AN APOSTLE'S CREED?

THE CREED BEFORE THE CREEDS. By H. A. BLAIR. Longmans. 16s.

THIS is a scholarly work by a parish priest, obviously the result of long and careful study. Indeed the Preface, which describes how the idea originated and the stages by which the work reached its present form over a number of years, almost disarms criticism.

The author is convinced that the creed-like hymn embodied in 1 Timothy 3. 16 represents an original *homologia* or Confession of Faith which can be described as a Mystery Creed by contrast with the more historical and theological Creeds which grew up within the Church. He suggests that famous passage in Pliny's letter to Trajan which speaks of Christians as *carmina dicere Christo quasi Deo* and as binding themselves by a *sacramentum* (among other things) not to break faith (*fidem fallere*) represents a veiled allusion in deliberately ambiguous terms to such a confession. He expounds the type of theology which might underlie such a Creed and relates it to some modern tendencies in theology and to the concepts of Jungian psychology. He re-examines the Apostolic Tradition in the New Testament in the light of this pattern of thought and explains its replacement by other forms of Creed by the disrepute into which the idea of mystery fell as a result of the conflict with Gnosticism.

There is much that is admirable in the book. Its thesis is presented clearly and persuasively and is backed by adequate Biblical and Patristic learning. It contains suggestions which would be well worth further exploration as well as *obiter dicta* which illuminate whole areas of theology and exegesis. At the same time there are grounds for hesitation as to whether the thesis will be able ultimately to maintain itself despite its obvious importance for wide areas of scholarship if it were to succeed in doing so. At some points, particularly with regard to Pliny, there is the suspicion that the author is somewhat overpressing his evidence. The analysis of the term *homologia* in the New Testament does not wholly support the superstructure which is raised upon it. In some passages (perhaps the majority) a wider translation than 'creedal confession' would be perfectly adequate. But the real crux lies in the replacement of the Mystery Creed by creedal statements centred in historical facts and (later) in theological interpretation. Here it is hard to believe that the author has fully assessed the evidence for early formulae of an historical kind which are at least as frequent in the New Testament and the pre-Irenaean period as the "mystery pattern" to which he directs our attention. His attempt to subsume the Apostolic Kerugma under this head is not really successful.

The most important part of the book is the exposition of the theology which, in the author's opinion, underlies his primary text. This is both stimulating and suggestive and has a value quite independent of the central thesis of the book. Yet even here hesitations arise at some points of detail. Has the author rightly grasped the meaning of the difficult

phrase "justified in the spirit" and does he somewhat overpress (despite Aulen and Leivestad) the clause "seen of angels"?

No one can read this book without feeling the touch of an acute, independent, and vigorous mind and thereby being stimulated to further thought on many matters not only of historical but also of contemporary theology.

The missing reference to the spurious letter of Dionysius of Alexandria occurs on page 200 of Berriman's dissertation and is to be found in the first volume of Mansi's *Concilia*.

H. E. W. TURNER

## HEBREW WITHOUT TEARS

TEACH YOURSELF HEBREW. By R. K. HARRISON. English Universities Press. 10s. 6d.

It is pleasing to find Hebrew now included in this series. The Hebrew in question is Biblical and is obviously meant for Christians who would like to take it up in their spare time. It should therefore appeal to all who desire to read the Old Testament in the original, and especially to those of the clergy who were perhaps prevented from learning Hebrew when they were preparing for ordination.

Dr Harrison joins the ranks of those persuasive teachers who seek to assure their potential students that the battle looks worse than it is. Your reward will be great, he avers, if you persevere; however unfamiliar the language you will be able to enjoy simple prose readings quite soon. Hebrew leads to fruition much more quickly than Greek or Latin.

I fear Dr Harrison somewhat underestimates the difficulties. In the classroom the living voice helps decisively: a well-articulated pronunciation matters more than grammatical finesse. Hence the good teacher always endeavours to take the plunge right from the start; the student hears and even sees Hebrew before he grasps the terms and rules. When the language has begun to germinate, Gesenius and Davidson fall naturally into place.

The solitary student must rely on a book. What he needs is a substitute for the living voice. He cannot be expected to worm his way through the dreary undergrowth of theory before he is allowed to meet the living language. The elementary text-books in Israel go very far in this direction and replace technicalities with pictures.

Dr Harrison will have none of this. He emphasizes grammatical thoroughness and proceeds in the traditional manner. But how many will memorize, let alone understand, the first six chapters of Massoretic peculiarities without a guide who distinguishes between important landmarks and accidentals? The approach seems to me unnecessarily conservative. The author disclaims originality and consequently misses a great opportunity. Modern educational methods can be applied to Biblical Hebrew. Above all, a really good vocabulary,

impressive for a beginner, can be had simply by drawing upon the familiar names of the English Bible. Later a correct etymological grouping of words saves much time. One can sugar the pill without depriving it of its medicinal value.

The format of the book is agreeable (except in the pagination of the paradigms) and the price for present times very reasonable. It may not succeed in teaching oneself, but it will help in "brushing up" what was once known.

U. E. SIMON

## REFORMATION RETROSPECT

THE PROTESTANT TRADITION. By J. S. WHALE. Cambridge. 21s.

THIS book is a rewriting of two sets of lectures which Dr Whale delivered in America—the first at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas, the second at St Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. The book as it now stands consists of four parts. The first two parts consist of an exposition of the thought and significance of Luther and of Calvin. Part 3 is headed "The Sect Type", and deals with the Anabaptists and Congregationalists. Part 4 is entitled "Modern Issues", and here Dr Whale discusses three subjects—The Roman Church and Toleration, Church and State in the Protestant Tradition, and the Oecumenical Movement. The book is vigorous and polemical, and the particular beliefs of Protestants are restated in the accepted terms of the long-standing controversy; many old-standing convictions are also forcibly restated but the account is by no means uncritical; and the position *vis à vis* Catholicism is clarified, though a solution of it is not brought nearer.

A good example of the intractability of the conflicting views is to be found in Dr Whale's account of Luther and in particular in the discussion of Justification by Faith. Here it becomes clear that the word Faith is used in Catholicism and Protestantism to describe two different conditions. In Catholicism Faith means *Assensus*; in Protestantism it means *Fiducia*. It is tempting to say that *Fiducia*, in Catholic phraseology, is the second of the three theological virtues, Hope. "The only genuine hope", says Gabriel Marcel, "is hope in what does not depend on oneself", and it leads not to a stiffening of the soul but to relaxation and to creation. But as Professor Hodges has recently pointed out in an admirable study of this subject: "The trust and self-commitment which Protestants call Faith, and which is Abrahamic, Pauline and Saving Faith is described by Catholics under another name in e.g. de Caussade's 'Self-Abandonment to Divine Providence'." Clearly what is wanted is a new vocabulary—or rather that the old controversy should be argued in new terms, and that each of the terms should be defined. When for example Dr Whale, speaking of Roman Catholic theologians, says that Justification is confused with Sanctification ("which is perhaps the most serious Roman heresy") and when Dom Aelred Graham says that "the reformers thought of Justification as

something extrinsic to the soul . . . Man remained as guilty as ever but God by His favour overlooked his sinful state", one wonders what has been going on during the last 400 years, and whether the current over-worked phrasology can ever lead to anything but statement and counter-statement. Wesley in a discussion on Salvation by Works says finally, "What then have we been disputing about. . . ? I am afraid about words. Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot."

The very clear exposition which Dr Whale gives of the believing sinner's assurance of salvation illustrates again this difficulty. Certain clear religious insights are being stated, and stated strongly in opposition to contemporary errors. It is well that this should be done. But if some kind of synthesis is to be reached, it is essential to deal with and compare e.g. the Johannine doctrine of Assurance with the Pauline. The Eastern Orthodox Church which has never involved itself in this and other Reformation controversies has yet much to say of the mystery of salvation and the Christian apprehension of it. Here, though there is less subtle analysis of what are after all problems rather of pastoral than of dogmatic theology, there is much concern about the nature of man, the effects of the Fall, and the relations of Nature and Grace.

In estimating the strength and the weakness of the Protestant Tradition Dr Whale is at his best. Indeed the whole section on the "Sect Type" is in many ways the best in what is a very forthright and not uncritical assessment of the Reformers' work. It is a pity, however, there is so little about Zwinglianism and even less about Anglicanism. This is a serious deficiency in what is in other respects a full and competent outline and critique of religious thought in the last 400 years. The section on "Modern Issues" discusses the Roman Church and Toleration, and contains a very fair and damaging chapter on Ultramontanism and Contemporary Ideologies. The essays are well and powerfully done. The last two chapters in this section on Dogma and History, and Priesthood and Power, are less convincing. It would be interesting in this connection to know what Dr Whale would say about the final chapter of Jung's *Answer to Job*.

F. H. MAYCOCK

### HEAVENLY VISION

THE FOLLOWING FEET. By 'ANCILLA'. Longmans. 8s. 6d.

"I KNEW a man in Christ 14 years ago (whether in the body I know not, or whether out of the body I know not; God knoweth) such a one caught up even to the Third Heaven." So does St Paul try to describe what no words can describe, the relentless, silent pursuit of God for the soul and the initial conscious victory of the Holy Spirit. It is an old story and yet ever new, it spans the centuries, leaping from an Augustine of Hippo to a Francis of Assisi, from a Charles de Foucauld to a Sister Rhoda of Wantage, and here it is again in a completely

modern setting in this remarkable little book. A fearlessly honest woman who in her early years was like so many we have met and whom Rosalind Murray has described as "Good Pagans, humanists to a man and mostly agnostic. Rational, upright and utterly dependable, they practised the Christian virtues without parade, and lived in charity with their neighbours. Enthusiasm they regarded as in rather bad taste, and while admitting the supremacy of Jesus Christ as an outstanding teacher of trite and somewhat obvious ethics, considered every other view of him as superstitious, or as the vested interest of established churches." Then like a bolt from the blue, uninvited and totally unexpected, the Spirit rushes in. So the author says: "It was by no virtue nor by any choice of mine that I left my comfortable seat. I was happy, integrated—or so I imagined—and prosperous. I had work in which I delighted; I read all the latest books; had money for clothes—and I like fashionable clothes—for travel and I saw 12 European countries in half that number of years. Living and teaching on the North Essex border, greedily aware of the beauty of great trees brooding over rich plough-land under a wide sky, yet quite near enough for a weekly visit to London, for about ten years I did not miss a show worth seeing there or in Cambridge. I had two novels and a professionally produced play to my credit and great plans for a future of some small reputation within a narrow, appreciative if critical circle. I was, it seemed, completely self pivoted and from a settled centre thought myself prepared to help and comfort my neighbour—within reason, of course. Then in my forty-third year something happened . . . ."

It was in a sunlit Catholic Church in Nuremberg, in the middle of one of her continental holidays, that the Blessed Trinity was revealed and like all who have seen something of the Eternal she gropes for the words:

"How can I explain! I can use only negatives.

I saw nothing. Not even a light.

I heard nothing, no voice, no music, nothing.

Nothing touched me. Nor was I conscious of any Being, visible or invisible.

But suddenly, simply, silently, I was not there. And I was there.

It lasted for a moment, yet it was eternal, since there was no time . . . ."

Every word rings with truth, yet it was but the beginning of the way. She described it in her diary as "Saw renunciation". She feels she must be obedient to the Heavenly Vision, and little did she realize then what that meant.

There followed, as from all such experiences, years of stripping, humiliations, darkness, as layer after layer of self was torn away. It is the way of the Cross, yet the outward circumstances of her life are not unusual. There is an amazing sense of the Spirit not letting go, as she turns this way and that to save her pride. She wants to walk alone, for

years she does not commit herself to the life of the Church. The psychologist will delight in her interpretation of her dreams, her ruthless introspection as she seeks to find a rational explanation for her phases. There is no doubt of her obedience, but it is love that escapes here. "I feel I am kneeling on part of myself. The eager child? The gentle feminine person I might have been? The opposite of all I've made of myself, a creature, hard, cruel, unsympathetic. I am evil at heart because I hate what I should love, I resist where I should yield. I think perhaps that this is at the bottom of my relation with certain students. Do they come to find me lacking or did You feed them despite me? I think that the barrier is one of pride and the difficulty of pronouncing all my past life wrong . . . So I am facing for the first time in the conscious mind what in Theology is 'sin', in the depths of the deeper mind."

For some years the love-hate conflict remained unsolved and it was a source of anguish and persecution. It grows intensified and suddenly rolls away. "In a new humility I turned again to what my humanist friends would call organised religion, attending a church each Sunday evening. No one spoke to me yet I felt neither solitary nor unwelcome. Slowly I began to realise that the heart of this parish church was a fellowship unseen, free yet brimming over so that even a stranger might find comfort in it as by the warmth of a hidden fire. It did not exist in any special organization within the parish, nor did it express itself in socials, the boast of numbers nor the self importance of any secret society. Yet it was sufficiently real, almost tangible, for an outsider to recognize its existence and to long to know its members, clergy and lay, so free, so gay even when most austere, so humble, so loving. In some way, too, I knew even then that its basis was in the service barred to me, the Holy Communion. And in myself I found during those months of waiting a great longing to receive with them the Bread of Life." The story ends with a beautiful reflection and description of her Confirmation.

The book is a terrible indictment of the devilishness of humanism, that those who think they are so near have in fact to travel so far before they grasp the Truth. It is one of the most important and revealing bits of writing of this century. No one can doubt its utter sincerity, and it is radiant with honesty. Her voice is a voice for the times, especially for the intellectual world, and one wishes it was on the shelves of every don and teacher.

AUGUSTINE HOEY, C.R.

## HOLY MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE: A MEDICAL AND SACRAMENTAL STUDY. By ALAN KEENAN, O.F.M., & JOHN RYAN, M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S., F.I.C.S. Sheed & Ward. 16s.

THIS book, by a priest and a doctor, both Roman Catholics, is of course based on the assumption that the Moral Theology which emanates from Rome alone is right, and consequently that its application is for the true and ultimate welfare of every patient. The Roman Catholic

gynaecologist in Great Britain finds himself in a dilemma, and this is specially acute if he becomes a servant of the State under the National Health Service. If he observes the moral law, he may run up against the patient's expressed wish or even against generally accepted medical practice. As a member of a hospital staff, he will be expected to give contraceptive teaching where it is required on medical grounds. It is true that he cannot be forced to do this, yet his candidature for a post may well be rejected if he is known to be unwilling to do so. Problems may arise in connection with artificial insemination, this being forbidden to Roman Catholics, even when the husband is the donor. The greatest danger of all is that such a doctor may be required to perform a so-called therapeutic abortion. "The difficulties are manifold", the authors write, "and we think insoluble". Some may be forced to retire from medicine altogether and "sell vacuum cleaners".

The situation is indeed an embarrassing one, but the difficulty is not unilateral: and many a conscientious Christian doctor finds complete co-operation with Roman Catholic colleagues difficult or impossible. The "mother and child" problem is a real one, despite much misunderstanding of it in the correspondence columns of the popular press. It is notorious that such cases are quickly handed over to non-Roman surgeons, and this is admitted by Fr Keenan and Dr Ryan. "There is an observable tendency . . . to evade the issue . . . and advise the patient to consult some other doctor". Indeed on one page it seems almost to be connived at: "More often than not, other medical opinion is available, and it is left to the patient or the husband, or both, to decide which advice they will follow".

The sort of intricacies treated may be illustrated by an example. About one in two hundred pregnancies occurs outside the womb, generally in the Fallopian tube. Authorities differ as to the morality of removing such a tube, if it contains a living foetus, though the mother is certainly in danger. The operation would admittedly involve taking life. Yet opinion favouring the tube's removal is in the technical sense *probable*, and is usually followed. "Baptism should . . . be given, at least conditionally, to the foetus".

The solution suggested here to the problem raised by the exceptive clause in Matt. 19 is that *πορνεί* refers to prostitution or false marriage. In the case of the latter only may a man divorce his wife and re-marry.

Many non-Roman readers may fail to see the distinction ethically between the use of contraceptives and the "safe period", though medical, aesthetic, and economic reasons may lead them to prefer the latter, when conditions in the wife make it practicable.

This carefully written and eirenically expressed work may be warmly commended, both because the Roman Catholic view-point on these vital matters is persuasively set out and also because much may be found in these chapters which is of intrinsic value to physician, pastor, and interested layman.

Marriage is here treated from the medical, moral, legal, and sacra-

mental aspects, the last section being both ingenious and edifying, as some of the chapter headings may hint—"The Wedding of Adam", "The Wedding of Christ", "The Wedding of Christians".

FREDERIC HOOD

### A GREAT BISHOP

EDWIN JAMES PALMER, Seventh Bishop of Bombay. By P. R. BRINTON. Kenyon Press. 3s. 6d.

THIS is a belated and, as no one will know better than its author, a most inadequate tribute to one of the greatest bishops of this century. He was the confidant and advisor of Archbishops Davidson and William Temple, not only in all matters concerning the Church in India, but also in questions involving the relations of Church and State and "Reunion". Archbishop Lang paid grateful homage to his wisdom. Had it not been for the handicap of a distressing stammer it is quite possible that he might have been one of the great archbishops of his generation.

E. J. Palmer went up to Balliol from Winchester in 1887. After a brilliant career as an undergraduate, in 1891 he was elected a Fellow of his college. He was recommended to Lord Morley for the bishopric of Bombay by Archbishop Davidson and Bishop Gore, and after his consecration in Southwark Cathedral, he went out to his diocese in 1908.

It is not possible even to mention all the many-sided aspects of his work in India. But it ought to be recorded that he encouraged the foundation of the first Indian religious (Christian) community for men, the *Christa Seva Sangha*, and the compiling of the first truly Indian Liturgy for Anglicans.

The Diocese of Bombay in those days consisted of the Presidency of Bombay, exclusive of Sind, but inclusive of Aden and many Indian States. Its area was about equal to that of France. Its population was about 27 million, of whom some 28 thousand were Christians, divided from one another by the fact that there were eight different language groups. To help him administer this terribly difficult diocese, the bishop's staff consisted of about 60 European priests, most of whom were government chaplains, the remainder being almost all Marathi-speaking Indians, trained in the very different schools of S.P.G., C.M.S., and the Cowley Fathers. The policy of Bishop Palmer's predecessor had tended to accentuate the divisions, and therefore the first task facing the new bishop was to heal embittered feuds. He succeeded so well that when he resigned twenty years later he left behind him a happy and united diocese.

Bishop Palmer's political views disposed him to dislike all ecclesiastical establishments. In India he thought it a disastrous impediment to the building up of an indigenous Church. He was convinced that the days of the British Raj were numbered. Therefore

he launched a campaign destined to get the Church free from England. He began the drafting of a constitution and was a leader in the setting up of a system of diocesan and provincial councils. It was his aim that all the "machinery" necessary for an autonomous Church should be in working order before the separation came, and he planned so wisely that when Parliament passed the measure which re-established the Church, it was a continuing Church of India which moved onwards into freedom. There was no breach of continuity. Also the campaign of education in India had been so thorough that there was no Church of England schism, as there had been when the same thing happened in South Africa.

Bishop Palmer was a leader, also, in the movement which led to the inauguration of the Church of South India. The principles which guided him are set forth in his book *When the Great Church Awakes*. It was a tragedy that he was compelled to leave India before this work was completed. If he could have guided the movement to the end, it is most unlikely that the Terms of Union would have included the features which have caused controversy. His slogan always was, "We must get this right". He was never in a hurry and his intellectual integrity never allowed him to think that to hide differences was to solve them. He was absolutely certain that it was the will of Christ that his Church should be visibly one and he was sure that if men would seek, first, to do the will of their common Master, through his Holy Spirit he would lead them at last to a common mind and heart. It is possible to dislike the building, which was completed after his retirement, but it is not possible to do anything but respect the motives of its chief architect.

J. L. C. DART

## PREACHING THE CROSS

GLORYING IN THE CROSS. By H. L. GOUDGE. Hodder and Stoughton. 10s. 6d.

IT is probable that to many theological students of the present generation the name of Henry Leighton Goudge is unknown. If it is known, then it will be associated with Gore's *Commentary*, in which Goudge edited the New Testament section, or with the *Westminster Commentaries* on 1 and 2 Corinthians. The present day student is apt to dismiss Gore's *Commentary* as pre-“post-critical” and therefore dated, and he will probably think of Goudge's *Commentary* on 2 Corinthians as the last conservative attempt to defend its unity over against the prevailing trend to regard it as composed of parts of two, or perhaps three, letters.

Goudge certainly belonged to an earlier generation, but the contribution he made to the thought and life of the Church of England cannot be so easily brushed aside. Goudge never claimed to be an original Biblical scholar or theologian, but he fulfilled the exceedingly valuable function of an interpreter. Soaked as he was himself in the Scriptures

and endowed with no mean powers of exposition, he knew how to mediate the learning of the schools to the clergy and people of the Church of England at large.

Those who were trained under Goudge at Wells or Ely, at King's College, London, or at Oxford will welcome this new edition of a volume of sermons first published in 1940, and many others will value the opportunity of reading and taking to heart these admirable examples of Biblical preaching. For Goudge never fell into the trap of choosing a text to adorn unbiblical thoughts. There is scholarship here and homely illustration and the language of ordinary people without knowledge of the technical phraseology of the theologians. Above all, there is the "Glorying in the Cross," for Goudge never wandered far from the gospel of God's redeeming love for sinful man in Christ.

The sermons are prefaced by a charming memoir of her father, written by Elizabeth Goudge. In days when many Church leaders are perturbed by the recrudescence of fundamentalism, it is perhaps salutary to remember how many, like Goudge, who started in that tradition have found their feet set in later life in a larger and more Catholic room, but have never lost a truly Evangelical joy in the good news of Jesus Christ and him crucified.

C. KENNETH SANSBURY

## THE APOSTLES' CREED

A REASON FOR THE HOPE. Mowbray. 7s. 6d.

A predecessor of this book, called THE WORD OF GOD IN THE LIFE OF MAN, was the work of a number of distinguished ecclesiastics. Whether this "Reason for the Hope" comes from the same pens is not made clear. But it is commended by the Bishops of London, Southwark, and Colchester. It is intended, primarily, for study circles, consisting of people who are eager to spread the Kingdom of God and wish to equip themselves for that work so that they may bear effective witness. Such people will find it of great value, and so will the clergy who help them.

It is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the guarantees of faith, the objects of faith, and the rewards of faith. Each subsection is prefaced with suggestions for prayer, for faith is the gift of God and is at least as much a consequence of his action, as of man's effort to understand. Each is followed by a list of books, easily procurable, for further study. Considering the kind of persons for whom the book is written, it is a little surprising that Studdert Kennedy's FOOD FOR THE FED UP is not included in any list. He had a great deal to say about the meaning of Creeds, as well as about particular clauses in them, and about the Church as the divine brotherhood, which is of permanent value, not only because of its substance but also because of the arresting presentation of his themes.

In Part I the authors consider the guarantees of faith under the

heads of the Creed, the Bible, and human personality. The history of the Apostles' Creed and its use for to-day are admirably stated. The trustworthiness of the Bible is so frequently a matter of doubt that this section is particularly valuable. Perhaps the section about personality ought to have been expanded into two. There is great need for clear teaching about the nature of man in view of much current, undigested, speculation along psychological lines, and the attacks of Christian scientists. The notes in this section about such subjects as sin, freedom, grace, and the mystery of evil are excellent, so far as they go. All this section will require expert exposition.

Part II demonstrates and explains the centrality of Christ in the Creed. There are ably constructed sections on the Apostolic teaching, the Resurrection, and the Person of our Lord. The arguments contain nothing which is new, although the point that acceptance of the divinity of Christ by fiercely monotheistic Jews is given an unfamiliar emphasis. Common difficulties concerning our Lord's two natures are not answered; but can they be? Instead a way round them is indicated by emphasizing the Resurrection as an historical fact and the problem which he himself presents, if he be not interpreted in the Christian way. Faith in our Lord leads up to the Holy Spirit, the Spirit-indwelt Body, and this in turn to the Blessed Trinity. It was through the contemplation of Christ that the Church itself reached its completed definitions. This part is a little like a sieve, made up of gaps. But what else is possible, if the attempt is made to cram a doctrine of God, the Incarnation, the Holy Spirit, and the Church into some fifty pages? It is most improbable that the ammunition here provided will convert any obstinate unbeliever, but it is calculated to be a very great help to "nebulous" Christians.

The final clauses in the Creed are dealt with in Part III, under the heading of the Rewards of Faith—Fellowship, Freedom, and Fullness of Life. In this part the necessity for devotion, as well as the attempt to live in accordance with Christian principles, which is never wholly absent from any stage of the argument, are given full expression. The belief, which is voiced with monotonous frequency, that "religion is an affair between God and my soul" is convincingly countered, and the sections which deal with Eternal Life are amongst the best in the book.

Calvinism, unhappily, is very far from dead, and although thinking people cannot stomach it, yet they often imagine that it is orthodox Christian doctrine—Shaw did, and so did Wells. In consequence it may lead to misunderstanding to say "it is a foundation truth of Christian teaching that evil has not deprived man of the power of seeing the truth". All that the sentence needs is a word like "catholic" before Christian.

Again, it is not true to say that the Prayer Book Preface for Whitson misled people into thinking that "speaking with tongues" equals a "gift of languages". It is the Acts itself that does that—"We do

hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God". Also, is it really true to say that the New Testament says nothing about the Holy Spirit's inspiration of non-believers? From whom came the Centurion's faith? Hebrews 1. 2, and 2 Peter 1. 21 are both in the New Testament.

But a few slips do nothing to detract from the excellence of this book as a whole. It will send those who study it back to their Bible, not only to read its letter, but to absorb its spirit.

J. L. C. DART

## PIETAS ANGLICANA

PROGRESSIVE RELIGION. By E. K. ELLIS. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

HERE is a small book which charms and edifies. It has some of the most engaging qualities of that classical Anglicanism which had its first mature expression in the ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY of the great Hooker. It is ecclesiastically civilized, in the best possible way. Urbane, dignified, and modest, it has a richness of thought and texture, nourished by the faith of the Church, not considered in a narrow *denominational* way as if Anglicanism were just any Christian "ism", but in a thoroughly churchly fashion, never obscuring the continual reference by classical Anglican divinity to the universal standards of Catholic Christendom. This is indeed evidenced by the extracts from recognized spiritual classics with which Canon Ellis has chosen to close each chapter—from Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Puritan writers. A *via media* turned in on itself could be the most sterile of things; but Canon Ellis is a wayfarer who looks outwards; and how fruitful his wide vision has been.

Primarily the book has a practical aim. It is a little treatise of practical advice, to help the mature lay Christian to progress beyond the religion learnt in his childhood or adolescence. It is a good thing to have it so persuasively set forth that Christian worship alike in common and private prayer is something to be worked at, studied, and learnt; with principles to be understood and techniques to be mastered. "The Eucharist makes a demand on our understanding and co-operation." Canon Ellis gives a sound practical argument for fasting communion. Another admirable feature of this book is the constant sense its author conveys of the Holy Spirit as still teaching in the Church—now and not merely "of old time" as the 1928 proper "for the guidance of the Holy Spirit" may be taken so unfortunately to suggest. With characteristic Anglican balance, Word and Sacrament, and Bible and Church, are held together, not pushed apart as possible antagonists. Thus if "logically the authority of the Bible rests on a belief that the Church is divinely guided," it is also true that a "sound knowledge of the Bible has to be gained before our hold on Christian faith can be secure." *Multum in parvo* indeed. Clearly this book is the concen-

trated fruit of a genuine pastoral experience, most wisely and carefully considered. It is inexpensive. It is short. It will go in the tract case. It deserves to be widely read, and used.

R. W. GREAVES

## PROGRESS TO DISASTER

NEW HORIZONS. By WILFRED WELLOCK. 2s. 8d. NOT BY BREAD ALONE. By WILFRED WELLOCK. 6d. Houseman's Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SHOULD theologians worry themselves about social and economic problems? It would be more pleasant to shut our study doors on the spectres of want and war and sit down in comfort to our scriptural commentaries and our studies in theology. After all, we might argue to ourselves, there is very little we can do about it, since we are not in control of the engine of the State. All the same, the Church is inextricably involved in economic and social problems. Priest and layman, we are involved. Even if we are not in control, it is a great advantage to have a clear mind, and knowledge; to know about what is happening in the economic sphere, and why. Mr Wellock sees the trends in these matters clearly.

The economic structure of Great Britain is geared to a situation which is quickly passing, which has perhaps already passed; one in which food and raw materials were plentiful and cheap, and manufactured goods could be sold all over the world at a handsome profit. On the contrary, the era which we are now entering is one in which food and raw materials will be in short supply and therefore dear, and it will be next to impossible to get rid of manufactured goods, for the simple reason that our former customers now make the goods for themselves. It is a simple formula, but its material results are poverty, disaster, and war.

Mr Wellock gives the good Distributist answer of the expansion of agriculture and the reduction of population by means of emigration. It is unlikely, human nature being what it is, that such a policy will be adopted by our rulers until and unless ruin stares them in the face, and there is no alternative. Probably the more far-sighted among them realize that this policy will be in the end inevitable and have realized it for decades. But nothing can be done. Our huge population whose every thought and desire is conditioned by the old economy will continue on its old way until the crash comes. Such is the force of inertia and habit. We can only hope that the rulers will be able to swing the wheels of Britain away from the precipice just in time, but we can only say that the time is not yet. The people of Britain would not as yet stand for such a reversal of all that they have understood as Progress, nor will they until something drastic happens. The advantage of Mr Wellock's booklets is that those who read them will be able to realize (when the crisis looms near) what is happening, and spring to

aid our rulers in the turning of the wheel. That is where we, the Churchmen, will be able to come in useful. For when the time comes (and it seems inevitable) the population will be terrified and looking for guidance. Whoso then speaks out with a strong, clear voice will find himself welcomed.

Mr Wellock indicates the way in which theologians can help, on that day of wrath. We can point out what is true, that the old state of affairs was completely materialistic (if an Economy of Waste like industrial capitalism can be called materialistic) and that there is a chance now, despite the threatening clouds, of re-establishing man upon a spiritual basis. The old system has resulted in the fragmentation of man, the loss of happiness in work, and the reduction of most individuals to the state of being ciphers in the agglomerations of huge industrial cities. Such a revolution as Mr Wellock contemplates, and which will in all probability be forced upon us, will require its ideology. The ideology will have to be the reverse of Communism, since Communism is merely the end-term of industrial capitalism. Nevertheless Communists will see in economic crisis a golden opportunity. It may be their chance to seize power and then, blinded by their own fantasies, they will drive Britain right over the precipice. It is as well that we should have an alternative to Communism firmly fixed in mind.

W. P. WITCUTT

## COUNTRY SCHOOLS

THE CRISIS OF THE RURAL SCHOOL. By R. R. BAILEY. S.P.C.K.  
3s. 6d.

CANON Bailey, out of an expert knowledge of the subject derived from his own experience and skill, has written an admirable plea for the retention of the Village School, and one can only hope that it has not come too late in the day. It is indeed unfortunate that the Church's leaders made such a poor showing ten or twelve years ago, but it is no use crying over spilt milk now, and those who read Canon Bailey's book in time may yet be able in some real measure to redeem the position. It should certainly be read most carefully by clergy, school managers, church councillors, parents, teachers—and even (dare one say so?) by bishops and county councillors and their paid officials.

The author, who has been a diocesan Director of Education in a large rural diocese, and is now Secretary of the Schools Council and the National Society, begins by outlining the various arguments for closing down the small village school as an expensive and inefficient relic of the bad old days, and transporting the children to larger central schools where they will enjoy all the advantages of the theoretically designed academy; where there will be better equipment, a larger environment, more light and space, and more (and happier) teachers! In addition there will of course be exquisite sanitary accommodation, and more children of the same age-group will take the place of classes with a wider age-range.

Canon Bailey answers all these tempting blandishments of the

theorists with careful and scholarly conviction. Chapter II takes us overseas to survey the position in Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, France, and Germany, where children do not generally begin school until the age of seven and where therefore the problem is not so acute as in England. From time to time the author's statistics prove a little difficult for the uninitiated, but his basic argument remains sound and convincing. England is still in one sense a village, and when the village school has been disbanded we shall realize that something of unutterable value has been lost in English life and culture. It is of no use bemoaning the fact that a thousand village schools have already been closed—due in no small measure to indifference on the part of Church leaders and local people who could have saved them. Canon Bailey's best chapter is his last, in which he sets out the positive case for the retention of the village school. He reminds us that the "mental and emotional age-range" in a two-class village school is not as large as the actual age-range. Moreover, in the more intimate and family atmosphere of the smaller rural school the backward, sensitive child has more opportunity of receiving individual attention, and the brighter child more chance of making individual progress. As proof of this one might add that in one single-teacher school of twenty-nine children, no less than seven scholarships and grammar-school places have been gained over a period of eighteen months. Can any urban school touch these figures? But Canon Bailey is not concerned merely with "grammar-school places". The village school can be the best kind of primary school from every point of view. The premises can be put in order and made bright and attractive at least more cheaply than new schools can be built, and the Oxfordshire Plan for improving buildings and equipping rural schools is quoted at some length.

School managers who are considering the possibility of Aided status for their schools should remember that less than half the cost will fall upon the local people. One wishes that Canon Bailey had pointed out more bluntly the enormous loss to the Christian Church as a whole when a school is allowed to lapse to Controlled status. This omission is perhaps the one weakness of the book, for, as he rightly quotes: "The Church is fighting the same kind of battle that the village itself fights against the resources of urbanism and industrialism. It is struggling to create an epoch that will make use of spiritual and human values in the daily business of life."

Education is not merely the imparting of information or techniques. It involves the development of human persons to the fulness of manhood and womanhood. This of course means recruiting teachers who have a real sense of vocation for their work: and providing some special training for rural work, and better accommodation.

The village school has its own work to do in its own environment, and to disband it would constitute an irretrievable loss to the nation as a whole. It is to be hoped that many will read and act upon Canon Bailey's advice.

## TWO SAINTS

ST BONIFACE: A LIFE IN VERSE. By DONALD ATKINSON. S.P.C.K. 2s.  
THE VENERABLE BEDE. By C. J. STRANKS. S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.

THE capricious mathematic of sensibility has its square roots, integrities which need to be multiplied by themselves to produce a power. Alone they do not heighten the public imagination, but they are squared, as it were, in the understandings of those who do. Such was the integrity of Charles Williams. In his own lifetime by no means one of the most influential writers of his day, not even of the Christian writers of his day, posthumously he has proved a power both generative and regenerating. For those prophets which are without honour in their own generation are not necessarily the least.

Again and again we find in contemporary writing insights which could not have been, had it not been for the thought of Charles Williams. They are not necessarily echoes of his mind, hardly ever are they doctrines of his discipline. Rather the tongue of the flame of "the Lord the Spirit" which descended on him in so strange a way, dances in the unusual places. Mr Donald Atkinson's ST BONIFACE: A LIFE IN VERSE is licked by that fire, and so has a quality approaching greatness.

*Magnum in parvo*: it is a short book of some thirty pages, presumably written in connection with the recent anniversary celebrations of the saint at Exeter. In form it is a verse dialogue, whose protagonists are an Angel, a Cardinal, and a Bishop, rehearsing the life of St Boniface from some celestial eminence—in the twentieth century, in heaven, or in both? We do not know, but at least *sub specie aeternitatis*. The verse itself does not bear the imprint of the professional poet. It is competent, but not remarkable; easy to understand, and written in the traditional four-beat stress. It is not pastiche, but derives something from the dramatic sections of Eliot's *The Rock*. As drama it is flat. It could not possibly be produced on a stage, and presumably was never meant to be, though it might make a successful broadcast. The story is not new, and there is little of note added.

But it is alive. It has been touched with the tip of the flame of the Spirit. And that touch has set a seal; not in imaginative range or beauty of image, but in that fruit of the Gift of Understanding we call Wit. It is brined in Wit; and the salt is good.

Another biography of an English saint which has also appeared under the sign of S.P.C.K. is Canon Stranks's THE VENERABLE BEDE. As might be expected from its author it is the fruit of learning, well-informed and well-written, a work of the love and humility of a scholar. The life and scene of seventh-century Northumbria is vividly painted, and the charm of the most humane of Anglo-Saxon saints is conveyed to the reader. One could not conceive a straightforward work better done than this. Can one end a review better than by quoting a tale

of the worthy Fuller, which Canon Stranks ends his book ? "Nor have I aught else to observe of him save only this. A foreign ambassador some two hundred years since, coming to Durham, addressed himself first to the high and sumptuous shrine of St Cuthbert, 'If thou beest a saint, pray for me,' then coming to the plain, low little tomb of Bede, 'Because,' said he, 'thou art a saint, good Bede pray for me.'"

GERARD IRVINE

## HISTORY OF THE BOOK

THE CODEX. By C. H. ROBERTS (British Academy Proceedings, Vol. XL). Cumberlege. 4s. 6d.

MR Roberts describes the substitution of the codex for the roll in the making of books as the most momentous development in the history of the book until the invention of printing. To the Christian it must appear more momentous than to anyone else. For, however true it may be that it was not the manifold convenience of the codex that first led to its use for books, it is nevertheless to this bibliographical development that we owe the fact that we can speak of *a* Bible. And without it the Christian tradition of scriptural exegesis and the rich variety of liturgical observance of the Western Church would scarcely have been possible.

The writing of the history of this development has been attempted several times with varying degrees of conviction. But Mr Roberts' account is not the less welcome for that. Here is a readily comprehensible account in just over thirty pages. The reader is given the facts, as far as discoveries permit, concerning the relative popularity of the codex and the roll, and of papyrus and parchment, both for Christian and for pagan writings during the period when one was steadily ousting the other as the normal form of the book. And an absorbing story it is, touching not merely the form of the book considered apart from its contents, but also such questions as the development of the New Testament Canon and the literary methods of St Mark.

However, the most surprising exception to the replacement of the roll by the codex is passed over by Mr Roberts without discussion. Why was it that one of the three purposes for which the roll continued to be used until a late date was for the writing of liturgical books? Even when the book was held by a minister and not upon a desk, the roll can scarcely have been convenient. Yet the roll remained in liturgical use at least into the thirteenth century (Vat. gr. 2281 is dated A.D. 1207). This triumph of conservatism over convenience is the more remarkable in that by the time that liturgies were being written down for permanent use in church the roll was already "on the way out"; and it would have been the natural thing (though of course there is no surviving evidence of this) if even before this period the codex in its primitive "notebook" form had been used by celebrants as an aid

in eucharistizing each in his own way. It is to be hoped that Mr Roberts will one day be moved to deal with this question. Meanwhile, we should be grateful for the useful essay that he has here given us.

BERNARD WIGAN

## CITEAUX AND CLUNY

**CISTERCIANS AND CLUNIACS. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN ST BERNARD AND PETER THE VENERABLE.** By DOM DAVID KNOWLES. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.

IN 1946 the Friends of Dr Williams' Library conceived the admirable idea of establishing an annual lecture on "subjects in line with the Library's chief interests" (the width of which is shown by a glance at the titles of the lectures already given). This year's lecture, by the Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, deals with one of the most celebrated controversies in one of the golden epochs of Western monasticism.

The technique of medieval disputation, with its unhistorical approach to Scripture and its somewhat erratic logic, not infrequently baffles readers reared in another tradition. It is the chief merit of Professor Knowles' lecture that it expounds its subject so as to show the true liveliness of the issue involved. His starting point is the essential *caveat*—"two distinct cases were being tried, though the disputants rarely made the distinction. There was the case against the essential Cluny, the ideal Cluny, against the way of monastic life which she aimed at and achieved, and the case against the degenerate Cluny, against abuses which, if really existent, were indefensible" (p. 5). His lecture is largely a consideration of what verdicts the modern historian should give on these two cases and is marked by the religious insight, clarity of purpose, and solidity of scholarship which we expect of the author.

It is difficult to be neutral about St Bernard, but Professor Knowles' consideration of him steers clear both of that uncritical admiration which has vitiated so much writing on Cistercianism and of sweeping condemnation of one whose occasional puritanical outbursts ring unconvincingly in modern ears. His examination of Peter's defence of Cluny shows the same freedom from the conventional and the superficial. The lecture concludes with some consideration of the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem monachum*, which forms a useful appendix to the matter. One would have liked a footnote on the date and authorship of this tract, to tell us what Professor Knowles thinks of views on these points already expressed, e.g. those cited in Mandonnet's ST DOMINIQUE (1937), ii, 142, n. 57. Whilst more than passing reference to the important recent research abroad on the origins of Cîteaux (news of which comes slowly on this side of the Channel), albeit not essential, would have been useful.

J. C. DICKINSON

## SOUTH INDIAN ORDERS

THE CONVOCATIONS AND SOUTH INDIA. By E. L. MASCALL. Mowbray. 1s.

As a sub-title to his essay, Dr Mascall puts the questions, *What did the Convocations decide, and how does their decision affect the Catholicity of the Church of England?* For the clergy and educated laity at least it should not have been necessary to raise the first question at all, since the resolutions passed were, in the main, reasonably clear, and their intention was generally apparent from the Report submitted by the Joint Committees of the two Convocations. Unfortunately, much that has been spoken and written on this subject points to the conclusion that the documents in question have either not been read at all widely, or at best have been given only cursory study.

That deep theological problems are involved in the inauguration of the scheme no one would deny: it is obvious, too, that the particular questions involved in the determination of a relationship between the Church of England and the Church of South India cannot be treated fully in a compass of less than twenty pages. None the less, this brief study will have done much to encourage a thoughtful attitude towards the decisions which have been taken. It is impossible to wish the Church of South India out of existence, and it is no answer to the problem posed by its inauguration to say that the South India Scheme is unsound. Dr Mascall thinks that it is unsound, but he realizes no less that the Convocations had to make decisions about a body already constituted and claiming to be a Church. It was a basic desire of the uniting bodies that they should remain in full communion with their parent bodies, while being accepted as a fully constituted part of the Catholic Church. In spite of very strong pressure, the Convocations refused to grant full communion—the unrestricted *communio in sacris*—for this very reason, as the Report indicates, that grave defects of faith and order had still to be made good. Much stress is laid here on the positive statements of the Report, which have been largely overlooked by many who have taken part in recent controversy.

The decision to recognize episcopally conferred orders in the C.S.I. was made, as Dr Mascall explains, in the light of traditional Western teaching on the subject of validity, and he offers further evidence to support it. It can, however, be said in all fairness that much high feeling would have been avoided if the Joint Committees had given something more than a very general indication that they had considered the difficulties which critics have brought forward. Few Anglicans are at home with the nicety of theological argument which the subject of validity involves, and an appendix to the main Report could have elucidated what might appear to be uncertain.

Church relations can only be settled in the light of a true doctrine of the Church, as Dr Mascall implies, and he argues persuasively that the Convocations did right in accepting a restricted relationship with the C.S.I. in view of the fact that it has at least a partial Catholicity.

Some support at least for this approach may be claimed in a recent statement by Père Louis Bouyer that "the Catholic Church herself in no way teaches a theology of all or nothing when it is a question of belonging to her own body"<sup>1</sup>. Here is a field of theology which calls for much hard thought, and it is greatly to be hoped that controversy over the C.S.I. will lead us to a deeper understanding of that Holy, Catholic Church in which we strive to be one.

F. P. COLEMAN.

<sup>1</sup>. *Istina*, 1955, No. 2, p. 234.

## MINISTRY OF WOMEN

THE OFFICE OF WOMAN IN THE CHURCH. By FRITZ ZERBST. Translated by ALBERT G. MERKENS. Concordia Publishing House, St Louis. \$1.

WONDERFUL ORDER. By F. C. BLOMFIELD. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

CAN a woman rightly be ordained to the priesthood or the fulness of the sacred ministry? The vast majority of Christians "know in their bones" that such a practice would at least be improper and undesirable, and it is remarkable how comparatively few women desire Ordination. Yet from the biblical and theological point of view the matter has rarely been adequately discussed. Arguments either way, if not baldly authoritarian, have generally been based on expediency and pragmatic considerations. Nor indeed are the latter irrelevant. There is force in the well-known jest: "The Vicar will be away for some weeks, as she has just become a mother."

The two (very different) books under review are among the best which have been written on this thorny and rather elusive subject. To Dr Zerbst, the Lutheran, the ministry of the word is central, and essentially linked with the ministry of the sacraments. Mrs Blomfield as a Catholic Anglican, has a more clean-cut outlook on strict validity (e.g. for a woman to celebrate Holy Communion in some real emergency is to her inconceivable, whereas Dr Zerbst can contemplate such a possibility). Dr Merkens, a Professor of Religious Education, describes Dr Zerbst's book as "a refreshing find". The problem is approached from the theological angle, incisively analysed and treated comprehensively on the basis of scriptural principles. The author's knowledge of relevant European literature, covering a long period of years, is shown by the very full bibliography. It stands him in good stead, and the discussion of these works is revealing. The task of the Church, the author concludes, is to proclaim a two-fold message, based on the very Being of the triune God. With regard to the important services rendered by women, the relation must be clearly set forth between the order of creation and the order of redemption. By setting aside all desire to preach or celebrate in normal conditions, woman attends to the Creator's word and honours the divine will. "By such testimony she renders . . . signal service to the congrega-

tion, to the institution of marriage, and to the world in general".

Mrs Blomfield's shorter study again starts with the very Being of God. The late Bishop Hubback expresses the opinion in a Foreword that the whole matter may here be viewed in a fresh and illuminating way. God the Son became man by an act of willing self-subordination. Since organic life has been raised to union with the divine, sex itself is capable of partaking of the divine order. Between men and women there is an equality in diversity: in certain clear respects the woman shares in the subordination of the divine Son. The Church would be incomplete without women, who share fully in the priesthood of the ascended Lord, and have tasks to perform not one whit less important than those of men. This leads the authoress to her most striking contention. The "humble liturgy" of child-bearing is held to be the woman's characteristic offering, parallel to the priest's offering of the eucharistic sacrifice. The latter sets forth for all time the profound significance of giving forth life through pain. A woman, after all the sordid trial of child-birth, remembers no more the anguish, for through her pain new life has come into the world. The two parallel "liturgies" must not be confused: both form part of God's revealed plan.

FREDERIC HOOD

## EDITORIAL

RECENT issues of the *Church Quarterly* have not contained an EDITORIAL, for it is not becoming that a caretaker should be too conspicuous in his tenure of an editorial chair. At this time, however, there are several things that need to be said; and an EDITORIAL seems to be the right place in which to say them.

FIRST, it is a pleasure to announce that the interregnum of twelve months is now over and that the next (July) issue will be the work of the new Editor, Bishop Wand.

THE issue now before you consists almost entirely of articles commissioned for the *Church Quarterly*. When it became clear that it was desirable to commission several articles, this seemed an opportunity to produce an issue whose contents deal with various aspects of a single theme. That theme is THE CHURCH ACROSS THE WORLD; and we are very grateful to those who have consented to contribute.

ONE of the purposes of this Editorial is to introduce and link together the varied articles that follow. But it is also an opportunity to accede to the request made by many readers that we should give them some information about our contributors. Some of these (as Chairmen are accustomed to remark) "need no introduction"; but, for the sake of completeness, all will nevertheless be "introduced".

MR BROWNING, who writes the opening article, is a parish priest in Oxfordshire who also lectures at Cuddesdon College and edits the *Bulletin Oecuménique Anglican*. He expounds the biblical and theological background to the Church's mission and suggests deeply rooted reasons for the weakening of the overseas missionary vocation of the Church of England to-day by comparison with the nineteenth century. While he has written without contact with other contributors, it seems that what he says has a bearing on almost every other article.

BISHOP ROBERTS was formerly Bishop of Singapore and is now Secretary of S.P.G. He is therefore able to give readers an insight into the mind of a great missionary Society with world-wide commit-

ments. His article should finally dispel the lingering illusion in the minds of some churchmen that the Secretary of a missionary society spends all his time writing receipts to English parishes and cheques to overseas bishops.

CANON WARREN, DR JAY, and DR KAN discuss major problems confronting the Church of to-day in its task of converting the world. Canon Warren, who is General Secretary of C.M.S., writes of the Muslim world as a mission field and provides a link between the Middle Eastern political news columns and the life of the Church. Dr Jay is Senior Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was formerly Dean of Nassau, where he had first-hand experience of the question which he discusses in a part of the world where sectarianism is a problem larger than can easily be understood in England. Dr Kan is Dean of the College of Liberal Arts in St Paul's University, Tokyo, and has for the past year been Visiting Fellow at St Augustine's College, Canterbury. He is thus well qualified to remind English readers that the "mission field" is not inhabited exclusively by primitive peoples but also by the heirs of ancient and sophisticated civilizations such as that of Japan, whose conversion poses quite different problems from those which confront the Church in, say, New Guinea or Nyasaland.

BUT not all the problems facing the world-wide Church are "missionary" problems. No English Christian can be unaware of the peculiar religious situation which has at present come to a head in Cyprus; and many are puzzled by the way in which *Enosis* appears as a fundamental Christian dogma. Readers of the *Church Quarterly* of some years' standing will be particularly glad to read MR HOWARD REES' exposition of this question, for he is a young ordinand who has recently returned from a year's on-the-spot study of Near Eastern questions as a Philip Usher scholar.

BISHOP NEILL was formerly Bishop of Tinnevelly; he is the editor of *World Christian Books* and the author of many others. He takes the opportunity of the newly published *History of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.* to discuss questions of importance to the life of the Church as a whole, and in particular to the reunion movement, which the history of such an organization raises.

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MISS SINCLAIR, who is Assistant Editor of the *International Review of Missions*, surveys a subject which is not much studied by Anglicans: the position of Roman Catholic missions. And DR TINDAL HART, who has written the lives of Archbishop Sharp and Bishop Lloyd, writes of the problem of clerical education which was a national concern in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and is a world-wide concern in the reign of Queen Elizabeth II.

This survey cannot analyse every part and every problem of the Church across the world. Nevertheless we hope that it exposes a cross-section sufficiently complete and varied to interest every reader.

# THE BIBLE AND THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

By W. R. F. BROWNING

*Hymns Ancient and Modern* contained two sections devoted to Missions, the second being sandwiched between "For a Service for Working Men" (584) and "For Those at Sea" (592). In *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* missionary hymns are no longer relegated amongst Absent Friends and Harvest Thanksgiving, but are very properly included in the General Hymns under the main theme of the Church and the Kingdom. This is certainly an improvement. It could be taken as a tacit recognition that mission is part of the very nature of the Church; that "mission is its cause and its life. The Church exists by mission, just as a fire exists by burning. Where there is no mission, there is no Church; and where there is neither Church nor mission, there is no faith."<sup>1</sup> It is, however, less satisfactory that of the fifteen explicitly missionary hymns in *Ancient and Modern* a mere seven are retained in the revision. It is not that the revisers are guilty of a feeling that Christian Missions are Christian arrogance: rather, the contemporary Church of England has been given the kind of hymn book (and, let it be said, an exceedingly good book) that it wants. The hymns omitted had either "never really found favour" or "were not likely to last much longer":<sup>2</sup> in the present case because, whether or not the whole-time workers for missionary societies are aware of the fact, there is by and large an alarming apathy about missions in the parishes of England. But *why* are the clergy uneasy about missions? Why do congregations lapse into a torpor that can be felt during a missionary sermon? How have we lost the zeal of the last generation?

Since the Reformation, it has not been by any means axiomatic that the Church was in its nature missionary. Of the Reformers themselves, only Martin Bucer was concerned with confronting "all men" with Christ; in the seventeenth century efforts were made, but without success, to establish colleges for training missionaries (as by Dean Prideaux—for "poor boys out of the hospitals of London or elsewhere"); in the eighteenth century theologians "argued with

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great learning the reasonableness of belief in God, but did not let belief intrude inconveniently upon the realm of action";<sup>3</sup> in all the seven hundred pages of Heppe,<sup>4</sup> it is depressingly hard to find an adequate statement of the Church's world-wide mission. But by contrast with the spasmodic efforts of the past, the nineteenth century saw "a movement for the Evangelization of non-European peoples which is unequalled in history. Although it cannot be said that the Church as a whole rose to the occasion, the Christian world-task was now attempted on a larger scale and by a greater body of believers than ever before";<sup>5</sup> though in Britain and on the Continent, in contrast to America, the work was almost entirely entrusted to agencies which acted on behalf of, and independently of, the sending Church. Missions were handed over to enthusiastic individuals who happened to be seized with the idea, and Anglican missionary work did not necessarily enjoy episcopal supervision (as in Japan before Bickersteth). "The missionary enterprise has not come into being through conscious theological reflection on the self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ, but through the descent upon certain men — we cannot express it otherwise — of a compulsion of the Holy Spirit to undertake the proclamation of the Gospel overseas."<sup>6</sup>

At the Madras Conference of 1938, firmly centred as it was on the Bible, Church and Mission rediscovered each other; and at the more recent Willingen Conference (1952) "the theological discussion of the missionary obligation of the Church was felt to be among the most searching debates of the Conference", even though no body of agreed conclusions was reached. Since the war there has been, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, a rich theological inquiry into the Church's missionary vocation, to which theologians as eminent as Père Daniélou and Père de Lubac have contributed<sup>7</sup>— but in this inquiry Anglican theologians have scarcely participated at all. A glance through the section on the theory and principles of missions in the quarterly bibliographies supplied by the *International Review of Missions* will confirm that impression. What we have is good: the Bishop of Truro's too little known *The Mission of the Church* (1946) and the valuable essays of Canon Max Warren. But it is simply not enough: we are starved of solid theological literature on missiology; and this starvation is naturally reflected in the theological colleges, which in turn is reflected

in the parishes. "Can an icicle light a fire?"<sup>8</sup> Frederick Temple's exhortation to the clergy of London to preach twenty missionary sermons every year appears to us nothing short of fantastic.

The present uncertainty amongst the clergy about missions cannot be ascribed to any one cause, but, consciously or unconsciously, some of the following acids may be at work.

1. At a time when the clergy are working and over-working on a strategy which assumes that Great Britain, and especially parts of England, is itself *pays de mission*, it could seem like desertion or irresponsibility to abandon, or leave under-staffed, highly promising developments—except under obedience to a clear command of the Lord. And this many priests have genuine reasons to doubt. In a former generation Hudson Taylor could write to his mother of "twelve millions souls in China, every year, passing without God and without hope into eternity. Oh, what need for earnestness in the Church and in individual believers! Do we not deserve, by our worldly-mindedness . . . our disobedience to the divine command, Go teach all nations; do we not deserve to experience little of the love of God and the peace of Christianity?"<sup>9</sup> We, on the other hand, have reasons for suspecting that our Lord gave no such command as that recorded at the end of St Matthew's gospel—how otherwise account for the early Church's uncertainty about the Gentile mission? And the words of Mark 13. 10 have often been regarded as an insertion by the evangelist<sup>10</sup> (under the influence of Pauline universalism?) calculated to temper the impatience of those who were too eagerly waiting for the End, but incompatible with Matthew 10. 5; or, to take the more recent view expressed by Dr Kilpatrick, that a reference to the Gentile Mission is due only to an incorrect punctuation and to an interpretation of English rather than Greek idiom. "There is no preaching to the Gentiles of this world and there is no interest in their fate in the world to come."<sup>11</sup>

2. An incentive to missionary endeavour in the past was a belief in the necessity of baptism if the soul was to go to Heaven. It inspired the devoted labour of St Francis Xavier; it justified the pleasant practice of Roman Catholic missionaries in South America who baptized whole villages of Indians with a fire-hose<sup>12</sup>; it has on occasion led to the forcible baptism of Jewish children.<sup>13</sup> The Reformers, of course, not admitting that there was any inward efficacy in the *opus operatum* apart from the reconciliation of the

heart to Christ, held that it was contempt of, rather than deprivation of, the sacrament that damns.<sup>14</sup> For Anglicans, however, even though Article XXVII perhaps inclines to the latter view, it is certain that the former can be derived from the Prayer Book, and many Anglicans have acted in the conviction that incorporation into Christ by baptism is a fact in the ontological order, which opens up a whole range of supernatural graces, culminating in the Beatific Vision itself. But at the present time so widely is the baptism of desire interpreted;<sup>15</sup> so liberal are even some Roman Catholic theologians (who argue that it is not a theologically certain thesis that infants unbaptized *in re* are eternally excluded from heaven);<sup>16</sup> that Catholics of the Anglican Communion may well wonder whether the necessity of sacramental baptism has not lost something of its urgency. And the modern attachment to F. D. Maurice further relaxes our allegiance to the Prayer Book.

3. "The opinion is often heard that it would be detestable pride on the part of a Christian . . . to suppose that God has 'limited' his revelation to Israel and left all other people destitute." "Amazing similarities and not less amazing dissimilarities in (other religions) have come to the light, and the result has been that the religious uncertainty and lack of a sense of direction . . . have enormously increased." The relativism thus described by Kraemer has disturbed the laity at any rate.

4. The doctrine of universalism, now widely accepted, might, in some of its adherents, cut the nerve of missionary enterprise. If, "in a universe of love there can be no heaven which tolerates a chamber of horrors, no hell for any which does not at the same time make it hell for God",<sup>17</sup> why should it be any longer a pressing obligation to go out at this minute and confront unbelievers with the love of Christ? Universalism may be embraced out of mere sentimental good-will, but it can also be derived by "a process of evasion and exegesis" from the New Testament and the Fathers: and to a conscientious parish priest burdened by a lack of response to his message, it comes as a welcome relief to feel, "Well, perhaps in the end it won't matter about *X*, *Y* or *Z*, lapsed confirmation candidates, after all". But universalism universally believed would sap the Church's power to expand.

If this diagnosis of doubt is at all accurate, it merits examination and, if possible, dispelling.

1. While there is a danger of being a little too eager to assume that the trend of criticism is in favour of a conservative treatment of the historicity of the gospels, the negative view of the Lord's attitude to a Gentile Mission is open to strong challenge. After all, an eschatology would not have been complete without *some* attitude to the Gentiles. The evidence is certainly that Jesus envisaged the participation of the Gentiles in the Kingdom;<sup>18</sup> and if the Resurrection was one episode and the decisive one in the eschatological series, inaugurating the great reversal, is not Matthew true to the essential facts by including both 10. 5 and 28. 19? If, as Hoskyns thought,<sup>19</sup> Galilee represented for Mark the Gentile world, then the world-wide mission of the Church may be implied by the calling of the Twelve in Galilee; by one or both of the Feedings; and by the saying, "I will go before you into Galilee". There is also, of course, the Cleansing of the Temple and a miracle in which a Gentile is healed (grudgingly perhaps, but then at all times the only *normal* Christian is a converted Jew).<sup>20</sup> If the Jewish leaders were surprised by the success of the Gentile Mission, it may have been because they had envisaged the incorporation of the Gentiles through the preliminary conversion of Israel. But they do accept the Gentile Mission as from God and permit it to function side by side with the primary mission to the Jews.

2. Does a "liberal" view of the necessity of baptism really diminish a sense of its vital desirability? "We must go out now, not so much to pluck brands from hell fire, but . . . to bestow on the dark races a gift higher and nobler than any creed of theirs—the gift of Christ and his love. We do not say they will be damned if they do not believe, but we do say they will be blessed if they do. If they do not believe, much of the condemnation will be ours."<sup>21</sup>

Whether a revival of Maurician theology will lead to a loss of a sense of urgency about missions may also be doubted. After all, Maurice himself lectured on the Boyle Foundation in 1846-7 on the Religions of the World and their Relation to Christianity. And many of the Fathers affirmed the solidarity of *all mankind* with Christ. This is also a notable element in some contemporary Roman Catholic theology,<sup>22</sup> and one has not observed that these theologians have in any way soft-pedalled the need for each man's actual regeneration.

3. The relativism of the laity is sincerely and widely held; they are impressed by the variety and richness of the religious life of mankind, and their zeal to bring the gospel to the ends of the earth suffers accordingly. Few in our congregations will want to read Kraemer's reply to relativism—not even all the delegates at the Madras Conference, for whom the book was specially written, had read it—and in any case his theology is not Anglican theology. But there is real need for some solid teaching, out of, say, Father Thornton's *Revelation and the Modern World*. That it could be got across in a popular style was demonstrated by Father Victor White's broadcast on the Dying God.<sup>23</sup> And there is the autobiography of Mr C. S. Lewis: "Early in 1926 the hardest boiled of all the atheists I ever knew sat in my room on the other side of the fire and remarked that the evidence for the historicity of the Gospels was really surprisingly good. 'Rum thing,' he went on, 'all that stuff of Frazer's about the Dying God. Rum thing. It almost looks as if it had really happened once.'"<sup>24</sup>

4. While universalism seems to the present writer to be a danger to biblical faith, its dire effects may be exaggerated. The most sentimental thinkers have a habit of being the most effective pastors; and believers are in general often more Christian than their logic. For example, Calvinist Predestination, which by excluding freedom could offer a pretext for moral laxity, has in fact inspired lives of profound moral integrity. J. A. Froude observed that the Calvinists "attracted to themselves every man in Europe that 'hated a lie' . . . They abhorred, as no body of men ever more abhorred, all conscious mendacity, all impurity, all moral wrong of every kind so far as they could recognise it. Whatever exists at this moment in England or Scotland of conscientious fear of wrong-doing is the remnant of the convictions which were branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts."<sup>25</sup>

Certainly, the ablest of contemporary apologists for universalism writes elsewhere that "the capturing of the new Asia for Christ"<sup>26</sup> is the kind of thing for which the Church does in fact exist. The Church exists for the Kingdom: there is no room here for any etiolated concept of mission.

But a possible Biblical foundation for the Church's Mission must be built on surer ground, and this is probably to be found, as both Père Daniélou and Canon Warren have urged, in her work

of preparation for the kingdom of God and the return of the Lord. The basis for this conception might be Rom. 15. 17-24, where St Paul says that from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum he has "fully" preached the gospel, and now has no longer "room for work" in these regions. He only preaches the gospel where the name of Christ is not already known, and his immediate plans are to move westward, calling at Rome on the way, probably to establish it as a base for a mission in the West, very much as Jerusalem had served, according to the Acts, as a base from which the journeys in the East had begun and ended.

St Paul regards his work in the East as now finished, not because there were no more converts to be won, but because little Churches had been planted in strategic centres. Representatives of the peoples of the East had accepted the gospel, and through them the whole of the East had the opportunity of deciding for or against Christ. Now he must hasten to the West, so that the gospel shall be proclaimed amongst all nations. This was the condition of the coming of Christ again. Matt. 24. 12-14 explains 2 Thess 2. (St Paul thought that he, the apostle of the nations, was destined to accomplish the work in his own life-time: hence his indefatigable travelling.) And it is valid still. Our own doctrine of mission should be similarly and frankly related to eschatology. The *Parousia* and the Resurrection of the Dead are delayed until all nations have been evangelized: hence the urgency of our task,<sup>27</sup> even though it also means that a missionary must have patience—as we perhaps know better than the first Christians.

St Paul's theology of mission implies the kind of missionary strategy that Canon Warren has suggested.<sup>28</sup> The Church is an expectant, preparing nucleus: its aim is the redemption of humanity: it awaits the Lord's return, for the millennium is the symbol of God's triumph in history. Its method must be to establish Christian communities in every corner of the globe.

Mission is not simply evangelism. "If we answer the question, Why should I become a Christian? simply by saying, In order to make others Christian, we are involved in an infinite regress. The question, To what end? cannot be simply postponed to the *eschaton*."<sup>29</sup> The Church exists in as much as her life is a real foretaste of Heaven and because she participates in the life of God. There can be no evangelism without a community of worship and

love, manifesting the fruit of the Spirit, demonstrating to its neighbours as well as merely preaching. For, as Christ is the "image of the invisible God",<sup>30</sup> so Christians must be the "image" of Christ:<sup>31</sup> they are to pass through a gradual process of assimilation to the mind and character of Christ, until they finally share his glory—a glory of which the Passion was a necessary part. The Church exhibits the glory of God in generosity,<sup>32</sup> goodness of life,<sup>33</sup> and in martyrdom,<sup>34</sup> and daily celebrates the Eucharist against the Lord's coming.<sup>35</sup>

Paradoxically, there are cases of flourishing missionary Churches rising out of most unpromising preparation. "From the earliest days unedifying scenes took place at the court [of Mutesa in Buganda], where the missionaries of Christ accused each other of lying, and denounced each other's doctrine with a rigour attributable only to the grossest ignorance of each other's language and religious traditions. For example, Père Lourdel wrote to Mackay [of the C.M.S.] on his arrival asking for his support with the king; but Mackay rather did his best to discredit him, saying that Catholics worshipped a woman called Mary. Lourdel was astounded to find that the passages of scripture read by Mackay at court dealt, one with Solomon and his thousand wives, the other with the Apocalypse. He denounced Mackay's Bible as "a book of lies". But it is a remarkable fact that Christianity, so far from becoming the laughing-stock of Buganda, achieved there one of its most rapid conquests."<sup>36</sup> But such scandals do not disprove the general truth that "all the evidence which comes in from the lands of the younger Churches points to one conclusion — that when the Church has once been established the most effective force in evangelism is the changed life of the new Christians."<sup>37</sup>

Through the holy, worshipping community, the gospel will be preached to all the nations, and then . . .

The biblical doctrine of mission needs far more adequate treatment than is possible in this article—which is merely a plea for that treatment. For a greater volume of theological writing on this subject would be reflected in Bible, Doctrine, and Church History lectures in our theological colleges. And the missionary societies would employ, or borrow, theologians for talking to ordinands sometimes instead of invariably sending missionaries on furlough. A fresh understanding by the clergy will in turn

restore missionary work to its rightful place in the Church of England: no longer as a device to save a parish from total concentration upon itself, but as a necessary part of its life as a Church. The Church's professional servants will not then be tied by loyalty or devotion to the home Church to the extent of depriving the Church overseas, for St Paul preferred small communities over the whole world to well-established Churches in a few countries.

The practical proposal of this article, therefore, is that all the missionary societies of the Church should do what one is already doing to some extent: undertake a deeper theological thinking, at the temporary expense, maybe, of some of their exhortation and publicity; and see that this thinking is disseminated in the theological colleges. It would be ironical if a generation which has produced what is possibly the most emphatic statement ever made by the Church of England on the necessity of episcopal ordination<sup>37</sup> should lose the *esse* of the Church through ceasing to be missionary; should secure apostolicity and throw away the apostolate. For "we must say bluntly that when the Church ceases to be a mission, then she ceases to have any right to the titles by which she is adorned in the New Testament."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brunner, *The Word and the World* (1931), p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Preface.

<sup>3</sup> H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands* (1951), p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Reformed Dogmatics*.

<sup>5</sup> Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education* (1955), p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> W. Andersen, *Towards a Theology of Mission* (1955), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> J. Daniélou: *Le Mystère du salut des Nations* (1946); H. de Lubac: *Le fondement théologique des missions* (1945); cf. A. Retif, *Foi au Christ et Mission* (1953) and *Introduction à la doctrine pontificale des Missions* (1953).

<sup>8</sup> J. B. Whiting, of the C.M.S., at Liverpool in 1860.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by E. R. Morgan, *The Mission of the Church* (1946), pp. 88 f.

<sup>10</sup> So Vincent Taylor in his commentary, p. 507. And cf. C. K. Barrett, *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1956.

<sup>11</sup> *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. D. Nineham (1955), pp. 145 ff.

<sup>12</sup> K. Barth, *The Teaching of the Church regarding Baptism* (E. T. 1948), p. 52.

<sup>13</sup> A practice condemned by St Thomas as contrary to the natural law, S.T. III, qu. 68, a.10, where he refers to a Council of Toledo.

<sup>14</sup> Heppe *op. cit.* (E.T.), p. 624.

<sup>15</sup> K. E. Kirk, *Ignorance, Faith and Conformity* (1925).

<sup>16</sup> *The Downside Review* Autumn 1954 and Autumn 1955.

<sup>17</sup> J. A. T. Robinson, *In the End, God . . .* (1950), p. 123

<sup>18</sup> Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (1954), p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. C. F. Evans, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1954.

<sup>20</sup> Rom. 11. 17.

<sup>21</sup> P. T. Forsyth, *Missions in State and Church* (1908).

<sup>22</sup> J. Bonsirven, *Théologie du N.T.* (1951), p. 266, where he cites also Fathers Malevez and Congar.

<sup>23</sup> Printed in *God and the Unconscious* (1952), pp. 215 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Surprised by Joy*, p. 211. Cf. W. Temple, *Readings in St John's Gospel*, p. 155.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Sept. 1948, p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> J. A. T. Robinson in *The Historic Episcopate* (1954), p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2.

<sup>28</sup> *The Truth of Vision* (1948) and *The Christian Imperative* (1955).

<sup>29</sup> L. Newbigin, *The Household of God* (1953), p. 148.

<sup>30</sup> Col 1. 15.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Cor. 3. 18, Rom. 8. 29.

<sup>32</sup> 2 Cor. 8. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Phil. 1. 1.

<sup>34</sup> 1 Peter 4. 16.

<sup>35</sup> Acts 2. 46, 47.

<sup>36</sup> Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1952), pp. 74-5.

<sup>37</sup> Neill, *Christ, His Church and His World* (1948), p. 142.

<sup>38</sup> The report to the Convocations before the South India debates last year.

<sup>39</sup> Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

## S.P.G. : How it works

By **BASIL C. ROBERTS**

SINCE the revival of missionary enterprise in the Church of England 250 odd years ago the fundamental purpose of its pioneers has not radically changed. Its description in the S.P.G. Charter of 1701 sounds antiquated to-day. But the choice of its title—"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel"—indelibly marked its evangelistic purpose, while its association from the first with the ecclesiastical authorities gave it a clear mandate to shepherd the faithful and to reproduce the Anglican tradition as well as to preach the Gospel to the unconverted. The consistent aim has therefore been to plant and develop the Church in lands overseas, both by the supply of spiritual nurture to Christian settlers abroad and by the proclamation of the Gospel to indigenous inhabitants. All the time the Society has been operating in dutiful allegiance to its own constitutional order, and has equally sought to respect and collaborate with the authority of the "younger Churches" in the countries which it has undertaken to serve.

There have however been limitations to the realization of this ideal, and landmarks in the history of its application. The original spheres of S.P.G. activity were North America and the West Indies. But it was not until 1784, when the S.P.G. connection had already been severed by the War of Independence, that the United States received their first Bishop. Canada was equally bereft until 1787; and in the West Indies, where there are now eight Dioceses with a Provincial organization, no Bishop was appointed until 1824. This process was repeated as S.P.G. expanded later into other parts of the British Empire like South Africa, India, Australia, and New Zealand. But it required a new Charter in 1921 to justify the advance into territories outside the British Empire, and this sanction brought China and Japan within its legitimate field. In the course of the years there have naturally been movements in both directions, some areas coming within the orbit of the Society's care and aid, and others honourably dispensing with it through their own advancement to maturity and self-sufficiency. But there

still remain 48 Dioceses in four continents which look to S.P.G. for assistance in some form and degree and value its fellowship.

That is briefly the background of the heritage into which the Society of to-day has entered, and of the purpose which it is striving to fulfil on an ever-increasing scale. But an assessment of its achievements and hopes needs to be qualified by the reminder that a sense of living from hand to mouth is the almost inevitable experience of a Missionary Society. This condition arises from several causes.

(a) The Society is dependent, apart from any capital resources which it may have accumulated, upon a voluntary and uncertain income. It is true that the returns of annual offerings manifest a fairly constant pattern, and that even legacy receipts at the moment maintain an unexpectedly high level. But at best the appeal, publicized by every known and legitimate method, produces far less than could be used with profit, and the response is undoubtedly affected by the economic condition of the country and by the increasing demands which in post-war days the home Church has been compelled to make upon the goodwill and generosity of its members. It is a platitude to repeat that the income of fifteen years ago is nothing like equal to the expenses of to-day, and, in so far as the Society is a human agency, it cannot avoid the painful duty of "cutting its coat according to its cloth".

(b) The Society is similarly conditioned in its search for manpower. We dare not say or think that the voice of God is slack in sounding the call to overseas service. But the answer to it is periodically variable, and it is notorious that at the present time the Societies are hard put to it to fill existing vacancies amongst all types of workers, let alone to embark upon new work. This shortage also pins a Society down to a course of bare necessity rather than liberating it to follow the promptings of aspiration.

(c) The Society's obligations are spread over a world of unpredictable upheavals in nature, politics, and economics, and, although keen discernment may forestall some of them, for the most part they can only be met by opportunist reactions as they arise. Who could have foretold that the launching of an appeal for the crying needs of the Province of the West Indies would have been almost immediately overlaid by the disastrous hurricane which has inflicted appalling wreckage upon three of its Dioceses? Who could have anticipated that much of the work which the Church has labor-

iously built up in India and Pakistan would be deluged by the miseries and ruin caused by the recent floods? Who could have foreseen a dozen years ago that the door of missionary entry into China would have been completely closed, or even five years ago that the almost undisputed responsibility of the Church for Bantu education in South Africa would have passed into the hands of the Government?

These are typical instances of the way in which plans and policies, however well and conscientiously conceived, may be dislocated, if not frustrated, by events and circumstances over which the Church has no control. That is what is meant by saying that a Missionary Society lives a hand-to-mouth existence. Such situations may be an outward token of divine judgement on mistaken methods and unworthy motives, or they may simply be tests of endurance and examples of the travail through which the redemption of the world is to be won. But in either case they call for alertness to the lessons which they reveal, and flexibility towards the changing scene.

It is not denied, however, that alongside this capacity for adjustment there must be a basis of clear principle and intelligent foresight upon which the direction of a Society's movement is grounded. This article is intended to show that S.P.G. has something of the forward-looking touch and is inspired by certain definite aims which are impervious to superficial and temporary accidents.

In the first place, it believes that the formulation of policy and the application of resources in any Province or Diocese are the proper function of the Church authority in the area rather than of the home Society. It may be urged in the words of the proverb that "the outsider sees most of the game", and a body of sympathetic supporters, which has contacts with diverse and widely scattered Anglican communities, may be aware of developments and tendencies of which local leaders are only dimly conscious. To that extent a Society is justified in becoming a medium of exchange for ideas and experiments which may be applicable and beneficial in many regions other than their source. The limitation of its means also compels it to exercise some preference and choice between alternative proposals which may be submitted to it by a single Diocese or between the competitive claims of a number of Dioceses. But, generally speaking, the principle holds good that the local Church with its more intimate knowledge of

relevant conditions is the best judge of what will most effectively minister to its welfare and progress, and that the chief interest of the Society is to help in implementing that judgement to the utmost of its ability.

Arising out of that axiom comes the endeavour to secure *stability*, and consequently the conviction that the office of the Bishop, whether missionary or indigenous, should be established on a firm financial footing. It is on that ground that S.P.G. has contributed, and is still contributing, substantial sums for the endowment of new sees, so that the occupants may not be subject to the anxieties and exigencies of worldly risks. After that, a main concern of the Society is for the supply and training of the local ministry. It is not alone in recognizing that the full development and extension of the Church in Africa or India or Japan lies with the natives of these countries, attuned to the customs and habits of thought of their peoples. Whether the time will ever come when missionaries from abroad will have exhausted their usefulness and become superfluous is difficult to say. It seems more likely that, before that happens, it will have dawned upon the Church at large that men of all races and colours and languages are of equal potentiality in the family of God, and that the only distinction which counts is that of spiritual attainment. Then it may be that a free interchange of ministries will be even more zealously encouraged and organized than it is to-day, and a real integration of the cosmopolitan Church, with a richer interpretation of the Christian faith as it is filtered through a diversity of devout minds, will come about. But meanwhile the precursors of this visionary future, who suffer many handicaps through the lack or inadequacy of preliminary education and the dearth of theological literature in their own languages, deserve the best that can be given them in the way of ordination training. Hence S.P.G. is always anxious to deal generously with institutions like Bishop's College, Calcutta, or Codrington College, Barbados, and with those who on the recommendation of their Bishops seek original or advanced training at St Augustine's College or elsewhere in this country.

A third plank in the S.P.G. platform is the encouragement of self-support. And here we pass from the concept of stability into the realm of *anticipation*. For it is neither our wish nor the wish of our poorest overseas brethren that they should be indefinitely dependent upon gifts from outside, and very many are already

struggling bravely towards the goal of self-support. Again it is doubtful, as in the case of missionaries, whether for some generations to come the financial aid of the home Church will be outgrown. For if we were to be freed from this responsibility in Malaya or Jamaica, as we have been in past history from obligations to the United States and Canada, to Australia and New Zealand, there would still be the unreached millions to be made accessible to the preaching of the Gospel. The unfinished task will demand a re-application rather than a withdrawal of our resources. But, if this is to become possible, there must be a deliberate movement at both ends of the existing relationships towards a lessening of dependence and a release of recurrent grants, and this process can be illustrated by a scheme of consolidation which S.P.G. is operating in India and Pakistan.

An offer was made five or six years ago that the Society would convey to each Diocese sufficient capital over a period of ten years to provide a permanent endowment of half the present annual grant for what we call "Other Mission Work", as distinct from the maintenance of missionaries. The condition was that 10% of the current grant should be withdrawn each year, which meant that the Diocese would gradually increase its local income by 5% annually, until at the end of the period its present grant was covered half by endowment and half by self-support. The scheme has been taken up wholly or partially by a majority of the Dioceses, and, I think, may be said to be achieving its objects, which were to give greater elasticity to the Society's budget, to stimulate local initiative, and to strengthen the overseas Dioceses in a problematic political future with permanent revenue untainted by foreign origin and control.

A somewhat similar plan has been adopted in six of the poorer Dioceses in South Africa and the West Indies, to which a seventh is now being added, wherein the remuneration of the clergy, whether missionary or local, is woefully inadequate. A total of £3,000 has been promised over each of the next ten years for augmenting the stipends of the more needy clergy, and the several grants will normally diminish by 10% a year. But if a Diocese elects to invest the whole or any part of the grant and succeeds in raising local contributions to supplement the investment, the reduction will be waived to an extent equivalent to the Diocese's own effort. Thus self-help is again encouraged, and, while immed-

iate hardships are relieved, an opportunity is given to build up by degrees a respectable capital sum which will be of continuous value.

Both these schemes require inroads upon capital resources which are in fact legacy income. The Societies, no doubt, follow different procedures in the disposal of the fruits of bequests, and in our own case there is an uneasy tension between the policy of conserving these assets and that of spending them. In favour of conservation is the laudable ambition to accumulate such reserves that the whole of the terrifying item of home expenditure could be covered by the interest upon them, and the public told that every penny entrusted to us would be sent overseas. On the other hand, there are situations overseas so urgent, and perhaps so fleeting, that it is doubtfully wise or right to hoard money which might be used to buy up inviting opportunities. No entirely satisfactory solution of the problem has been found, and it calls for further investigation. It should be added, however, that it has been the perhaps not very popular practice of the Society to issue occasional and special appeals for emergency purposes. For a variety of reasons these exceptions to ordinary routine provoke a good deal of hesitation and misgiving. They constitute an obvious threat to the regular funds of the Society. They impose an enormous amount of work upon the Staff and may easily distract attention from the main and continuing task. But in spite of the fact that S.P.G. has sponsored two such appeals within the last twelve months, no word of complaint has come from the responsible organizers, and the emergency fund for South Africa which brought in over £40,000 was accompanied by an increase of more than £5,000 in our General Fund for 1954. A similarly happy result seems likely to emerge from the West Indies Appeal, which at the time of writing has also exceeded £40,000. It does appear that there is occasional justification for these marginal efforts, and that our supporters are generously responsive when their consciences are stirred, without forgetting the calls upon them to sustain the day-to-day commitments.

S.P.G. naturally cherishes its own record and character. But it is neither wedded to isolation nor impervious to change. It is fully aware of the wider context and fellowship within which it works, and in the inner circle it stretches out a hand to those Diocesan Associations with which it co-operates within the same field. Through the Partnership Scheme it offers a share in counsel and

equipment to these smaller bodies, and, where they so choose, a financial nexus which helps to guarantee the stability of their income. The relationship is so designed as to bring home to the consciousness of those groups, whose interests are engaged by personal or domestic associations in a particular area, that they have a place in the whole structure of the missionary campaign and within their narrower confines are closely knit together in prayer and service with all others who are pledged to the universal proclamation of Christian truth. This link has been of appreciable value to the planning of S.P.G., and has shown its fruits in a steady increase of the aggregate income of the Associations themselves over a series of years.

On the same principle the Society itself is compassed about by the more comprehensive environment of the Overseas Council, of Edinburgh House and the International Missionary Council, and most recently of the Anglican Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy. From all these connections, exacting as they are, it becomes evident that the Church is being led towards a much wider range of vision and a much more corporate and ordered policy, and is equipping itself more efficiently to combat the strains and stresses of adverse conditions and to enlarge its opportunities of expansion. No section of the missionary movement can afford to ignore the trend towards co-operative and ecumenical action which has characterized the last generation. And, even if a disposition to re-examine and adjust their methods and relationships did not exist within the Societies themselves, it would be forced upon them by current events in a world of revolution and upheaval. But it has to be confessed that experiments in co-operation are bound to be faltering and hesitant, until more common agreement prevails amongst the allied Christian bodies as to what constitutes the basic nature of the Church. Hence the deeper problem of Christian unity overshadows all practical projects in partnership, and in this sphere the example of the Church of South India has become the acid test of our thoughts and prayers.

This survey will give some indication of where the Society stands, without losing sight of the ultimate goal. There are voices amongst us which would criticize the soundness and productiveness of missionary methods in the past and would plead for a radically different approach. No doubt there have been mistakes and failures and disappointments. It is equally certain that there is a widespread

consciousness of the weaknesses of the present. We are all impatient for the wholesale and more rapid conversion of tribes and peoples to Christianity. We all realize the tremendous sacrifices and dangers which are often encountered by the individual convert. We all deplore the tendency of established congregations to become static and unadventurous. We are all concerned over the incapacity of the Church to supply anything like a regular ministration of the Word and Sacraments to its scattered adherents. We are all taking to heart the warnings of the dangers which lie in the mistaken identification of the Church's mission with Western civilization or government, or in too little adaptation of missionaries to the life and manners of the peoples whom they serve. S.P.G. is not insensitive to these symptoms of maladjustment. But it feels that it must find remedies for them without forsaking its chosen path of propagating the Gospel and building up the Church on the sure foundations of its inherited faith and order, and with profound thankfulness for the blessings which have crowned its labours in the mercies of God. It is from his inspiration rather than from human wisdom that any future redirection of its policies and endeavours must spring.

## THE CHRISTIAN AND THE “HOUSE” OF ISLAM

By M. A. C. WARREN

THE Christian who rejoices in his membership of that “household” of which St. Paul writes in Ephesians 2. 19-22 should be able to enter into a sympathetic and genuinely friendly discussion with a Muslim, a man who also treasures the ideal of humanity as a “household”. He too envisages a society in which there are “no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God”. And his household is also built upon the foundation of “apostles and prophets”. However diverse our Christian interpretation of this whole concept of a household however decisively different is the nature of the “corner stone” in Islam and Christianity, there is yet here a meeting place in the realm of ideas. Perhaps the most important single task confronting the Christian in his approach to the Muslim to-day is to discover such meeting-places. For unless there can be some place of genuine meeting there can be no introduction of the Muslim to Jesus Christ. And by the word “Muslim” I do not just mean the isolated individual but the man-in-relationship, the Muslim in the “household of Islam”. To present Christ to Muslims will of course involve individual decision, and for some perhaps the pain of loneliness in that decision, but it means much more than that. To present Christ to a Muslim is to invite him in all the setting of his culture to share in the inexhaustible riches of Christ. And, what is more, because we Christians hold the vision of a time when all the glory of the nations will be brought into the City of God, we must recognize that the nations of the Muslim world will not come empty-handed. God who is the Lord of history is the Lord of Muslim history, and his One Holy Spirit has been brooding in love and patience and creative power over the Muslim world as elsewhere.

That fundamental conviction, that approach, lies behind all that follows. But no one who has even the most elementary knowledge of the Muslim world to-day will imagine that the task confronting the Christian is anything but tremendously difficult. Yet it has to

be undertaken. It is at least possible that the Christian with a distinctively religious approach will have something to contribute without which politicians and chiefs of staff will strive in vain.

Because politicians and chiefs of staff have to deal with geography in all its aspects, and because geography also affords one of the terms of reference of the Christian enterprise, some awareness of the geographical dimensions of the "House" of Islam is essential to our theme. Territorially speaking the area stretches from Dakar in West Africa to Lahore in Pakistan, from the shores of the Caspian to the great tropical forests of Africa, an unbroken land mass. But in addition there are significant "islands" of influence in East Pakistan, the North-West of China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, and along the East Coast of Africa. Superimposed upon these geographical facts is the political confusion of our time. Here the unity of the "House" of Islam is no more conspicuous than the unity of Christendom, if indeed the latter term is not an anachronism altogether. Politically, then, the territories which comprise the "House" of Islam are infinitely varied. They include a Pakistan and an Indonesia proud of their substantial achievement of independence; the Arab States and Iran, formally independent but deeply frustrated by their effective dependence on political forces wholly outside their control; Turkey, the great "heretic" of Islam, a committed and respected member of N.A.T.O.; French North Africa, seething with revolt against France; British Northern Nigeria, for various reasons nervous about becoming independent too soon; and the Sudan starting to "shoot the rapids".

Both the geographical and the political aspects of the "House" of Islam call for a sensitive appreciation by the Westerner, Christian or otherwise. Perhaps we can best arrive at such an appreciation if we understand the mood of the members of this household as being comprised of three factors, all of them historically conditioned.

FIRST there is their deep *contempt* for the West both in its Christian and its secularist character. We have to remember that the religion of Islam commended itself as more desirable than Christianity over a considerable part of the world which, at the time of its arrival, had already been in the process of moulding by the Christian faith for several centuries. There are great mosques in Istanbul and Damascus, and elsewhere, which were once famous

Christian sanctuaries. That it is possible to find in Cordova a great Christian Church which was once a mosque is, in the sheer insignificance of the contrast which it presents, a measure of the ground of the Muslim's pride that his religion is the more powerful. Furthermore, when every allowance has been made for the courageous persistence of the ancient Churches of the East in maintaining their worship and identity, their very position as tolerated "survivals" without any apparent capacity for expansion has re-inforced the Muslim's sense of innate superiority of his own faith.

In relation to the secularism of the West the contempt of the Muslim takes a somewhat different form, being not without some mingling of repulsion and fear. All that is best in Islam dreads the corrosive forces of a secular way of life, afraid even when it despises that which it fears. With this reaction Christians must surely have some real sympathy.

However much the Christian may have reason on his side in explaining this mood of contempt as in part the outcome of the centuries-long isolation of the Muslim world from all the post-renaissance developments of the West, the mood has to be taken seriously. It is a psychological factor of the first magnitude. Failure to appreciate this factor of racial pride, the force of contempt for the Westerner, in the case of China has already cost the western world dear. It will be a blunder indeed if this Muslim contempt for the "infidel" is laughed at as irrational. We live in a world which is not conspicuously devoted to the cult of reason. We will be on surer ground if we study St Paul's approach as set out in 1 Corinthians 1. 23-31. Fundamental to that passage is a radical humility in which the Christian claims absolutely nothing for himself, but holds to a faith which trusts absolutely to God. There is in such humility before men and in such surrender to God's power a place of meeting with the Muslim, who when most true to his own insights knows what it is to submit to God and to respect his fellow-men on the basis of their common "nothingness" apart from God. As long as we Christians approach Muslims along the line of our own imagined "progress" and "superiority", we shall invite the response of a stubborn contempt. On every ground, not least that of our own Gospel, we do best to approach our fellow-men as being ourselves "sinners being saved by grace alone".

The SECOND factor in the mood of the members of the household of Islam is *resentment*. This resentment is historically conditioned by the memory of the crusades and by the nineteenth-century pre-occupation of the Western "Christian" powers with expediting the death of "the sick man of Europe"—Turkey. Turkey was the seat of the Caliph and the guardian of the glory of the tradition of Islam. To the Muslim the "aggression" of the Western powers in the nineteenth century was no more than the renewal of the crusades, the attempt by force to deprive Muslims of the fruit of their earlier conquests. No amount of argument, valid in itself, that the Arab awakening was first nourished in Christian educational institutions in the Near East, and that paladins like Lawrence of Arabia and Wingate of the Sudan sought to satisfy the genuine ambition of Arab nationalism, will exorcize the awareness of the actual duplicity of western diplomacy from 1914 down until to-day. If the realist insists on the dynamic forces of history and refuses to countenance any place for idealism in the relationship between nations then he must come to terms with the dynamic power of resentment.

This deep-seated resentment of the Westerner, whose religion is assumed to be the animating force of his politics, is a factor which no Christian can ignore in his approach to the Muslim, more particularly in the heartlands of the world of Islam. There is an inescapable burden of suspicion under which every Christian has to labour as he seeks to witness for Christ to the "House" of Islam. It is a burden which we must carry with penitence and from which there is no escape.

The THIRD factor in the mood of the members of the household of Islam is *frustration*. This takes various forms, but it is seen most acutely in the Arab countries of the Near and Middle East. The break-up of the old Turkish Empire, the "Arab awakening", the doctrine of "self-determination", the mounting tide of nationalism—all these have combined to bring the Arab peoples to the threshold of independence. But geography has been the apparently malignant frustrator of all their hopes. The discovery that these lands represent the largest known reserve of oil in the world has meant that this area has become more than ever the cockpit of the political rivalries of foreign powers. No genuine independence is possible when a country's main source of wealth can only be exploited by foreign capital and foreign technicians, and when this

exploitation is itself a vital part of the foreigners' political strategy. The fundamental fact is that the Arab peoples have reached the threshold of independence to be cheated of its real enjoyment.

Again, they occupy the narrow bridgehead uniting three continents. The international highways of the sea and the air intersect them. Theirs can never be "the happiness of lands that have no history" or that of lands in some real position to shape their own destiny. They are the victims of geography. This is as true of Iran and of Egypt as it is of the Arab countries proper. Iran can at the best hope to maintain a measure of independence by being a convenient buffer state, a position that hardly enhances national dignity. Egypt knows that its life depends on the waters of the Nile whose source, and its flow for the greater part of its length, is not under Egyptian control. Here are the origins of that deep-rooted frustration which is the inner source of so much of the confusion of the Near and Middle East to-day. Perhaps nowhere else in the world are there peoples whose self-realization depends more completely on the establishment of some peaceful community of nations. The Arab "bloc" in the United Nations is much more than a pressure group: it is an appeal to the conscience of mankind.

A deeply sympathetic entrance into this sense of frustration, which in other forms is to be found in areas as diverse as Pakistan and Northern Nigeria, is indispensable if the Christian is to come to a true understanding of the mood of Islam.

There then are three psychological factors of immense importance for the Christian Mission in the world of our time, more particularly as it looks towards the "House" of Islam. One other factor may perhaps open wide a window of understanding. It is common to speak of the fanaticism of Muslims in regard to the way in which they hold their faith in relation to that of others. That such fanaticism is real no one will wish to argue. The law of apostasy in Islam still prescribes the death penalty. If modified in practice in many places it has not been abrogated. This is something that has to be understood and not just condemned. One clue to its understanding is again found in the facts of geography. Islam was born in a desert. Its great conquests have been made hitherto in that vast area of desert which stretches from Dakar to Lahore. Over the greater part of this area nature is harsh and cruel. Man has to fight its rigours with unceasing effort. Religion alone provides the necessary inspiration for this perseverance.

Religion alone is strong enough to give cohesion to the community in which the survival of the fittest so easily becomes the rule. Historically the religion of this area for a thousand years has been Islam. When a religion means so much in an endless fight against adverse circumstances it is likely to be held with fanaticism. The apostate will be viewed not only as a rebel against God but as a betrayer of his people's life. We need to understand this factor of an unfriendly environment if we are to do justice even to what we find most repugnant in those we come to meet. We too have a lot to explain.

It may well be that the economic development of those desert regions and the securing of greater material prosperity will temper the whole outlook of the peoples of these lands. This and peace and the realization of nationhood may indeed prove to be a veritable preparation for the Gospel. It would not be the first time in history that such was the course of events.

One other factor of great importance for our consideration calls for notice, although within the compass of this article it is impossible to do it justice. This is the resurgent missionary spirit in Islam to-day. Islam is in its genius as much a missionary religion as Christianity. In parts of Africa it is to-day advancing both more rapidly than, and at the expense of, Christianity. This is a fact which the Christian Church is called to take seriously—the whole Church and not only the Church in Africa. Nevertheless this missionary resurgence should not affect the spirit of the Christian approach. That must always be consistent with the Spirit of Christ our Lord and of his Gospel.

What then may we say about the proper strategy of the Christian Mission in its relation to the "House" of Islam? There are three aspects of such strategy which would seem to call for exploration, the three being seen as interdependent and in no sense as mutually exclusive.

One aspect will be found in the sincere attempt at a genuine encounter of mind between Christian and Muslim. This is more than an attempt to bring the scholars of both faiths together with a view to securing a truer understanding of each other's vocabulary, though it includes this. Indeed the clearing away of misunderstanding is an essential step towards mutual respect and true charity. But the task cannot be left to scholars. It must be reflected in a genuine attempt at the ordinary, everyday, level to

establish friendship between Christian and Muslim. For this there must be the deliberate acceptance by the Christian of the Muslim as a human being to be loved and not just as an unbeliever to be converted. This represents an attitude of mind on the part of the Christian which has not always been present in the Christian missionary enterprise. This attitude of mind does not, however, mean the abandonment of any attempt to present the claims of Christ. Rather it is, in the circumstances of today, the probable precondition of ever reaching the point where the Muslim can so encounter Christ that Christ himself presents his own claim. Here is a principle of evangelism of wider relevance.

Another aspect of Christian strategy is the witness of service given in the Name of Christ and after his pattern. This may take a variety of forms. The school and the clinic, the college and the hospital have an important contribution to make not least in providing places for meeting. Crucial to the ultimate effectiveness of this approach is the vitality of the local Christian community however small. The Church itself must obviously be a household and a welcoming household at that. Here, alas, the Muslim has too often the excuse to say, "Physician heal thyself".

A third aspect of Christian strategy is the concentration of a greater attention upon those areas in which Muslim, Pagan, and Christian meet. Here in numerous instances the issue is open. Here again the opportunity is offered for the growth of a Church which is African or Asian in character, rather than European, a Church better able to represent a "household of faith" perhaps because it will lack some of the unhappy associations which the Muslim has with Christianity in its western guise.

These three aspects of Christian strategy are already being pioneered, but as yet on all too small a scale. The need for a new approach by the Christian to the "House" of Islam calls for a change of mind and a warming of heart on the part of Christians throughout the world of which there is, as yet, but little sign. To this end there is a great need for prayer. Something of the nature of the prayer needed and of the presuppositions on which it must be based is to be found in that third chapter of his letter to the Ephesians to which St Paul moved on direct from his vision of the "Household of God".

## THE SECTS

### A Missionary Problem

By ERIC JAY

IN letters and reports from many parts of the Church overseas it is not unusual nowadays to come across a phrase like "Jehovah's Witnesses are causing us a good deal of anxiety here" or "The Seventh Day Adventists have descended upon us". The Bishops of the Province of the West Indies who were in England in the latter part of 1955 to confer with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and to inaugurate their appeal for the Church in the West Indies, made it clear that the activity of many, and some of them very strange, sects was becoming a large problem in the Caribbean. Whilst the Church, handicapped through lack of men and money, is compelled to distribute its resources thinly over a wide area, other religious bodies, well supplied with workers and with money, generally from the United States, concentrate on the Church's weak spots, and are gaining many adherents among the simpler West Indians, ill-equipped as they are to withstand the pressure of propaganda or the subtle inducements which are offered for their allegiance. Many people in this country have experience of the persistence of the emissaries, for example, of the Jehovah's Witnesses. To buy the literature which is offered for sale at the door is often felt to be the quickest, though a weak, way of escaping. The effect of this kind of persistence, allied to skilful methods of propaganda, upon simple people can only be guessed. But on all sides it is reported that it is meeting with success. "There is the ever-increasing influx of odd sects, notably . . . . Seventh Day Adventists and Mormons" (S.P.G. Review of 1954-1955, *No Time to Waver*). These words appear in the section on Polynesia. Bishop Gibson of Jamaica said in June 1955, "Whereas the Anglican Church has built only three places of worship in the last 20 years, the sects have built over 300."

Here, then, is a phenomenon in the history of Christendom which, if not new, is making itself felt in new ways and with new urgency. Detailed study of the phenomenon is called for, because

appropriate counteraction can only be taken on the basis of accurate knowledge. But it can at once be said that what is most needed to stem the influence of the sects is a greater number of priests and trained laymen to cover the territory and teach the faith. The late Archbishop of York, Dr Garbett, returning from his Caribbean tour in 1954, in commenting on the way in which the people were a prey to strange sects said, "They need to be taught the intellectual side of religion in a simple manner." The problem presented to the Church by the sects points, as do so many problems, to the answer "More men and more money". When the Church is ready to give that answer the influence of the sects will begin to wane. Yet, when that has been said, it remains true that the situation presented by the existence and activity of the sects calls for a detailed study, both because, as said above, it will point the way to the most effective counteraction, and also because the situation will be found to hold lessons for the Church.

Such a detailed study is beyond the scope of an article. Instead, this article will attempt to suggest some of the questions which this contemporary flowering of the sects seems to raise. They all need fuller treatment than can be given here.

The first question is, perhaps, an academic one: What is a sect? The Greek word *αἵρεσις* translated "sect" in the New Testament may give us help in answering this question. Closely connected with *οἶστραι* to choose, the word *αἵρεσις* denotes a group of people who have chosen, as against the majority, to emphasize a particular strand of the religious tradition which they have received, whether it be a matter of belief or of practice. That is evidently the significance of the word as applied in Acts 5. 17 to the Sadducees, in Acts 15. 5 and 26. 5 to the Pharisees, and as used of Christians in relation to Judaism in Acts 24. 5, 24. 14, and 28. 22. Frequently, but by no means necessarily, such particularization leads to the severance of the group from the majority. The point which is emphasized becomes an obsession. Those who will not give it the same emphasis are regarded as being in grievous error. Its exponents quickly come to the position "We are right, and everybody else is wrong", and the *αἵρεσις* becomes a "sect" in the literal sense of a body of people cut off from the rest. The essence of sectarianism, then, is in a temper of mind, in which wilfulness and pride combine, rather than in any error of doctrine. Nevertheless sectarianism is usually productive of doctrinal error.

But which of the several hundred bodies claiming to be Christian are to be reckoned as sects? While many may have some idea of how to answer this question, few perhaps would care to draw up a list. If one could take a Roman Catholic viewpoint the answer would be easy: every religious body which does not without reservation acknowledge the authority of the Pope could be called a sect. This answer has the merits of logicality and tidiness. But to make the criterion a doctrine which has very slender foundation in the teaching of Christ and the New Testament raises the question whether the Roman Catholic Church is not itself a monstrous example of *aiōgeōtis*. The strict Anglican position would, presumably, be to take the "Lambeth Quadrilateral" as a criterion, and to say that those religious bodies are sects which do not accept the Holy Scriptures as authoritative for doctrine, the Creeds, the Dominical Sacraments, and the Threefold Ministry. This again is a nicely logical answer to our question. But it ignores the very real differences that exist between denominations. An impartial observer, if such could be found, would detect important distinctions between, for example, the Lutherans, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians on the one hand, and Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, and Christian Scientists, let us say, on the other. The drawing of the line would be an invidious task, and possibly it is not a very useful task. But fortunately it is one which need not be undertaken in this article.

A second question is: What is the cause of the growth of sects? Here again Roman Catholics have an easy answer: the sects stem from the Reformation. Separation from Rome meant removal from the unifying influence of the Papacy, and the inevitable result was the break-up into numerous sects. The sects, according to this argument, are the necessary consequence of Protestantism. But this answer will not bear the light of investigation. Sects were known in the history of Christendom before the Reformation. They existed in New Testament times, both in an incipient (1 Cor. 1. 12) and in a developed form (Rev. 2. 6). All students of early Church history will be aware of the many sects which flourished on the fringe of Christianity in the first few centuries. It is true that, from the time of the growth of Papal power in the fifth and sixth centuries until the Reformation, sectarianism, though not entirely non-existent, was not prominent. So in the modern totalitarian State deviation is not encouraged. But underground movements cannot be alto-

gether prevented. And in mediaeval times also the perennial spirit of *alqēotis* discovered for itself outlets in cults which were not always as healthy as some of the modern sects.

Nor can it be easily maintained that in modern times the sects always have their origin in Protestantism. For there are a number of small sects which at any rate claim to have arisen out of a Catholic tradition, for example "The Ancient Roman Church" and "The African Orthodox Church". Nevertheless it is true that sectarianism flourishes far more luxuriantly on the Protestant side of the ecclesiastical watershed than on the Catholic side. Yet the human nature to be found on both sides is much the same. It is probable that the comparative freedom from sectarianism within the sphere of the Roman Catholic Church is due to the wisdom which that Church has shown in countenancing the existence of a great number of societies, communities for professed religious and sodalities for the laity, in which markedly different types of piety can find expression. Anglicanism also, compared with reformed Churches of other traditions, has been unproductive of sects, and may justly claim that this is due to its bold recognition that authentic Christianity must have room for more than a single intellectual attitude and a single devotional temper.

The cause of sectarianism, then, lies deeper than the movements which gave rise to the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It lies in a defect of human nature which is not peculiar to any one period, or to any particular groups of people. It is to be found in human pride and egoism, the spirit that resents authority and which wants to "run one's own show". This is the spirit of *alqēotis* of which we have spoken. It is an ingredient, perhaps, in the character of most people. But when it is possessed by a man of some forcefulness and ability, given the excuse of a grievance against authority, the opportune moment, and the presence of a few easily influenced persons, a sect is born. Loyalty, humility, and patience would have kept them in the fellowship to work from within to put right what they considered wrong; but wilfulness, pride, and impatience sweep them out into a sect, to the loss of the Church which perhaps needed the emphasis or the protest they wished to make, and might have accepted it had not passions been roused by violent and precipitate action.

This leads us to the consideration that the Church itself must bear no small part of the blame for the rise of the sects. Where a

part of the Catholic faith has been minimized, where the whole gospel of Christ has not been preached, there sects have flourished. Had the Church's doctrine of the hereafter been more convincingly and simply taught, the Spiritualist sects could not have gained the allegiance they enjoy today. Had the Church faithfully and intelligently carried out our Lord's commission to heal, Christian Science and other healing sects would never have found so many bewildered people ready to listen to them. Had the Church's preaching in the last hundred years not left the essential element of eschatology almost out of account, the many Adventist sects would have had no reason for existence. No doubt Mary Baker Eddy, Charles Russell, and the other founders of sects would still have had some measure of success, but the sects could not have grown so powerful as they are to-day in the face of a Church faithfully teaching and preaching the truth of Christ. The Church omits any part of Catholic truth at its peril; every clause of the Creed is important.

A further question which arises is: What are the reasons for the comparative success of the sects? Negatively, as we have seen, it may be due to some failure of the Church, enabling the sects to provide an answer to some intellectual or emotional need left unfulfilled by the Church's failure to give due emphasis to every part of Christian truth, or by a failure on the pastoral side. But positively success must be due in large part to the strategy and tactics employed by the sects. And in this field accurate and comprehensive information drawn from all quarters would be of the greatest use. The information is not available at present. Missionary reports contain references to the activity of sects in many parts of the world, but give few details. A thorough investigation may reveal that the tactics employed here and there are questionable; that some wealthier sects attempt to gain adherents by bribery; that emissaries are sent at once to places from which the Church has had to withdraw a man; that advantage is taken of local rivalries. Such, at least, are some of the complaints which come from the Church overseas. But it will also certainly show that the success of the sects is in no small way due to the efficiency and thoroughness of their workers. Coming, as many of them do, from America, they are organized with the efficiency of American business; their advertising is effective; time is bought on the local radio systems; churches and

other efficient looking buildings are quickly erected. Nothing succeeds like success; and all this undoubtedly impresses unsophisticated people who nevertheless are able to compare it with the depleted resources and dilapidated buildings of the Church in so many places. There is also the undoubted fact that the workers of the sects are strong in their witness and show an immense pertinacity and courage. Their persistence and patience in visiting and in selling their literature is worthy of a better cause.

Fuller information would, without doubt, bring to light much from which the Church can learn. It is to be hoped that somebody will undertake a comprehensive survey of the sects, their number, their date and place of origin (possibly much is to be learned about the root cause of sectarianism from the periods in which they sprang into being), and their methods. But it must be repeated that action need not and must not wait until such a survey is completed. The people "need to be taught the intellectual side of religion in a simple manner." Minds must be bent anew to the question how most effectively to teach the Christian faith to the simplest people of this generation—an age-old problem, but one now dignified with a new name, the problem of communication. It is to be done by devoted pastors and wise preachers, and by literature which will attract and convince. And this means that the Church must increase the supply of men and money as a first step towards delivering Christendom from the scandal of the sects.

# WHY HAS CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN MADE SUCH SLOW PROGRESS?

By W. ENKICHI KAN

I AM often asked both by foreigners and Japanese why Christianity has not made much progress in Japan, in spite of the enormous amount of money spent by the Churches of the West in my country. Of course, there are many reasons, but I cannot here trace the whole history of Christianity in Japan. I will single out only one very important factor which to my mind has been the fundamental obstacle to the spread of the Gospel in the period from the Meiji restoration until the last war. That factor is the Imperial Rescript on Education put forth in October 1890. This Rescript was not recognized as such an obstacle before the war, and precisely because of that fact it could give full rein to its power to prevent Christianity from expanding. As it was annulled right after the Second World War, it is no longer read by any Japanese. But since all adult people now active in Japanese society have been educated under the influence of this Rescript, it has still some unconscious influence upon them, that is to say upon the older generation. It has no hold upon the young generation. That means that what I believe has been the root obstacle to Christianity is gone now, so that the preaching of the Gospel is becoming easier. That, however, is another story. What I am concerned to show here is how this Rescript prevented the progress of Christianity.

As I said above, the Imperial Rescript on Education was not recognized as the real obstacle to Christianity. To outsiders (by which I mean foreigners) it did not sound like a religious document at all. It sounded like a mere moral and social code for the Japanese nation. It was openly called the Imperial Rescript on *Education*. However, upon the Japanese people it was imposed with some kind of religious aura, so to speak, and had to be read especially to the students on the occasions of national festivals and school celebrations with the most august solemnity. The reading of the Rescript on such occasions was always preceded by the showing of the pictures of the Emperor and the Empress. While the Rescript was read by the head of the school, the students

had to listen with heads bowed low in reverence. The man who handled the Rescript had to wear gloves, so that he might not touch it directly. Such a procedure certainly had a profound effect on those taking part, even if it was too meagre to be spoken of as a religious ceremony; and it was upon this Rescript that all the text-books in the moral teaching courses in elementary and middle schools were strictly based.

If you had asked whether this ceremony was a religious act or not, the official answer would have been that it was not, but stood apart from all religions. It did not require any specific form of religious worship, but it did require the maximum degree of respect to the Emperor in one's outward posture, that is to say the lowest possible bow to him or to his picture. If you fulfilled that requirement, you could believe any kind of religion you liked within your heart. The point Westerners need to realize is that the question "Which is greater, the Emperor or Christ?" was not asked before the outbreak of the Second World War. Most Japanese Christians tried not to touch upon the Rescript. It was for them a sort of taboo in a mental as well as a physical sense; and they dared not criticize it. Some indeed tried to combine Christianity with the teaching of the Rescript.

Thus there was always a great deal of vagueness concerning the position which the Rescript took in relation to religion. If you open any books on the history of Japanese religions, you will find very little mention of the Imperial Rescript. It was only after Japan was occupied by the American forces that the Rescript was identified openly as a sort of sacred text which provided the underlying ideology for the cult of Emperor-worship, and the Occupation Directives ordered the Japanese government to abolish it on 15 December 1945.

I do not think this Imperial Rescript is much known among Westerners, a fact which itself indicates that the Rescript has not been recognized as the root obstacle to Christianity in Japan. Let me quote the whole content of it. It is very brief and goes as follows:

#### Know Ye, Our subjects :

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have

from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws: should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

IMPERIAL SIGN MANUAL

IMPERIAL SEAL

I wonder how this Rescript sounds to Westerners. Just a concise statement of the moral duties of a Japanese? They have some excuse for so thinking. For there are two statements about the preparation of the Rescript which contradict each other on some points, but agree in emphasizing its ethical character. One was made by Yoshikawa, who as Minister of Education in 1890 was responsible for issuing the Rescript. It was published in the 5 August issue of *Kokumin Shinbun*, a Japanese newspaper, and republished in translation on the following day in the *Japan Advertiser*, an English-language paper. The other was in the teachers' Manual (VI; 25) which accompanied the elementary school moral teaching course text-books. We need not go into the details of these documents.<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to say that both deal with the Rescript simply as the standard of the nation's morality.

and say nothing about religion at all. No wonder that Westerners did not realize that this was the document which really enervated Christianity in Japan, fostering Emperor-worship behind the curtain so to speak, but instead regarded Buddhism and Shinto, both admittedly religions, as the enemies or rivals of Christianity.

The fact was, however, that the real obstacle to the advance of the Christian Faith was this Imperial Rescript, which did not pretend to be a religious document.<sup>2</sup> It might be called a semi-religion, or a pseudo-religion, or a substitute for religion. At least it might be called a national moral code tinged with a religious sentiment. As we have seen, even Emperor-worship did not take any definite religious form in the usual sense of the word. As I have pointed out above, if you showed an outward attitude of utmost reverence to the Emperor, you could believe any religion you liked inside your mind. But if you did not follow the customary behaviour of respect to the Emperor, you would have been called a traitor. The customary expression of reverence to the Emperor was simply the deepest possible bow; and Japanese Christians who were afraid of being called traitors did not dare to oppose this customary way of respect to the Emperor. Nevertheless, they made a distinction within their minds between respect and worship, and their paying respect to the Emperor did not at all mean that they worshipped him.

On the side of the government, however, it was understood that, if Christians made the deepest bow to the Emperor, Christianity stood in some sense under the Emperor. Here we come to the heart of the matter. For the same outward gesture, the deepest bow, was interpreted in one way by Japanese Christians and in another by the Japanese government. What each side thought really in their minds was not spoken out openly on either side. Here you may observe a characteristic trait of Japanese mental working, which is hard for foreigners to understand. There is a Japanese word in connection with the "Kabuki" drama. The word is *haragei*. It is, literally translated, "mind-play". It means to do some outward action which is utterly different from, or opposite to, the thought within the mind. You may think that it is a sort of deceiving action, but in Japan it is thought of as a virtue or a skill to achieve an aim without causing any unnecessary trouble. Since, however, in such "mind-play" the real purpose is kept under the surface, it is always very difficult to perceive

wherein the real purpose lies.

Reverting to the Rescript, we must admit that, although Christians inwardly interpreted the bow of reverence to the Emperor not as the worship of the Emperor but as respect in its human sense, yet in so far as they consented to do what the Japanese government required, they were on the defensive; and to that extent their action meant a failure on the part of Christianity in Japan.

It is a very interesting fact that when we look back over the history of the Christian Church in Japan, we find that Japanese Christians were not on the defensive at the beginning, but on the offensive. Most of the leaders of the Christian churches courageously attacked the Rescript on its first issue as a kind of religion, or a substitute for a religion. Herein lies their deepest insight.

Thus on 9 June of the 24th year of Meiji, i.e. the year after the issue of the Rescript, Kanzo Uchimura, then Principal of the first higher middle school (preparatory college for University) was accused of not making the customary bow to the Rescript before the scroll was opened. The people condemned his blasphemous conduct. On the advice of his Christian friends Uchimura, a real patriot at heart, wishing to clear up the misunderstanding, asked Mr S. Kimura, one of his colleagues, to make the customary bow to the Rescript which Uchimura was accused of having neglected. (As he was sick in bed at that time, a friend had to take his place.) However, his action did not clear up the misunderstanding. Christianity had been suspected of political intrigue after its first introduction into Japan in the sixteenth century. That was why it had been prohibited by Hideyoshi in 1587. Later, from 1860 onwards, Christianity had been tolerated, but the first suspicions entertained by Hideyoshi had never died out completely from people's minds. Uchimura's conduct seemed to them to prove that their suspicions were not wrong.

On the other hand, Japanese Christians who felt the danger of Emperor-worship encroaching through the Imperial Rescript at that time could not be silent. Mr Kozaki, then pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Tokyo, in an article in the *Evangelist Weekly*, No. 50, said: "If we Protestants do not want to worship even the image of Christ who is the King of Kings, how can we worship the image of a man? If we do not think it is proper to make a bow

to the Bible of God's revelation, how can we worship the Imperial Rescript? We must say that the worship of the Emperor and the Imperial Rescript is childish conduct. We who have to maintain the dignity of human beings must attack such evils. Not only to attack, but also to drive such customs out of our schools is our duty as Japanese." In the next number of the same paper five Christians together published an open letter titled "We speak to intelligent people", and asserted the same views as those of Mr Kozaki.

From that time Christians were regarded as treacherous heretics, and Christianity was labelled "dangerous thought", the same words which are applied now to Communism in Japan. Government officials and conservatives perceived in Christianity a strong obstacle to the permeation of Japanese ethics with this overriding loyalty to the divine Emperor, and they began to counter-attack the Japanese Christians, calling them traitors to the fatherland, the most shameful charge that can be levelled against a Japanese. For this reason, the Christian Churches which were growing rapidly from the beginning of Meiji era found themselves suddenly static and then gradually declining bodies.

Under such circumstances, even those who had attacked the Imperial Rescript fearlessly at first could not help succumbing to the growing general tendency among Japanese Christians from the middle of the Meiji era onwards to believe that Christianity in Japan must be naturalized. One of the most famous preachers at that time, Miyagawa of Osaka, even went so far as to advocate "Shintoistic Christianity". This general tendency certainly encouraged the Japanese Christians to make concessions to Emperor-worship. And if Japanese Christians on their side no longer criticized the Rescript, the Japanese government for its part was prepared not to interfere with the evangelistic work of the Christian Church. However, as I said above, this concession made by the Japanese Christians to the Emperor-worship through the Rescript, no matter how Christians interpreted it within their mind, meant a real defeat for Christianity in Japan.

In this connection I must point out another element which encouraged this attempt to naturalize Christianity into Japanese life. It was the so-called liberal theology, which was introduced from Germany about that time. Its basic idea was that the essence of religion underlying all the manifold phenomena of religions in

the world everywhere is the same. From the standpoint of liberal theology, therefore, points of contact between Christianity and the teaching of the Rescript can be found. This way of thinking encouraged attempts to combine Christianity with the Rescript, in order to make Christianity indigenous in Japan.

If, then, I am asked why Christianity has made such slow progress in Japan, I must confess that one of the most fundamental reason is this attempt to naturalize or Japanize Christianity, on the basis of yielding to Government pressure to comply with the teaching of a Rescript which was really the sacred text of the ideology of Emperor-worship.

Since the last war, however, Japanese Christians are beginning to realize that there is something entirely new in the teaching of the Bible which we cannot find in any other teachings in the Orient. It may be said to be due partly to the influence of the so-called Dialectical theology which was introduced into Japan between the two wars. At any rate, we find, to our surprise, that people in Japan are beginning to listen to preaching which points out clearly the unique meaning of the words of the Bible. For example, we often come across the word "love" in the Bible, which is translated into Japanese *ai*. If, however, we interpret the Biblical word "love" in the sense of Japanese *ai*, we lose completely the unique significance of the Biblical concept. The Japanese word *ai* lacks the specific meaning of Christian love, i.e. *agape*. The Japanese *ai* does not go beyond *eros*. Of course, when we interpret the Biblical word "love" to the Japanese people, we must use the Japanese word *ai*, which is the only equivalent to the English word "love", and into this Japanese word we must pour the unique meaning of *agape*, which Japanese have never heard of before. But if we forget that we must go through this complicated procedure, and assume that the Japanese people in general already understand the meaning of the word "love" in the Bible, we run a risk of leading them astray. The same thing could be said about the word "God". I could enumerate many instances of the same kind.

I think that herein lies the fundamental problem of preaching the Gospel to the heathen, in which classification, of course, the heathen in the so-called Christian countries must be included. For this problem is not merely a problem to us who live in the non-

Christian lands; it is one also for those who live in the Christian countries. Of course, the ways of doing and thinking of the people who live in the Christian countries are moulded by their Christian tradition. The words they use have been permeated with a Christian connotation. But at present this connotation of the words is in danger of being lost. Modern civilization, which starts from presuppositions entirely different from those of the Gospel, has so tremendous an influence upon Western people that words which have been moulded by the Christian meaning are gradually forced to lose that specific reference, and a non-Christian, or un-Christian, or sometimes anti-Christian, meaning is put into them instead. When Western people so influenced read the Bible and understand the words of the Bible in the sense which they use in their ordinary life, they face the same trouble as we who live in non-Christian countries. This is one of the reasons why lately such a book as *Agape and Eros* by A. Nygren, a Swedish theologian, has made such an impression on people who live in the Christian countries. The problem is becoming just the same both in the East and West.

Coming back to the main theme of my paper, we Japanese must confess out of the experience of defeat, that one of the main reasons why Christianity made such slow progress in the period up to the last war was this attempt to make Christianity indigenous in the way described above. Such attempts always put nation first and Christianity next, for they are syncretistic and seek to use such Christian elements only as will help the nation develop itself. Such attempts always mean a failure on the part of Christianity. For Christianity has been made a means to an end. The Gospel, however, cannot be so treated. For the truth which Christianity teaches must always be the end itself. Only, if the Gospel be indeed God's final word to man, can we dare to preach it to those who ask us: "Why do we have to believe Christianity alone, discarding other religions?" Only if we accept it as the truth of God, can we be true to the Biblical revelation. But if Christianity is the only true religion, then we have to place it above everything else, even above the nation.

I understand quite well what is meant when people say that Christianity must be made indigenous. But the naturalization of Christianity cannot be achieved by merely taking the good points of Christianity and enriching the characteristics of a nation there-

with. It must be the other way round. Christianity must use national traits in order to express its rich spiritual content. This cannot be done by mere man's efforts. It is God's work. Unless it is God who employs men to do it, the attempt will be utterly in vain. Not only in vain, but also we must say that it will destroy true Christianity. Man's part in making Christianity indigenous is, I venture to assert, simply to try his best to grasp the specific truth of Christianity without being troubled about how to make it indigenous. If we commit ourselves to the preaching of the Gospel for the Gospel's sake, the naturalization of Christianity will follow of its own accord. If we want to make the Christian Faith truly indigenous, we must first of all offer ourselves to be the servants who carry around the unique truth of the Gospel which we cannot find anywhere else but in Christianity. "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it" (Mk. 8. 35). This is the lesson which we Japanese Christians have learned through the bitter experience of defeat.

In the oriental countries other than Japan, I understand that there is now a resurgence of the non-Christian religions parallel with, or rather based upon, a rising tide of strong nationalism. We must be aware, however, that there is always a great danger when religion is utilized for the sake of nationalism. Religion, if it is true religion, must not serve the nation; the nation must serve religion. If Christianity is merely utilized to serve the interests of a nation, Christianity too will lose its true meaning and the salt will lose its savour. Further, the nation which tries to utilize Christianity for its own ends will also be doomed to fall. This is the message which we Japanese Christians have to bring to the world at large out of the painful experience of suffering in the last war.

<sup>1</sup> For a full account see *Shushin: The Ethics of A Defeated Nation*, by R. K. Hall, pp. 34-7.

<sup>2</sup> The same thing can be said about Communism, which does not pretend to be a religion. It rather pretends to be a social science, but in reality it is a sort of religion.

# GREEK NATIONALISM AND RELIGION

By HOWARD A. REES

RELIGIOUS enthusiasm has always had the danger of serving the nation instead of God. Under the old covenant, the national aims of the Jews often obstructed their mission as the People of God. But this kind of error was not confined to the Jews, for St Paul had to rebuke equally the cultural, quasi-national, and racial pride of the Greeks. And if the present troubles in Cyprus are to be understood, the long history of the identification of the cause of Christianity with worldly ambitions must be borne in mind.

In a strong State, patriotism (natural affection for the homeland) is turned into imperialism with the aid of religious force; in small States the same force can help to create nationalism. Byzantium is an example of the former; Modern Greece of the latter: both are cases of religious devotion misapplied. Eastern systems influenced Isocrates and the Roman administration in their view that the function of religion was merely this, to help consolidate and unify the State. Byzantium inherited the idea and the Holy Roman Empire inverted it; the Renaissance inspired a development of Greek thought about the Rights of Man and of groups of men, and religion was made the handmaid of this movement. Thus early Greek thought was given back to the Greeks in a new form, to spur them to their latest ill-fate. Religion at the service of oppressed nation has replaced religion at the service of Empire. Both are abuses.

This mistake, repeated in varying forms, is the mistake which the Jews made before the Greeks and which they are still making now. Edward Shillito says in his book *Nationalism, Man's Other Religion*, "The tragedy of the life of Israel is the tragedy of all nations. The new revelation is allowed to remain side by side with the old . . . There were two Israels; one fanatically devoted to the nation and to the God of Israel . . . an Israel after the flesh, hungering for the pride of Empire; and there was an Israel after the Spirit . . . a messenger of the Eternal God to the world." One of the nations, whose tragedy this is, is Greece. To a Turk, Christians are Greeks, a people who once had an Empire and now seek its restoration. Christianity has been turned into a mark of

separation from the rest of the world, instead of a mission; and this is just what nationalism and imperialism do—they separate one group of men from the rest. In their service patriotism and religion are distorted.

The leaders of the Graeco-Roman world realised that devotion to *Patris* and her gods was the cohesive and driving force of their peoples. Independent theologies and philosophies were not encouraged, because they did not make for submissive minds. Rome was induced to go further than having the Emperor as chief priest, and to deify him in the Eastern manner. Byzantium was the inheritor of both Greece and Rome, as well as of Christianity, and this was a religion capable of a greater hold on the minds of the people than any other. Like Augustus with the Eastern religions, Constantine made certain that his person was an integral part of this powerful religion. As *Ho tōn ektos Episkopos* he was in charge of the administration of the Church, and he made sure that its members were devoted to him. Thus heresy became a political crime, and his battles were Christ's battles and his kingdom Christ's kingdom.

Byzantium's eleven centuries of greatness bred a people fanatically devoted to imperial Christianity, which had been proved in the face of barbarians and the "false Christians" of the West. But the end of the Empire did not mean the end of their devotion; they still looked for the recovery of the Empire. *Hoi tōn entos Episkopoi* became the leaders of the people, as it was through them that the devotion had always been directed. The Turks aided this simple changeover, by lazily handing the administration of the Greeks to the clergy. Thus it was that the persecution was prevented from purifying Byzantine Christianity. Patriotism and religion remained confused in the form of a frustrated imperialism, which became, as in most oppressed peoples, a longing for past culture, and this longing becomes politically alive when force and intellectual leadership are available. Thus is born nationalism, and it is the misapplication of religion which provides the enthusiasm for it. Just as religion has been used to persuade the people to spread and preserve the Empire (i.e. to create a Christian kingdom), so now it is used to inspire hatred for the oppressor and risings against him, "that the cause of Christ might prevail".

It was the ancient Greek philosophers who first thought about the rights of peoples and persons. With the fall of Byzantium the

fruits of these inquiries were taken to the West, and among other things inspired much political theory. In the Reformation atmosphere of the West this theory soon became an independent inquiry, unrelated to religion. Democracy (rights of the people) and Nationalism (rights of peoples) were the products. Eventually the eyes of the philosophers turned to Greece, and émigrés Greeks on the Continent turned to this political philosophy. They both saw hope in it for the Greeks. The material was there, but it was in the hands of uneducated and superstitious priests, whose Gospel was still couched in terms of the glory of the Greeks' past but which was too lethargic to inspire revolt.

Korais was one of these émigrés; he studied Rousseau and Herder, among others, at Paris. He believed with Herder that "nationalities, being natural phenomena, are indestructible, enduring through all climes and ages". Thus he had found the theory to fit his desire. He was not alone; Freemasons had been inspired by this new "Crusade" to restore the Greeks, and there were many societies of Philhellenes, but as S. G. Chaconas says in his book *Adamantios Korais*, "The Modern Greek State has from its inception regarded Korais as the outstanding leader of its Nineteenth Century intellectual revival". His words were interpreted in action by the Revolution of 1821. A comment in one of his letters (3,889) is typical of him: "The faith and the native land are found in a very close internal bond, and the war is for both of them".

This foreshadowed the shout at the Revolution: "For the holy faith of Christ and the freedom of the native land".

Korais prayed to a national deity; the restoration of his nation was his one aim. The religious devotion of the Greek peasants he saw merely as useful for this aim. He told them that national and political liberty were necessary to Christian growth, but to the intellectuals in the West he said that religion was just a force useful in pushing political claims.

Even to-day the Greeks do not realize how they have been duped. Their aims are still governed by the ideas Korais and his fellow theorists instilled in their forefathers. Most of them sincerely believe that, until they have forced their way to national and political freedom, their religion is not complete. Nearly all those who once had just a simple love of the homeland and their Christian faith, have had their minds and energies captured by the modern drive of nationalism. In fact, the result in many cases is

that their religion is that of nationalism with the outer form of liturgical Orthodoxy. This is a return to the Graeco-Roman civilization pattern, and worse than the Byzantine form, as the hierarchy of the Church has in some cases made itself the actual leader of nationalism. Yet its members believe sincerely that they are fighting for Christianity; actually the theory behind their actions is that of the Freemasons,<sup>1</sup> who inspired the Greek Revolution through *He Philike Hetairia*, a Secret Society. The Freemasons sought to restore the ancient civilization; though they cloaked their intentions with assertions of Christian Orthodoxy, their real gods are revealed in their publications. At the centenary celebrations of the Revolution at the Limassol Lodge it was said: "The Goddess Victory blessed the Greek arms, and the Goddess Freedom returned to the country of her birth", and, "The Highest Governor of the world was pleased to have called into life a privileged race of the world, the Greek". Whatever god may be called, the real god is the nation, with race and empire to complete the trinity, given success. National freedom is made a god by the Greeks and those who have obtained it seek it for the rest of the race. Reinhold Niebuhr explains the phenomenon thus in his book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*:

The nation is always endowed with an aura of the sacred, which is one reason why religions, which claim universality, are so easily captured and tamed by national sentiment, religion and patriotism merging in the process.

The Masons, through their resurrecting of the old gods, have played a large part in this taming of Christianity.

Thus the modern Greeks, in trying to assert Christianity and Hellenism by force, have fallen into the snare of nationalism. They fight for freedom, but have enslaved themselves to the principle of force. Most often freedom has been interpreted as freedom from discipline and authority, and their history has been one of struggles between factions within and expansionism without, to satisfy the lust for national glory. Yet through it all the Church believes that the freedom and justice they fight for are those of the New Testament. She forgets that these are the fruits of the

<sup>1</sup> Freemasonry in Greece is of the continental "Grand Orient" kind. It was introduced from France by the Philhellenes and exile Greeks in the eighteenth century, and is, therefore, different from British Freemasonry.

personal relationship of man to God in his Son, who roots them in God, and that a revolution to bring these must come through the transference of man's values to the basis in the Person of Christ.

Few thinking Greeks realized this in the eighteenth century and at the time of the Revolution, but one of them who did was Count Kapodistrias. Like Gregory IV, Patriarch of Constantinople (who was later made a hero of the Revolution by his martyrdom), he believed that an improvement in the lot of the Greeks could come only through a personal spiritual revival and much patience; this was the Christian's ideal, not the Masons'. The influence from the West took events out of the hands of such men, and when the blow had been struck, Kapodistrias was ready to help as best he could. They were certainly not opposed to a bloody revolution because of commercial or power interests, as some of the hierarchy and businessmen were. Their reasoning was based on a strong personal faith in Christ. However Kapodistrias was not respected for this when the Greeks had obtained a measure of national freedom. Anarchy reigned, so Kapodistrias tried to introduce some measure of discipline. Assassination was his reward. Men like those who assassinated him have been in command of Greece for the most part since then, as Phrankoudes realized after forty years of vain struggle for so-called "Freedom", when he said in 1925 in his book *The Modern Greeks*, "Obstinacy and animosity led Hellenism into the fearful and unimaginable catastrophe of Asia Minor and Thrace". He condemned the struggle of the Cypriots for Union with Greece, because, once the other islanders had obtained Greek nationality, anarchy, not freedom, had ensued, and he believed the same would happen with the Cypriots.

Nevertheless, the struggle for Enosis still goes on. As with the rest of the Byzantine Empire, at its fall the Archbishop of Cyprus assumed all national and administrative control over the Greek Cypriots. He was in an even stronger position than many of the other hierarchs, because one of the Byzantine Emperors had already given him a sceptre as symbol of his "royal" authority over the island. Archbishop Makarios is thus the national and religious leader of the Cypriot Greeks, and though he is "elected" to the first position, he has this dual leadership in succession to many, many Archbishops. Hellenism and Christianity have been alive, confused together, for many centuries in the island; and this

combination was just what was needed to provide the enthusiasm for the modern nationalistic theories. Myths and laic songs and the very Greek interpretations of the Scriptures had kept alive the glory of Greece in the minds of the people. Besides sentiment for the past there was religious hatred for the Mohammedans. All that was needed was for the then Archbishop to become dissatisfied with the large income he managed to keep back from the Turks. The need was answered when the British came in 1878 and took away his income, paid the indemnity to the Turks themselves, and themselves ruled. The Turks understood the Greeks better than the British did; the Turks let the Greeks make money and dabble in their own domestic politics, and the Greeks were satisfied. We frustrated both these desires and gave them nothing in return. It was then that the Archbishop began to stir up his people's religio-nationalistic fanaticism in the name of freedom, justice, and racial and national unity, and of territorial rights.

Clearly the theories of the Philhellenes and the experiences of the mainland Greeks helped the Archbishop in his Enosis campaign. From them he learned what propaganda to use on the Greek Cypriots. Their minds and souls were his; whatever he preached was to them the Gospel. Thus they were fed from the pulpit with "the Rights of Men" and "the Eternity of Nations". Archbishop Makarios continued this kind of teaching. At a Liturgy in Lent 1955, I heard him preach on the text "Come and see" (John 1.46). He began with the need of Christian witness, but soon said that what Christians bring others to see is their freedom and justice, and these terms he interpreted in a national and political way. He asked them to carry on the struggle for freedom and justice, and described their past as the struggle fought by the Christian nation against its attackers. For him the history of Christianity is the history of the Greeks, and therefore he claims as the right of Christians political and national independence. This is no new idea; it is *He megale idea*, which originated with Michael Palaeologus, who inherited the Byzantine Empire in exile at Nicaea, and planned to regain all that the Crusaders had taken, because it was the right of God's chosen people to be free. Still deep in the imagination of the Greeks is the desire to restore the Byzantine Empire, to have all the territory the Byzantines ever had, Cyprus, Epeirus, Asia Minor, and above all "The Mystic Eye" of the Empire, Constantinople.

Archbishop Makarios' power till recently was that of the hierarchs during the times of the Turkish dominion; he has been the sole leader in religio-national matters. On the mainland of Greece the Revolution robbed the Church of her power in political and national matters, except in times of great crisis. Both Greece and Cyprus had missed the Reformation; religion was still bound up with politics, economics, and social ethics, such as they were, but the Revolution in Greece set the Church apart from these. Her relation to the State became that of the official religion paying homage to the King. The old Byzantine relationship was brought back, but the State is now led by "Western style" politicians, who use the Church only as a means to their own ends. The National Church was a device of the statesman Maurer who drew up the constitution for King Otho, so that all the powerful elements in the State should be subject to the King. It was not a natural expression of the Greeks' identity of religion with patriotism; in fact many of the Greek theologians now want the Church to be disestablished.

The Greek theologian, Apostolos Makrakes (fl. 1850-70), would have nothing to do with West-inspired political theory, but nevertheless his fanatical belief in the Greeks as the Chosen People of God led him into nationalism from the religious standpoint. He condemned Korais' national democracy, in which religion was just a support; he saw himself as the Messiah of the New Israel, of the Golden Age. He condemned hierarchs and theologians for their submission to the new theories, and his fanatical outburst against them led to his condemnation as a heretic; but he was only putting into an extreme form what was in the imaginations of most Greeks, belief in the resurrection of the Greek Empire to glory. He believed Greece is the home of the Holy Trinity, and her harmony of Religion, State, and Philosophy is a reflection of the Trinity, as he said in *The Work which gives Glory to the Nation*: "Your (the Greeks') trinitarian native land, the Christian religion, state, and philosophy, provides the divine character of unity, of harmony . . ."

Even modern Greek theologians with balanced views interpret their religion in terms of the greatness of Greece. They believe the Orthodox Church has the truth; the history of the Greeks is therefore regarded as a special part of God's revelation, but they tend to ascribe the glory to the "Nation" instead of to God. This personification of the "Nation" encourages the near-identification of the Mother of God with Mother Greece in the simple minds.

Professor Balanos says in his *Church and Nation*: "The Greek clergy brought to the *altar of the Nation* splendid sacrifices for the holy faith of Christ and the Freedom of the native land".

Balanos believes strongly in the National Church; many Greek theologians do not, but they nearly all ascribe glory to the nation. It is this confusion of religion and patriotism which is the perfect material for nationalism. Once the nation is believed to bear the truth of God, the truth is objectivized; it is no longer personal, because the nation is not personal. Moreover, the truth is withheld from the rest of the peoples of the world, because the nation is not a mission, but a force, and force antagonizes its surroundings. When we consider this, the words of Professor Androutsos, another famous Greek theologian, in his *Church and State*, show us why the efforts of the modern Greeks always meet with frustration: "The national struggles are also religious . . . The bond of Orthodoxy with Nationalism does not destroy the wholly supranational character of Christianity".

Even their great thinkers have been duped into accepting nationalism. Balanos tries to interpret Col. 3.11 "the new man . . . where there is not Greek and Jew", so as to find acceptance for the cult of the nation. He says it means "neither Greek nor Jew" in the eyes of God, not in the eyes of Christians; hence we continue in our division as we are. St Paul's real meaning is surely that those whose lives "are hid with Christ" have no racial pride or other barriers between them and their fellow men. All are born sons of Adam, and those who accept the Redemption of Christ become Sons of God, and identify themselves with the sufferings of all men. Balanos does not see that the true missionary effort of the Christian has been stifled by the Greek tradition because of beliefs such as his.

Our conclusion, then, is that the Greeks' religion and patriotism have been led together into the false path of nationalism, the path that the Jews trod despite the warnings of the Prophets. It is sad to hear the simple Greek peasants fanatically declaring the eternity of Greece in their churches instead of singing their praises to the Eternal God; but we must not forget that the false doctrine was rekindled in the Greek mind by the political theories of the West. Our desire for the return of the Graeco-Roman civilization has spread through the world; the whole world is worshipping a false god, and it is worse when this false god is given the Name of the

Holy Trinity, for many sincere Christians are thus ensnared by its speciousness. The modern Greeks share this worst fate. Thinking Christians should make it plain that Christianity is not intended to be just a cohesive force and spur for the nation. It is an independent power; and, on the other hand, it does not need the force of the State to assert itself. This will help to find a way clear from the confusion of the past centuries.

## Y. M. C. A.

### A World-wide Movement

By STEPHEN NEILL

THE seed which was gradually to grow into the great tree of the Young Men's Christian Association is generally held to have been planted on 6 June 1844, when twelve religious young men met in the bedroom of George Williams in London "for the purpose of forming a society, the object of which is to influence religious young men to spread the Redeemer's Kingdom amongst those by whom they are surrounded" (p. 23 n.1.). It had been hoped that a History would have been in readiness by the centenary of that date; but war and other hindrances intervened, and it has been only in time for the commemoration of another centenary, that of the first international conference held in Paris, 19-24 August 1855, that this stately, indeed monumental, volume has appeared.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the *History of the Ecumenical Movement*, this *History* has the advantage that the greater part of it is from one pen, that of Professor Shedd, the fruit of whose tireless researches over a number of years is seen in pp. 15 to 458, covering the whole historical development of the movement from 1844 to 1913. The later chapters are partly historical, partly on special aspects of Y.M.C.A. work. Those on "Service with Prisoners of War" (Tracy Strong) and on "Ministry to Displaced Persons and Refugees" (Walter S. Kilpatrick) are specially memorable and moving, as testimony to the skill and versatility of the Y.M.C.A. in adapting itself to crisis situations; millions of young men have met the Red Triangle first as the symbol of the one remaining corner of orderliness and peace amid the disorder, the nastiness, and the demoralization attendant on a long period of military service under war-time conditions. Yet this change of method two-thirds of the way through the book leads to a certain amount of repetition and overlapping, and perhaps to a certain confusion in the mind of the reader.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations*. By C. P. Shedd and others. S.P.C.K. 27s. 6d.

For the gravest defect of all these Histories is that they strive to fulfil simultaneously two functions, which are in part at least mutually incompatible. This volume will serve as a wonderful treasury of material for those who are specially concerned with the Y.M.C.A. and its methods of working. All such movements live from Conference to Conference; and here every single Conference, Consultation and Committee is recorded, with abundant quotation of official documents, resolutions and so forth, in type so small as to be fatiguing to the eyes. And an ample Index, filling sixteen and a half pages (though even at this length it is not quite complete—I have noted that the name of Dean Francis Close is not found in it) makes the book readily usable as a manual for reference and research. But it has to be admitted that a good deal of this is not very interesting to the ordinary reader, or even to the trained Church historian. At the same time, such a book must endeavour to make clear the main lines of the story, to relate the movement to its background, and to indicate the points at which its contribution to Christian living and to ecumenical progress was new, powerful and prophetic. I am not sure that all this will stand out for most readers as clearly as is to be desired. Perhaps, with this as with other Histories, the time will come when another writer will be able to review once more all that is written here, and to re-present it less annalistically, and in the light of rather clearer principles of historiography.

It would seem to be the task of a reviewer to leave on one side the detail, and to concentrate on those matters which are of permanent Christian and historical significance.

First, then, for the spiritual background of the Y.M.C.A. and its place in general Church history. It is exactly here that it is necessary to speak with the greatest hesitation, since so much Church history has yet to be scientifically written. It is clear that the Y.M.C.A. stands in the very centre of what may be called for want of a better word the Evangelical movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But what exactly was the nature of those movements? The publication in 1685 of Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria* is almost as important an event in Christian history as Luther's publication of his 95 theses in 1517, since this is the date generally accepted as marking the beginning of the movement commonly known on the continent as Pietism. Pietism, in all

its forms, rests on four pillars—the necessity of personal conversion, the obligation of personal holiness for every believer, warm and intense Christian fellowship among the elect (individualism is the product of rationalism, not of pietism), and the duty of Christian witness in society and in non-Christian lands to the ends of the earth. Pietism powerfully influenced the Moravians and John Wesley. It was responsible for the first serious beginning of non-Roman missionary work, and has alone been able to stimulate and to maintain missionary vigour in the Churches of many European countries, notably Norway and Holland. The Churches in large areas of Germany are still deeply marked by the "Awakenings" of the early nineteenth century. Is not Dr Billy Graham still with us? And is it not just the fact that the greater part of the pioneering missionary work in the world to-day is being done by what may be called pietistic groups?

In ecumenical circles the word "pietistic" tends to be used only as a term of denigration, if not of abuse. It is easy to point to the dangers into which pietism too readily falls—narrowness and introversion, through which, of course, it loses entirely its true character. Yet a movement which has continued for nearly three centuries and is still vigorous to-day must have some remarkable qualities of life within it. And, what is particularly relevant to our present subject, pietism tends to express itself in a form of ecumenism radically different from that which is slowly coming to expression in the World Council of Churches. The pietist experiences such vivid fellowship with kindred spirits in other communions than his own that confessional boundaries seem insignificant and irrelevant in comparison with the central truth which is Christ himself. Nowhere are all these characteristics of pietism more clearly manifest than in the early history of the Y.M.C.A. One of the most notable forms of expression of pietism is the international interconfessional *society*, based only on a common loyalty to Jesus Christ. Among these societies none is greater than the Y.M.C.A.

It is high time that the history of pietism was rewritten. Ritschl's *Geschichte des Pietismus* is no longer very useful, partly because knowledge has advanced, partly because Ritschl himself was temperamentally incapable of understanding his subject from within. Only when this has been done will it be possible fully to understand how it came about that a movement like the Y.M.C.A. was able to

spread so rapidly in many countries, in great diversity of circumstances, yet with a fundamental unity of aim and of experience.

The central significance of the Y.M.C.A. in Christian history is that it was the first international and ecumenical organization to be established on a permanent basis. The first of all had been the Evangelical Alliance, founded in 1846 (so late in time are the beginnings of modern ecumenism!); but this was only a loose confraternity of individuals with a view to holding periodical conferences. In 1855 the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations (terminology has varied a little from epoch to epoch) was brought into existence on a definite basis, with a working committee, and with the deliberate intention to maintain a continuing international fellowship. Everything had yet to be learned about such international action; and, had the young men who formulated the plans foreseen the difficulties that they were to encounter, probably they would never have made the venture. That a small committee of unknown young men, located in Geneva, all Swiss, perpetually short of funds, constantly exposed to criticism and misunderstanding, before the invention of the typewriter, in days when no language played the part now played by English as a medium of international communication, should have survived at all is a miracle. But survive it did. Geneva is still the centre of the World's Y.M.C.A.; and successive strengthenings have made its staff and committees one of the most effective instruments of international action in the world.

On the one hand, the work of the Y.M.C.A. and its Central International Committee (later World's Committee) was marked by steady progress, and by the launching of experiments in new and untried fields. Four of these may be suitably mentioned, as marking each a measure of liberation from the somewhat restricted ideals professed by the Y.M.C.A. at its inauguration.

Following on a paper read by J. H. Gladstone, the Geneva Conference of 1858 recognized the place that *recreation* should play in the work of the Y.M.C.A. No one at the time foresaw the tremendous developments that were to spring from this germinal idea; but no one who is aware of the total lack of facilities for healthy recreation for young men in the European and American cities of a century ago is likely to doubt that here the Y.M.C.A. has made a major contribution both to the practice and to the thinking of the

### Christian Churches of the world.

In 1878 formal recognition was given to the responsibility of the Y.M.C.A. for the development of Christian work among boys. This, like so many other great advances, came about not through planning but through spontaneous experiment; the Geneva branch had begun a successful work among boys, highly stimulated by "the gift of a football by Countess Gasparin" (p. 220). What had begun as an individual effort expanded naturally into a general policy.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Y.M.C.A. launched out into work in non-Christian countries. Thus it was faced by the problem of the correct form of organization for a Y.M.C.A., the great majority of the members of which had no connection at all with the Christian faith. At the same time the Y.M.C.A. came to take up a position far ahead of most missionary societies in its conviction regarding the necessity for and the possibilities of indigenous leadership. Many of the greatest among younger Church leaders, notably K. T. Paul and Bishop Azariah in India, have come up through the Y.M.C.A.

In predominantly Roman Catholic countries, the Y.M.C.A. had early begun to open its doors to Roman Catholic young men. In 1905 the Association in Mexico City made possible the inclusion of Roman Catholics on its board of management (p. 695). This was a possibility which certainly had not been before the minds of those who drew up the Paris Basis of 1855. This extension of its work has produced a crop of as yet unsolved problems; at the same time it has led the Y.M.C.A. into a form of ecumenism wider than that which has as yet been attained by the World Council of Churches.

On the other hand, the central organisation of the Y.M.C.A. has had to face periodically, and sometimes over long periods, tensions and disagreements that have at times gone so far as to threaten the unity and the very existence of the movement. All this is most charitably recorded in our *History*; but it is not difficult for the attentive reader to feel the intensity of these controversies and the pain which they caused; and thus to learn something of the price which always has to be paid for the development of effective Christian co-operation. It may be well that some of these difficulties also should be listed.

There was, first, the tension arising from the tendency of the London Association to regard itself, and to act, as the parent and guide of all other Associations. If the organization had been planned differently, this role might well have been assigned to London. In fact, it was not; but it took time before London was able to realize that it is possible to receive the veneration due to a patriarch without at the same time expecting to exercise patriarchal authority.

The Y.M.C.A. has from the start been interdenominational and interconfessional. But in many countries, for instance Germany, and notably in the Scandinavian lands where almost the whole population belongs to one Church, Associations have been organized practically on a confessional basis. The Y.M.C.A. has always urged on its members the duty of belonging to and supporting a Church. In large cities, however, the Association has maintained almost complete independence of the Churches, whereas in smaller places Associations have been to all intents and purposes organs of the Church. The difficulties arising over, for example, differing ideas as to qualifications for membership are self-evident; and the resulting equilibrium is one which it has never been easy to maintain.

The founders of the Y.M.C.A. were all what would now be called "fundamentalists". The Paris Basis of 1855 reads:

"The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom amongst young men."

Many attempts have been made to change and modify this Basis, but all have been successfully resisted, and at the Centenary meetings in Paris in August 1955 it was once again triumphantly affirmed. But what is to be the interpretation of this Basis? Is it to be taken as setting forth conditions of membership for the individual? Or is it a general affirmation, on the basis of which national and regional groups can be affiliated to the World's Alliance? And, most important of all, is it to be taken as tying the Association for all time to one conservative evangelical position in theology? This is a matter which might perhaps have been dealt with a little more explicitly in the *History*. The Y.M.C.A. has always disclaimed any intention of having a theological position of its own. Yet it is just

a fact of history that there has grown up, especially in America, something that with little exaggeration can be called "Y.M.C.A. religion"—liberal, undogmatic, activist, socially-minded. It is not surprising that the more conservative Associations have often wondered whether, on the foundation of such an attenuated faith, the religious and evangelistic work of the Y.M.C.A. can be successfully carried on.

Perpetually there was the problem of reconciling the authority of the World's Committee generally to direct and guide the affairs of the World's Alliance with the autonomy and free initiative of the national Associations. North America is the soil in which the Y.M.C.A. has most profusely flourished, and to this day more than three-quarters of the Y.M.C.A. members in the world are to be found in the United States of America. The International Committee (of the U.S.A. and Canada) was strong, rich, vigorous, and aggressive. Especially in overseas work, it tended to forge ahead without consultation, and without much regard for the feelings of other Associations. There have been times at which the resulting tensions have been so strong that a dissolution of the world-wide partnership seemed to be in sight.

The dreadful legacy of war affected the Y.M.C.A. no less than other ecumenical bodies. Nearly ten years of effort were required to re-establish fully the fellowship between those Associations, especially the German and the French, that had found themselves on opposite sides in the First World War.

We may pass over more lightly the difficulty experienced by the puritan Anglo-Saxons in adapting themselves to the less inhibited manners of their continental partners. At an early date the British resigned themselves to recognizing that, at meetings held in Holland, it was likely that the participants would be unable to see one another through the clouds of smoke! And even now visitors from the west are liable to be taken aback by the continental habit of transacting important ecumenical business in the *bistrot* just round the corner. But in true accord with the appendix to the Paris Basis, "differences of opinion on other subjects, however important in themselves" have not been allowed to "interfere with the harmonious relations of the confederated societies."

The leaders of the Y.M.C.A. never actually used the famous words of the Churches at the First Assembly of the World Council

of Churches: "We intend to stay together", but they might well have done so. Only an intense conviction as to the value of the Y.M.C.A. and its principles, and a strong determination to maintain its unity, could have held together over a century so mixed and miscellaneous a collection of individuals and groups. At the end of the first century of its work the Y.M.C.A. is what it was at the beginning—a lay association in fellowship with the Churches and at their disposal, with a strong sense of mission to all the boys and young men of the world. It holds together a great variety of types of Association, from the great city fellowship with its own large building, paid and highly trained staff, and multiple activities, down to the small village group that meets perhaps once a week for the study of the Bible. Its central organization has grown in strength and flexibility. The Association has shown itself, and continues to show itself, versatile in taking advantage of new situations and new opportunities. It is aware of its unsolved problems, and is not afraid to meet them.

It is certain that the new age will produce a whole crop of new problems; and, leaving on one side those which may be regarded as merely domestic concerns of the Y.M.C.A., attention should now be directed to those which affect the Y.M.C.A. in the wider fields of ecumenical relationships.

The first arises from the plain fact of the re-emergence of the Church. The nineteenth century was the great age of the voluntary societies; the twentieth seems to be developing into the age of the Churches. The Y.M.C.A. has always recognized the existence of the Churches, and has refused all temptations to become itself a Church; it has always encouraged its members to serve as loyal members of their Churches. But is this enough? A century ago the Churches were doing hardly anything for their young people. Now every Church is developing and strengthening youth work. Is there room in the field for both Church youth groups and for the Y.M.C.A., and, if so, how are their mutual relationships to be worked out?

The nineteenth century was the age of undenominationalism; the twentieth has been marked by a sharp renewal of confessional consciousness, expressed in the formation of denominational world alliances, and even in certain cases by a kind of denominational imperialism. The records show that at the earlier World Con-

ferences of the Alliance it was possible to hold a Communion service, and no one apparently objected. We are not, of course, told whether everyone present received the Holy Communion; as soon as the Y.M.C.A. entered the field of the Orthodox Churches there must have been those who could not conscientiously do so. But contrast this liberty with the situation to-day, in which the question of intercommunion and of Communion services at international conferences has become the principal bone of ecumenical contention—or at least the central point of ecumenical distress.

For some time the Y.M.C.A. has recognized the difference between "minimal" and "maximal" ecumenism—the former being that in which all agree to meet without dissension on the basis of a small number of principles common to all the Christian Churches; the latter that in which each member is encouraged to bring in with him the full riches of the traditions of the denomination to which he belongs. It is the aim of the Y.M.C.A. to encourage the latter type. But is it not historically the case that its methods and policies have tended to encourage the former? Can the Y.M.C.A. dissociate itself from this tradition, and perform among young people generally the same ecumenical function as is performed in its own particular field by the World's Student Christian Federation?

The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. came into being at a time when the segregation of the sexes was much more rigid than it is to-day. It was a positive embarrassment to the Y.M.C.A. in early days to find that there was a considerable proportion of girl members in the would-be Y.M.C.As. of Scandinavian countries; and all efforts to amalgamate the two Associations have been steadily resisted. But is this position really tenable to-day? The Student Christian Federation has almost from the beginning included both men and women. The youth work of the majority of Churches is organized along the same lines. So is the World Christian Youth Commission. Undoubtedly there are some things which are better done by men and women separately. But what, in the twentieth century, is to be the future of organizations based on the principle of segregation?

It is not the business of a reviewer to answer these questions; it would be dishonest not to raise them.

I have conscientiously read every word of this big book, and I must admit that at times it has been heavy going. But on the whole

it has been a rewarding experience; and what I have found specially rewarding has been making the acquaintance of a whole galaxy of Christian leaders previously wholly unknown to me. The founder of the Y.M.C.A., George Williams, is of course well known to fame. Henri Dunant is remembered as having been the founder of the International Red Cross as well as a pioneer in ecumenical thinking; and this book does much to rehabilitate the fame of one who, as the result of a tragic bankruptcy, was destined to spend the second half of his long life as a forgotten man, and has for the most part been allowed by the Christian Churches to remain a forgotten man. With many of the later leaders of the Y.M.C.A. I am myself personally acquainted. But, although I have read widely in the history of Christianity in the nineteenth century, the early leaders—especially the first General Secretary, Charles Fermaud, and such other figures as Edwyn Shipton, Christian Phildius, and Jean Paul Cook—were to me entirely unknown. How much more glorious and varied is the Communion of Saints than we generally imagine! I have found very moving the ingenuousness and spontaneous enthusiasm of these young men, who in that age in so many ways less stiff and stilted than our own had no hesitation about expressing their devotion to their Saviour and their love for one another. Perhaps there are some advantages in the reticence of our present habits; perhaps the pioneers of a century ago, in their liberty of feeling and expression, were really more apostolic than we are to-day.

# ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS TO-DAY

By MARGARET SINCLAIR

REPORTS of the life and work of the Roman Catholic Church across the world—and notably a brilliant panorama of developments to which a recent issue of *Eglise Vivante*, the quarterly publication of the *Société des Auxiliaires des Missions* is devoted — suggest a markedly upward trend in the number of converts. Japan, for example, shows 10,730 adult conversions and 5,802 child baptisms in a year. South Korea had the record number of 22,700 catechumens under instruction for baptism in 1954. From the authoritative quarters from which these figures emanate also comes, however, the reminder that, with regard to Asian countries as a whole, gratification at the influx of individuals in large numbers into the Church must be tempered with a realization that at the rate at which the whole population increases (except in Korea, where war-time suffering has greatly increased the incidence of tuberculosis) the proportion of Christians to the total community makes little if any headway. The minority position, however, which the Roman Catholic Church occupies, in common with other Christian Churches, in many countries, while exposing it here and there, as reports make clear, to detrimentally discriminatory treatment in one respect or another, confronts it also with a challenge to witness and to a concern for the well-being of nations, many of which have crossed the threshold to self-government.

The reality of persecution, or at least of much restriction of activity, cannot be denied in Communist-controlled countries. Missionaries recently expelled from the People's Republic of China speak of the immensity of the pressure on Roman Catholics which still continues, to induce them to join the so-called autonomous Church, and in general of the steadiness with which it is resisted. The campaign directed against the Church in Shanghai, which culminated in the arrest of Bishop Kiung, the diocese's first Chinese bishop, with fifteen hundred of the faithful, signifies the Government's recognition of the strength of the Church which is centred there and especially of its hold on young people, who have evidently been subjected to strong pressure to denounce the Bishop, but who

have been courageously outspoken in their loyalty to him and to the Church is now strongly Ceylonese in its leadership, the necessity would seem to indicate a determination to show at the same time the loyalty and obedience to the State and the allegiance to a universal Church to which they are exhorted in the Papal encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentem*.

The partition of Vietnam brought under Communist domination an area which reports describe as containing the most flourishing church in Asia (Northern Vietnam having, in pre-partition days, some 1,200,000 Roman Catholics, in ten vicariates, as compared with 400,000, in four vicariates in the South). Rather more than 50 per cent of the Roman Catholic population, it is reported, has migrated south, and about the same proportion of priests had, at a recent estimate, gone with them. Re-settlement projects in the South, after initial difficulties, go satisfactorily forward, and not least the re-establishment of the seminaries which were also moved from the North. The Church in the North, under the vigorous leadership of the bishops and priests (including a number of missionaries) who have remained, and who move about their fields as widely as government restrictions allow, is presented as very specially in need of prayer. The Church is hampered on the material side by the high taxation from which all suffer. To meet the urgent need for priests, major and minor seminaries have been opened in Vinh, and in the Hanoi vicariate a *probatorium* has begun two courses.

Observers in a number of countries agree in finding sectarian opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, often taking violent form, in definitely prescribed localities, in spite of the guarantee of religious liberty to minority groups which has been stated and demonstrated by the government authorities. In India, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's repudiation of nationalist fanaticism as detrimental to the country's unity, incidents of violence at the expense of the Church have taken place, notably in the Madhya Pradesh area; and the Bill introduced into Congress by a private member (and in due course defeated) which aimed at requiring the registration and regulation of conversions to another faith, drew strong and outspoken opposition at such gatherings as the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India; although this Committee stressed its desire not to ask for any special favours but to be assured of the rights guaranteed to religious minorities

in the Constitution. Pakistan, in turn, we are reminded, confronts the Church with all that is implied in that country's recent decision to become an Islamic State. The issue of the debate that may be expected to develop between the more liberalizing elements in the Government and those forces which stand for an unyielding Islamic tradition is a vital one for the Church. Similarly, the fervent nationalism that grows apace in Ceylon is increasingly identified with the fostering of Buddhism as the national religion; and though the Church is now strongly Ceylonese in its leadership, the necessity to resist and counterbalance influences which represent the Church as an element alien to the national culture is constantly stressed. In Burma, the Church finds itself in an unusual situation, in which the Prime Minister, U Nu, a devout Buddhist, himself firmly withstands pressure from among his fellow-Buddhists to restrict the freedom of other faiths. In a number of countries in which the Roman Catholic Church takes no small share in the educational life, restrictive stipulations, looking towards increased government control of Church schools, have given rise to some concern, for instance in Syria and again in Israel, though rightly implemented they could, it is recognized, bring about a valuable collaboration.

The somewhat defensive picture which this outline of developments must inevitably take into account should not, however, overshadow the very positive rôle which the Roman Catholic Church is playing in many critical phases in a country's life and the leaven which, from its minority position, it represents. We may consider, for instance, its educational commitments in Japan (with 6 universities, 69 high schools, 73 middle schools, 44 primary schools and 258 kindergartens, and with a school enrolment of over 100,000, only 10 per cent of them Christian); or in Thailand, with 35,000 pupils in its schools and colleges, a bare quarter of them Christian. Industrial development has to be reckoned with in missionary planning in East Pakistan, where the Brothers of the Holy Cross have opened, in Dacca, an industrial and commercial school. In South Africa, again, we are reminded of the Church's determination to maintain its schools for African children, in spite of the Bantu Education Act, insisting that in Christian education it is necessary that "all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, its teachers and the whole spirit of their teaching be regulated by a truly Christian spirit, under the direction and supervision of the Church".

The social challenge is increasingly voiced, especially in countries newly embarked on reconstruction measures. The Catholic Social Congress held at Ernakulam, India, in 1954, with 43 dioceses represented at it, identified itself with the land reforms envisaged in the proposals of the Bhoojan movement; and the Congress of Catholic University Students, which met for four weeks at Madras, December 1955—January 1956, and drew delegates from twelve countries, discussed at length the university student's responsibility in a day of reconstruction in Asia. The foundation of the Indian Institute of Social Order at Poona, moreover, has led to the introduction of courses in sociology in five Roman Catholic universities in India. Equal concern for the Church to be at the heart of social advance is voiced in newly self-governing countries such as the Gold Coast, where Roman Catholics are urged to enter fully into mass education and literacy enterprises and to study social problems such as the family and the rôle of Christianity in relation to the social challenge. In Kenya, again, where Roman Catholics have witnessed courageously to their faith in the face of Mau Mau intimidation, plans go forward for the fullest participation in rehabilitation measures. The unrest that has prevailed in North Africa has evoked strong expression of opinion not only as to the need for a more sympathetic understanding of the religious issues involved, but as to the poverty of Christian witness on the part of the majority of the Europeans. In Morocco a conference has been held to study the proletariat and its needs in the field of social reform.

All such situations imply a particular challenge to the laity in their daily life and in their occupational relationships; and it is the task of the layman that receives increasing emphasis and that has led to the foundation, in Rome, of a Liaison Centre for International Catholic Organizations, through which to foster world-wide co-operation and fellowship.

In the last analysis, however, everything depends on the building up, in each country, of a strong body of priests under indigenous leadership. Developments in that direction show a steady advance. We note, for example, the opening of the inter-diocesan national seminary in Ceylon, with 110 students; the ordination of five native priests trained at the major seminary at Paita, New Caledonia; concern in Indonesia for an increase in the number of minor seminaries (which at present total 14, with 758 students in residence in 1952, as

compared with 242 in 1942) as a means of achieving the much-needed increase in the number of major seminarists. Particularly interesting and challenging is the situation in India, with nearly 4,000 Indian priests at work (out of a total of 5,000) and the ten major seminaries full and sending out 200 to 250 newly ordained priests each year. Among India's special problems are the training of priests for each of the many language groups which need pastoral care, and the discrepancy in the number of Roman Catholics among whom vocations to the priesthood may be fostered between the south, in which are concentrated four-fifths of the faithful, and the north with its relative paucity of vocations. To solve this problem the bishops in the north have adopted a policy of bringing young candidates north at the initial stage of their training, thus to some extent eliminating the "foreigner" impression which they make when they come at a later age, already ordained. It is estimated that in India there is one priest to every thousand laymen, a not unreasonable figure in relation to the existing Roman Catholic community, but one that falls far short of the needs in the field of evangelism.

A significant stage has been reached in Africa with the establishment of a Hierarchy for all the French territories, though they remain under the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. Nigeria has the first West African Bishop, with the consecration of Mgr Ekandem as auxiliary Bishop of Calabar in 1954, followed, in 1955, by Cameroon, when Mgr Paul Etoga was consecrated titular Bishop of Cyparissia.

The consecration of Mgr Joseph U Win as Auxiliary Bishop of Mandalay in 1954 gave Burma, too, its first national bishop.

It is as a body seeking to become ever more deeply rooted in each land, through the fostering of indigenous vocations to the priesthood, through the formation of a laity actively concerned to play its part in Christian witness and service, and through a compassionate identification with social needs that the Roman Church reveals itself, believing, in the words of a Papal pronouncement of which the faithful were reminded on World Mission Day (observed annually in October) that "the future belongs to those that love and not to those that hate. The mission of the Church in the world, far from being at an end or overcome, is going on to new experiences and new undertakings".

## UNLEARNED AND IGNORANT MEN

By A. TINDAL HART

THE parochial clergy of the second Elizabethan Age sometimes grow weary of the reiterated complaint that they are sadly lacking both in numbers and learning as compared with their predecessor of the Victorian era. But if our Jeremiahs and Cassandras were instead, to turn their attention to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I they would certainly find the comparisons less odious.

“As for the inferior clergy under them [the bishops]”, wrote Tom Fuller, “the best that could be gotten were placed in pastoral charges. Alas! tolerability was eminency in that age. A rush-candle seemed a torch where no brighter light was ever seen before”, and he referred his readers to the remarks of a certain Mr Tavernour, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, who had spoke of the ministers in his part of the country as “the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit”.<sup>1</sup> William Harrison, too, complained bitterly that many lay patrons “doo bestow advowsons of benefices upon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, & horsekeepers, insted of other recompense, for their long & faithful service which they imploie afterwards unto their most advantage . . . a glover or a tayler will be glad of an augmentation of 8 or 10 pound by the yere, & well contented that his patron shall have all the rest”.<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Parker himself admitted as much, when in writing to Bishop Grindal of London during 1560 he remarked wryly: “Whereas, occasioned by the great want of ministers, we & you both, for tolerable supply thereof, have heretofore admitted into the ministry sundry artificers & others, not traded & brought up in learning, &, as it happened in multitude some that were of base occupations”.<sup>3</sup> William Fulke spoke of “our Ministers, which are come out of the shop into the clergy, without gifts sufficient for that calling”,<sup>4</sup> and John Whitgift that some of the clergy were of “the basest of the people”.<sup>5</sup> These criticisms are certainly borne out by diocesan records. At Lincoln, for example, the ordination lists between 1555 and 1585, together with the *Liber Cleri* of 1585, show that many of the non-graduate clergy were drawn from “base callings”. There were day-labourers, serving men, ostlers, husbandmen, parish-clerks, poor-clerks, ex-monks, carpenters, glovers, drapers,

tallow-chandlers, shoemakers, soldiers, fishermen, clothiers, and even a bestiarius.<sup>6</sup> The *Liber Cleri* of 1576, which recorded Bishop Cooper's Visitation of the Leicester, Lincoln, and Stow archdeaconries, noted that whereas 167 of the clergy were Latinists and 207 sufficiently qualified in sacred learning, 226 were entirely ignorant of Latin and 206 others deficient in any sort of knowledge. The Leicester *Liber* further stated that "only one clergyman is somewhat learned in Greek"; while, alas, very many were described as "utterlie ignorant".<sup>7</sup> In 1573 Bishop Cooper ordained Thomas Morley as priest "upon necessitie, although in the holy scriptures unacquainted"; but would not issue his Letters of Orders until he had shown that he had profited by a study of the Bible. In 1576 Morley was presented to the rectory of Wyberton, but the bishop refused to institute him because on examination he still appeared ignorant. He was told "to apply his study" for six months; but at the end of that period again failed to satisfy his Diocesan, and the rectory was given to another clerk. Eventually, a year later, Morley was instituted to the vicarage of Heckington instead.<sup>8</sup>

The Royal Injunctions of 1559 and Parker's *Advertisements* in 1566 had directed the bishops and archdeacons to examine all their clergy below the degree of M.A. at their visitations in order to find out "how they have profited in the Study of the Holy Scripture".<sup>9</sup> In the diocese of Lincoln only D.D.s and B.D.s escaped such an examination, which was certainly of a formidable nature, judging from the fact that in 1576 the incumbent of Ingoldmells and Panton "withdrew before the examination in spite of being admonished to undergo it"; while William Brown of Careby also "withdrew before his examination".<sup>10</sup> Bishop Cooper's Register discloses how diligent he was in insisting upon a sober and learned clergy: on 6 October 1574, Robert Andrewe, curate of Market Harborough, "appeared & the bishop enjoined him to forbear taverne & ale howse in all places whatsoever & to increase his knowledge in the latine tongue"; and three weeks later "John Leech, curate of Northeyll [Northill] co. Bedford, appeared & satisfied the bishop with his study, & the bishop admitted him".<sup>11</sup> In his injunctions of 1577 Bishop Cooper demanded "that the ministers bend themselves diligently to the study of the Holy Scriptures & Word of God . . . every day in the week . . . to read over one chapter at the least of the Bible, taking some notes in a paper book of such wholesome sentences & good matter as he shall observe in the reading of the

Bible as of the *Decades*<sup>12</sup> . . . that he may show the same when he shall be thereunto called".<sup>13</sup> The archdeacons were instructed, at their next visitation, to see that these orders had been carried out.

Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions of 1571 had also insisted upon a strict and thorough examination of his clergy after ordination. "Ye shall daylie read", he told them, "at least one chapter of the oulde Testament & another of the New with good advisement, & such of you as be under the degree of a maister of arts shall provide & have your owne, accordinge to the quenes majesties injunctions, at least the New Testament both in latine and englishe, conferringe the one with the other everye day one chapter thereof at the leaste, so that upon examination of the Archdeacon commissary or their officers in synodes & visitations or at other appointed tymes it may appeare how ye profit in the studye of hollye scripture".<sup>14</sup>

The rapid growth of the Tudor grammar schools, where the clever boy from any rank of society could pick up a good Latin education before going on to the revived and flourishing Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, greatly helped in raising the standard of clerical learning in the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is, therefore, of interest to note the remarkable increase in the number of clerical graduates as the years went by; although the fact has always to be borne in mind that because a man had a degree it did not necessarily imply that he was learned. Some degrees were very easily earned by the undeserving, who indeed attended the university, but did very little study there. Institutions to benefices in the Lincoln diocese between 1540 and 1570 reveal that there were: five D.D.s two B.D.s, nineteen M.A.s, six B.A.s, one LL.B., and one literate as against 298 new incumbents with no kind of qualification.<sup>15</sup> But on turning to the ordination lists between 1578 and 1584 we find that out of the 252 men ordained 128 possessed university degrees;<sup>16</sup> and the *Liber Cleri* of 1585 disclosed 399 graduates out of a total of 1,285 clergy. In 1603 the figures are even better, since 646 men now have degrees as against 1,184 without any. The standard of learning in the diocese of Lincoln at any rate was steadily rising;<sup>17</sup> while the Bishops' Report in 1603 for the whole of the Provinces of Canterbury and York announced that out of the 9,244 parochial clergy, 3,806 held degrees of one kind or another.<sup>18</sup>

Early in the reign, owing to an alarming shortage of clergy, a special class of "Readers" were appointed, who were commissioned by the bishops to read the service and homily, but forbidden to

administer the sacraments or marry. These men were especially useful in supplying those cures that were held in plurality, but where the incumbent himself was non-resident.<sup>19</sup> For it was now illegal—although the law was sometimes evaded<sup>20</sup>—for students at the Universities to be instituted to livings unless they had been ordained into the diaconate and were at least twenty-three years of age. A Reader was not licensed like a curate, but “tolerated”, and he usually entered into a bond to pay the bishop’s officer £20, wherein he promised that “he the above-bounden N.N. being tolerated & admitted to read prayers in the church or chapel of N . . . according to the Book of Common Prayer, together with the chapters & suffrages appointed by the same, do not in any thing or things touching his said office contrary or otherwise than in the said book specified & allowed, then this present obligation to be void & of none effect, or else to stand & remain in full force”.<sup>21</sup> Curates, too, were sometimes only “tolerated”. The Lincoln *Liber Cleri* of 1580 mentioned several by name<sup>22</sup>, while Bishop Cooper’s Register referred on 8 September 1575, to a certain Henry Berde, Curate of Asgardby, as being “not in orders. Serveth by tolleration”.<sup>23</sup> At this period, indeed, laymen were frequently presented to benefices and were even made prebendaries. A good example of this was Archdeacon Wendon of Suffolk, who was depicted in 1565 as going about “in a cloak with a Spanish cape, & a rapier by his side”.<sup>24</sup> In June 1561 Archbishop Parker was asked by Thomas Seckford “to subscribe your name to his [Wendon’s] bill of presentation” to a vacant prebend in Norwich Cathedral. Parker obligingly “subscribed”.<sup>25</sup> The previous November the Archbishop had written to the Bishop of London that many of his clergy “as well of your cathedral church as of others beneficed in your diocese, be neither priests nor deacons”.<sup>26</sup> And in the Lincoln *Liber Cleri* of 1576 John Dee, Rector of Leadenham, was described in the following terms: “Does not reside; neither is he in holy orders; vehemently suspected in religion; an astronomer not a theologian”.<sup>27</sup>

No wonder that the bishops had demanded in their *Interpretations & Further Considerations* that the clergy should be “well scanned first, &, if their character & biblical knowledge are satisfactory they may be tolerated in the office of deacon; but they are to be promoted to the priesthood only after a good time of probation”.<sup>28</sup> But some of the “Readers”, who were tradesmen, were not obliged “wholly to forbear their calling”.<sup>29</sup> The Royal Injunctions had instructed

the clergy to "preach in their own persons, once in every quarter of the year at least, one sermon, being licensed especially thereunto . . . or shall read some homily prescribed to be used by the queen's authority every Sunday at the least, unless some other preacher, sufficiently licensed . . . chance to come to the parish for the same purpose of preaching".<sup>30</sup> Actually the number of clergy licensed to preach was strictly limited, and the obligation of the non-licensed to provide a preacher once a quarter was all too frequently omitted. At Thorp-Arch in Yorkshire it was reported: "They have had no sermon in their churche these XXty yeres". John Holme, Vicar of North Clifton, Notts, was accused of being non-resident and not preaching "any of his ordinary sermons within theise thre yeres"; while Christopher Parker, Vicar of Mansfield and also of Tattershall in Lincolnshire, "haithe been absent from his benefice this two yeaeres duringe which tyme they have had no quarterly sermons".<sup>31</sup> The non-preachers read one or other of the authorized twenty-one Homilies; but were not allowed to indulge in any kind of glossing or exposition of either these or the scriptures. Not unnaturally they were jealous of their preaching brethren; and we hear, for example, of Mr Stubbs, Rector of Wath, "hindering the preacher in the pulpit and bidding him go to his text". Sometimes, too, wandering unlicensed preachers were illegally invited to address a congregation. Such a man was Robert Blackwood, a Scotsman, who ranted at Kirton, where his preaching was described as "the roaringe of an Oxe in the topp of an ashe tree".<sup>32</sup>

The Metropolitical Visitation of 1561/2 found only fifteen preachers out of 129 clergymen in the archdeaconry of Leicester; while the Lincoln *Liber Cleri* of 1576 recorded no more than fifty-seven qualified preachers and seventeen others who preached without a licence, in the whole of the diocese.<sup>33</sup> But by 1592 the numbers everywhere were very much larger. For if in that year we take four dioceses at random we find that Gloucester had 84 preachers, Chester 172, Ely 79, and York 207;<sup>34</sup> while in 1603 the large Lincoln & Stowe archdeaconry could boast 228 preachers as against only 292 "dumb-dogs". On the other hand the vast and backward diocese of Coventry and Lichfield could muster only fifty-one licensed clergymen.<sup>35</sup> In Bishop Cooper's Register, Folio 35d, appears *An Order to be Subscribed unto of Preachers*. In this the subscriber promised: "To teach the wourde of god soberly sincerely & trulie accordinge to the fourme of doctrine publique lie established

in this Realme", and added: "I shall not suffer any person to use my licence being so required by that auctorytie from whom I had yt".<sup>36</sup> Before his admission to any clerical office whatsoever a Lincolnshire clergyman had, indeed, to declare: "I shall not preache or publiquelie interprete, but onlie read that which is appointed by publique auctoritie without speciaill licence of the bishoppe under his seale".<sup>37</sup>

In view of the widespread criticism of the modern parson's learning and preaching, might it not then be an excellent plan to revive the Elizabethan policy of instituting examinations after ordination and issuing preaching licences only to the properly qualified?

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, Vol. II., pp. 522-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Vol. I, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Archbishop Parker's Correspondence* (Parker Society), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> William Fulke, *Works* (Parker Society), Vol. II, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> John Whitgift, *Works* (Parker Society), Vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> *Lincoln Record Society*, Vol. 23, ed., C. W. Foster, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Foster, op. cit., p. xviii.

<sup>8</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records in the time of Thomas Cooper* (Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 2), p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Injunction XVI.

<sup>10</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, pp. 189 and 211.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> Bullinger's *Decades*.

<sup>13</sup> Foster, op. cit., p. xx.

<sup>14</sup> *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York*, ed. J. S. Purvis, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> 55th Report of the Associated Architectural Societies. Vol. XXIV, Part II: *Institutions to Benefices in the Diocese of Lincoln*, 1540-1570. Calendar No. I, ed. C. W. Foster, pp. 467-525.

<sup>16</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, pp. 90-8.

<sup>17</sup> Foster, *Lincoln Record Society*, Vol. 23, p. lviii.

<sup>18</sup> R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 207.

<sup>19</sup> The Clerical Subsidy Rolls at the Public Record Office show that large numbers of benefices in the Lincoln diocese, owing to their extreme poverty, remained vacant throughout the reign. No doubt the Readers helped to take the services in such parishes.

<sup>20</sup> Edmund Lee, incumbent of Shenley, Bucks, was described as "a scholar studying at Oxford". See *Institutions to Benefices in the Diocese of Lincoln*, 1540-1570. Calendar No. I.

<sup>21</sup> Foster, op. cit., p. xxxii.

<sup>22</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, p. xv.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> Strype, Bk. II. App. No. I quoted from *Archbishop Parker's Correspondence*, p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> *Archbishop Parker's Correspondence*, p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 128. See also pp. 154, 308.

<sup>27</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, p. xiv.

<sup>28</sup> W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, p. 60.

<sup>29</sup> Strype, *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 515, 265.

<sup>30</sup> Injunction IV.

<sup>31</sup> Purvis, op. cit. Visitation Returns of 1567, pp. 20, 22, 134.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>33</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, p. xiii.

<sup>34</sup> Harleian MSS. No. 595, quoted from Usher, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 242.

<sup>35</sup> Usher, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 242.

<sup>36</sup> *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, pp. 107-8.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 107: Bishop Cooper's Register. Folio 31d.

## Correspondence

### NULLITY OF MARRIAGE

SIR,—May I, as one of the legal members of the Archbishops' Commission on the Church and the Law of Nullity of Marriage, venture to correct some of the fundamental errors in Mr Macmillan's discussion of our report.

First, as to wilful refusal. He quarrels with our recommendations that the State should be asked to abolish wilful refusal to consummate as a ground for nullity, and that if this be not done within a reasonable time the Convocations should pass a Canon prohibiting marriage in Church in such cases. He argues, in the first place, that any such Canon would have no legal force. This may well be so, but exactly the same objection can be levelled against the Church's existing refusal to celebrate marriage after divorce. Probably nothing short of disestablishment can alter this. Our proposal is designed to obviate the illogicality whereby this one matter arising *ex causa subsequenti* is treated as a ground of nullity.

Secondly, in this connection, Mr Macmillan states that "the general teaching of the Western Church has been that an unconsummated marriage is capable of being dissolved for grave causes". This may be true of the Roman Catholic Church, where the Pope has a dispensatory power to dissolve a marriage *ratum sed non consummatum*. But to imply that this is part of the Canon Law of the Church of England is to fly in the face of the whole historical lesson of the Reformation, and also to disregard high judicial authority to the effect that wilful refusal to consummate a marriage (in contradistinction to incapacity to consummate it) is not a ground of nullity. (See *Napier v. Napier*, [1915] P. 184, which was expressly an application of the pre-1857 ecclesiastical law.)

Mr Macmillan then turns to deal with defective consent. He states that "it is very questionable whether the judgment of Sir William Scott, in *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple*, if read carefully and in its entirety, supports the extreme statement in the report"—that is, that people who marry according to the forms prescribed must be held bound by what they have voluntarily said or done. We expressly quoted the passage from the judgment of Sir William Scott, an ecclesiastical judge sitting in a Church court, on which our statement is founded. There is nothing whatever elsewhere in the judgment in *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple* which in any way derogates from this perfectly clear statement. Mr Macmillan may not like the decision of *Brodie v. Brodie*, to which he also refers; but the fact remains that it is entirely in line with the passage in *Dalrymple v. Dalrymple* which we quoted, and there is no reason to think that if the case had come before Sir William Scott on a claim for

nullity on the ground of absence of consent it would not have been met by the rule laid down in that passage.

Finally for the distinction between void and voidable marriages. The fact that an action for nullity on the ground of impotence or lack of consent could only be started by one of the parties did not before the Reformation involve the concept of a voidable marriage. It is significant that nonage, equally with impotence or defect of consent, was limited as a matter of complaint to the parties themselves. (See Esmein, *Mariage en droit canonique*, 2nd Edition, Vol. 1, p. 452).

As for putative marriages we certainly had these in mind: indeed, Mr Macmillan refers to my own evidence on the matter before the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce. They perhaps merited, for the sake of completeness, a reference in a footnote; but its absence does not in any way affect the correctness of our historical argument; and it remains true that "pre-Reformation Canon Law knew no distinction between void and voidable marriages". Indeed voidable marriages still have no place in the Roman Catholic *Codex Juris Canonici*.

J. E. S. SIMON

*In view of the time that has elapsed since Mr Macmillan's article appeared, we have shown him Mr Simon's letter and invited him to reply to it in the same issue.—ED.*

Mr Macmillan writes as follows:

I have, by the courtesy of the Editor, been shown a copy of Mr Simon's letter, and will try shortly to deal with my alleged "fundamental errors".

1. *Wilful Refusal to Consummate.* I regret that I seem to have failed to make myself clear. In the first place I never intended to suggest that this was or ever had been a ground for nullity in the Western Catholic Church. In my Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce I suggested that it be made a ground for divorce instead of nullity. I do not at all understand the third paragraph of Mr Simon's letter. If wilful refusal became a legal ground for divorce instead of nullity, persons whose marriages were dissolved on this ground would come within Section 13(2) of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1950, (which re-enacts Section 12 of the Herbert Act), and as this sub-section has carefully omitted the words appearing in Section 184(2) of the Judicature (Consolidation) Act, 1925, (re-enacting Section 57 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857) "no clergyman . . . shall be liable to any proceedings, penalty or censure for solemnizing or refusing to solemnize the marriage of any such person (divorced for adultery)", the Church has complete freedom to legislate, so that a duly promulgated Canon forbidding clergymen to solemnize marriages where either party had living a former spouse, would legally bind them and render them liable to ecclesiastical proceedings in case of disobedience. Of course a person whose marriage has been *annulled* on any ground neither has

nor ever had a spouse, and cannot lawfully be refused marriage in church subsequent to the annulment. My criticism was that the recommendation appeared to ignore the fact that what would make such a Canon necessary—Parliament's refusal to abolish this ground for nullity—would both make any such Canon void and also make unlikely the grant of the Royal licence. I hesitate to think that the Commission was recommending that the Convocations try to promulge Canons without Royal licence.

As regards unconsummated marriages, Mr Simon appears to imply that the Roman Catholic teaching that these are capable of dissolution—not nullity but *dissolution*—is a post-Reformation development. This is not so, but from the twelfth century the view was gradually developed, and occasionally acted upon by Popes, that in the matter of indissolubility an unconsummated marriage was on a different footing to a consummated one: see *Christian Marriage*, by the late Father Joyce, S.J., 2nd Ed. p. 430 *et seq.* Whether the Church of England should allow and solemnize re-marriage after the dissolution of an unconsummated marriage, either generally or in particular cases, is a matter of opinion. All I ventured to point out was that if she refuses to do so, as recommended by the Commission, she will be acting contrary to rather than in accordance with the tradition of the undivided Western Church.

2. *Defective Consent.* I have most carefully re-read the judgment of Sir William Scott in the Dalrymple case, and I adhere to the view I expressed. The question is, however, academic, since I quite agree that in the present state of the authorities there does exist a legally irrebuttable presumption of an intention to contract marriage whenever the parties have spoken the appropriate words. But by reason of this legal rule consent *in fact* has ceased to be an essential factor to marriage, a situation which I find impossible to reconcile with the age-long teaching of the Church that marriage exists by natural law, as opposed to positive, man-made law, and that by the natural law consent *in fact* is essential. I gave a full account of the facts in *Brodie v. Brodie* to illustrate that by present law two people can be married who never, *in fact*, consented to marriage.

3. *Pre-Reformation Canon Law: Void & Voidable Marriages: Putative Marriages.* I never suggested that this Canon Law had the concept of voidable marriage. The paragraph in question—No. 5 on page 15—is misleading in that it suggests that unless a marriage was valid and unimpeachable, it was void, i.e. void *ab initio*, with all the consequences which the present English law attributes to this. The division according to the nature of the impediment—whether it involved or did not involve the parties in sin if they continued living together—was an important one, with important legal consequences, and should not have been ignored.

I fully accept Mr Simon's statement that the Commission had in mind putative marriages: my criticism was that this remained in their

mind, instead of being transmitted on to the Report. I cannot agree that failure to mention what was an important doctrine of the Canon Law constituted merely a lack of "completeness".

A. T. MACMILLAN

## FAITH AND SOCIETY

SIR,—Not only Christian Sociologists themselves, but all Churchmen who desire to promote Christian social thought on its rightful basis in orthodox theology, will be grateful to Dr Ramsey for his address to the Church Union School of Sociology. As a "social witness" layman in the above sense, may I comment on two of the Archbishop's points?

As Dr Ramsey rightly says: "The weakness of sociology lies not in itself, but in the failure of theology to give it what it needs. It is for sociologists to grumble until theologians serve them better than they are doing at present." Indeed it is. And for the layman too. I have grumbled for over twenty years, and I know others who have grumbled both for longer or shorter periods. Unfortunately the "social witness" laymen cannot, so to speak, locate the official theologians. There is thus no one at the receiving end of the grouse. Could not His Grace help to end this wearisome frustration by revealing the identity of the theologians to whom he refers? We could then converse with them, pointing out that any Christian theology that cannot support the Church's social witness is *ipso facto* heterodox. Statements on Man's relationship to God, his fellows, and nature, which carry no social implications, can hardly be coherent statements, let alone theology.

As an antidote to grumbling, one has to try, in discussion group and elsewhere, to formulate the theology which forms the background of the Christian's sociology. Here His Grace's address is most helpful, being that unaccountably rare phenomenon in the Church—a theological statement with sociology in mind. But the layman who is constrained to traverse the elements of Christian theology, with brethren who have worshipped for possibly twenty, thirty, or forty years in a parish Church, even if qualified to do so, is apt to appear presumptuous ("if it were so, the Vicar would tell us"), and almost certainly becomes tedious. But neither, save in negligible instances, can he induce a parish priest to do so, at least from this angle. Here we have what is virtually an *impasse*, which should never arise. A nucleus of theological orthodoxy and teaching should inhere in every parish church, on which one can rely. But as His Grace says,—and this is the second point—this theology, familiar and orthodox enough, "has become far to seek as an effective doctrine in the Church to-day". Indeed it has. In my own area of London with its numerous parishes, I have known only one incumbent in twenty-five years for whom the theological-sociological outlook had any part at all in the life and worship of his parish. Yet it may be fairly asked what form the prophetic mission of the Church can take without it.

His Grace is concerned lest Christian Sociology be not rooted in a proper spirituality. But the absence of theology as an effective basis for sociology, which his Grace notes, itself suggests the belief that the spiritual and rational elements of the Faith are somehow opposed. When this suggestion is demolished by a greater emphasis on the rational element, then the "social witness" Christian, who cannot do without the latter, may also enjoy the blessing of a greater spirituality. We have no right to expect the grace of Christ to operate in disregard of situations remediable by normal common sense. Let us pray that His Grace may do much for a Christian social philosophy of life in the high office to which he is now called.

H. B. ATKINS

## REVIEWS

### BULTMANN COMPLETED

THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Volume II. By RUDOLPH BULTMANN. S.C.M. Press. 25s.

THIS second volume completes the English translation of Rudolph Bultmann's monumental work on the theology of the New Testament. It is to be warmly welcomed as making readily available for the English reader what is certainly one of the greatest, though not the least contentious, masterpieces of modern theological literature. It is concerned in the main with the later strands of the thought of the New Testament, the Johannine literature and the development in doctrine, organization, and ethics towards the early Church.

The tendency to detect layers or strata within the thought of the New Testament which to many readers will appear to be the principal weakness of the previous volume is less perceptible in this part of the work. This is not so much due to any marked change in the methods or conclusions of the author as to the fact that the material with which the present volume is concerned is more homogeneous in date, if not in character. The real watershed within the New Testament has already been passed in the earlier sections of the work. Yet in certain respects Bultmann appears more ready to accept qualifications to his judgments than in the earlier volume.

The section on the Johannine literature is naturally based upon the more extended treatment in his own commentary. Here he denies any linear relationship between Pauline and Johannine theology and points out the wide divergences which stand between them both in idiom and perspective. But he is also alive to the deep relationship in substance between the two traditions, and this might well be strengthened by such a study as that of Théo. Preiss on *Justification* in the Fourth Gospel contained in the posthumous volume *Life in Christ*. Bultmann's detection of Gnostic themes in the Fourth Gospel should be read in connection with his discussion of the whole subject in the first volume. The suggestion that St John is offering a "demythologization" of the Gnostic figure of the Redeemer as a Divine Ambassador should be read with particular caution in view of the existence of Synoptic *logia* which contain this theme without any perceptible traces of Gnostic influence. A footnote reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls will not go far to reconcile the thesis of Gnostic influence upon the Fourth Gospel with the deeply Jewish background of much of its thought and terminology. Whatever may be true of the fringes of Judaism, Gnosticism can hardly have made any penetration of the central citadel of Judaism, the Rabbinic tradition. Bultmann's treatment of the place of the sacraments in the Johannine literature will probably not convince many of his readers. It is far too strong to assert that "the sacraments play no part in John" and to ascribe the references to Baptism and the Eucharist in the early

part of the Gospel to editorial redaction. The evidence is at least as consistent with the conclusion that the writer puts his reader in possession of the sacramental clue to the understanding of Jesus as early as possible in the Gospel. Despite the absence both of the idea of the Church as the eschatological community and the Pauline image of the Body, it is probable that the Church plays a greater part in Johannine theology than Bultmann allows. It is surely implicit in the allegory of the Vine and in the High Priestly Prayer. Bultmann's exegesis of the second passage seems highly unsatisfactory. Among other matters of detail, it is difficult to rest content with the suggestion (admittedly tentative) that the author of the Fourth Gospel identified the Resurrection and the Parousia of our Lord. To reduce the Post-Resurrection Appearances in the Gospel to the level of "many other signs" as Bultmann does, is to distil far too much, and quite the wrong things, out of the last two verses of the twentieth chapter.

Whether Bultmann's interpretation of Johannine theology as a primitive form of Christian Existentialism will succeed in winning assent is after all a matter for Johannine specialists. To read his brilliant exposition is a rewarding, though somewhat heady, theological experience. Yet the suspicion remains that Bultmann is seeing his own image deep down in the well.

His treatment of the rise of Church Order and its early developments opens with a review of the unfinished debate between Sohm and Harnack. Bultmann himself occupies in some respects an intermediate position between the two earlier protagonists. With Sohm he agrees that the starting point must be the Church's "self-understanding" rather than the Church as an historical institution but, unlike him, admits that the existence of regulations does not of itself contradict the nature of the Church as an eschatological community. At first sight he appears to transcend the once fashionable distinction between the religion of the Spirit and any form of Church Order. The antithesis between *Geist* and *Amt* reappears, however, in a slightly different form at a later stage of his exposition. The "Fall of the Church" occurs when her centre of gravity changes from an eschatological community which looks beyond history to an institution which has, as it were, come to terms with history. The tests of this change of emphasis are twofold. What was originally simply regulative later becomes constitutive and the executive authority passes from the community acting through its spiritually endowed members to office bearers whose very office is believed to possess a charismatic character. How far this process can be traced within the New Testament itself, is of course, quite another matter. It may even be doubted whether the criteria are correctly framed. With regard to community rules, for example, the difference between the unexceptional and the exceptionable can hardly be more than a matter of degree and, as a later section correctly points out, we know virtually nothing about primitive penitential discipline even as late as the time of Hermas. Bultmann seems to regard the apostles as the leading figures within the category of the charismatics instead of the overarching

authority behind both the charismatics and the local ministries of the Church. He suggests that the term apostle originally possessed a wide connotation but was later narrowed down to the Twelve and St Paul. But the evidence is just as consonant with the opposite conclusion that a word originally of restricted reference later came to be used of others like Junias and Andronicus outside the original circle. The struggle of St Paul to secure recognition of his apostolic status harmonize better with this interpretation of the data. Bultmann makes matters easier for himself by denying the historicity of the passage in the Acts of the Apostles which speaks of the apostles as appointing elders in every city and simply sweeps aside without giving any reason the election of Matthias in place of the traitor Judas.

An interesting section is devoted to the New Testament conception of history. The earliest eschatological view shared by St Paul himself maintained that history had come to a full stop but that (so to speak) the pen was unaccountably poised in mid-air so that Christians were living between the aeons. Later writers, however, attempted to set the Gospel within the context of world history. Thus St Luke offers careful synchronizations with world events in his Gospel and breaks fresh ground in his second volume with the study of the Church as an institution within history. The Old Testament becomes a book of foreshadowings fulfilled in the Gospel (St Matthew) and its principal figures incorporated into a muster roll of heroes of faith to serve as examples to the Church no less than to the Synagogue (Hebrews). It is, however, by no means clear how far this analysis really carries us. If St. Matthew traces the theme of fulfilment in his own characteristic, though sometimes highly artificial, manner, it is certainly not absent either from St Mark or St Paul, though naturally enough neither writer employs the Matthaeian idiom. In a later section on Paradosis and the Historical Tradition Bultmann is inclined at least for a moment to believe that St Luke may have been right after all. Indeed his clear insistence on the vital importance of historicity to the whole Christian tradition leaves open the possibility that a better and more balanced critical method could successfully vindicate much of the Gospel material which Bultmann has rejected as secondary in his first volume. Works like Professor William Manson's *Jesus the Messiah* and in briefer compass Professor Fuller's *Mission and Achievement of Jesus* show that the process has already begun.

In a brilliant section devoted to the Core of the Development Bultmann passes in review the fate of the leading ideas of St Paul not only in the later writings of the New Testament but also in the Apostolic Fathers. While noting a perceptible drop in temperature and some alteration in perspective, he finds a surprisingly large amount of diluted or second degree Paulinism in the writings of the period. The study is rounded off by a treatment of the New Testament Ethics which contains few surprises, a brief review of previous work on the subject, and an admirable classified biography. The translation remains at its previous level, capable, though not distinguished. H. E. W. TURNER

## CHURCH AND PRIESTHOOD

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY. By J. K. S. REID. Oliver and Boyd. 5s.

ROYAL PRIESTHOOD. By T. F. TORRANCE. Oliver and Boyd. 9s.

THESE two books are *Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers* Nos. 3 and 4, their authors being the Joint Editors of that periodical. Both illustrate the method and temper of contemporary Biblical theology, and both are written as contributions to the discussion on Reunion, particularly as this affects the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. They are important reading for Anglicans as they await the Report of the recent conversations between these two Churches. Both books further reflect the influence of *The Historic Episcopate* which is frequently referred to by the authors, who see in the notion of the Episcopate as the *plene esse* of the Church the possibility of integrating the Anglican and Presbyterian Ministries.

Professor Reid's book consists of three lectures given to an S.C.M. Conference for theological students. His first lecture on "The Dominical Ministry" stresses the general point that the Ministry of the Church must bear evident signs of *diakonia*, since behind it is the Lord Christ, the *diakonos* of all. Both he and Professor Torrance are concerned that episcopacy should not obscure (through "prelacy" or "hierarchy") this basic feature of the Ministry, and both seem to feel that the servant nature of the Ministry is blurred, for example, by the diaconate, as it is exercised in the Anglican Church: "The diaconate as it is today, as a stage on the way to the priesthood, tends to look like the mark of immaturity, rather than a really independent order or rank" (Reid, p. 303).

The second lecture is on "The Ministry in the Apostolic Age". What the Twelve do is "to teach and to rule and to dispense the gifts of the Spirit", says the author quoting with approval from Dr A. M. Ramsey's *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*. The Apostolic Ministry is then extended beyond the Twelve, first to the Twelve together with men like St Paul, and then to a wider company of evangelizing Christians, and its basic function is *episcopé*, oversight.

The third lecture is on "The Continuing Ministry" and considers the interpretations of the New Testament facts as given by Dr Ramsey and Professor T. W. Manson. Professor Reid concludes that Manson is right, but feels that neither view is sufficiently compelling to be made a matter *de fide*. On the subject of succession he distinguishes between apostolic succession to an office or rank, which is "hierarchical" and apostolic succession to "a relationship to Christ", which is "Christological". If the Church of Scotland, he concludes, is offered the episcopate as a matter of historic fact, it might be prepared to accent it. "But needless to say it would be an episcopate, not essential in the sense that the Church is wholly conditional and dependent upon it, but an episcopate constituted as an order within the essential ministry

of a Church which Christ who is its Lord and Head draws up into His own perpetual ministry" (Reid, p. 47).

A reading of Professor Reid's book gives a good introduction to Dr Torrance's *Royal Priesthood*, which is, in many ways, an extended and scholarly analysis of some of the issues treated in a general manner in *The Biblical Doctrine of the Ministry*. Since the essential Ministry of the Church is that of Christ himself, Professor Torrance begins with a discussion of the Biblical conception of priesthood. Jesus is the perfect Royal Priest himself, combining in himself the twofold nature of priesthood: "mediation of God's Word, and liturgical witness to it". Chapter II deals with "The Function of the Body of Christ". "The Church participates in Christ's ministry by serving Him who is Prophet, Priest, and King". In many a passage in this chapter, and elsewhere in the book, where he is writing of the relation between Christ and his Church, Professor Torrance uses language which may rightly be described as that of Christian incarnational mysticism in its deep awareness that the life of the Church is in real union with the life of the Lord. Dr Torrance would no doubt be disturbed at this suggestion, but in spite of an evident antipathy to mysticism (he uses the word without indicating what meaning he attaches to it), he cannot write convincingly on the nature of the relation between the Ministry of the Church and the Ministry of Christ without using a language and rhythm which are nearer to that of the Christian mystics than he would care to think. If one dare mention the name, St Ignatius of Antioch in his realistic liturgical mysticism is perhaps nearer to doing full justice to the Risen Humanity of the Lord even than Dr Torrance himself, who makes a strong plea for a recovery of this emphasis in the central part of his book. Further, one questions whether the idea of *mimesis* is so exclusively Neoplatonic as the author would have us think. There is a distinctively Biblical approach to the idea of "imitation". The theme of the *imitatio Dei* is there in the Old Testament: Israel's vocation is to "walk after" God in obedience to the Torah, in humility, and in suffering. Jesus himself deliberately walks this Way: he takes upon himself Israel's vocation as "son" to walk in the Way of the Father of Israel. He is the perfect *imitator Patris* (cf. the Fourth Gospel). The atoning work of Christ enables the Christian life to come about in the Church. Because of the redeeming action of God in Christ the *imitatio Dei* becomes in the New Testament the *imitatio Christi*. This must necessarily be the shape of the Church's life, and for St Paul it had to be expressed in the quite concrete way of relationship with the Apostolic Minister of Christ: imitation of the Apostolic Minister (in obedience, humility, suffering) was the mode of the Christian's imitation of Christ, which is not a yogic endeavour, but a process of being conformed to the Lord through the action, in grace, of the Holy Spirit.

Chapter III on "The Time of the Church" is a very fine piece of Biblical theological writing, especially on the subject of the place of the historical Jesus in the life and devotion of the Church, but one cannot agree that the emphasis for which the author pleads is not to be

found at all or is obscured in the idea of the Church as the *corpus mysticum*, and it is astonishing to find Dr Torrance writing the following as if it were self-evident: "Mysticism and rationalism, sacramentalism and institutionalism always go very readily together whether in their 'Catholic' or in their 'Protestant' forms—and in both man is starved for the sheer Humanity of the Son of God" (Torrance, p. 44).

In the last chapter Professor Torrance seeks to expound a Biblical doctrine of the episcopate. The corporate nature of the episcopate he thinks has been obscured by the notion of "hierarchy" and by such an individualistic expression of the episcopate in a single bishop as he finds in the Church of England. At the end of the chapter he considers the kind of mutual adaptation and re-ordering of their ministries that would be required if there is to be an assimilation into unity of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal types of Ministry. "In the integration of the bishop with presbytery both the episcopal and presbyterial traditions would not only be preserved but deepened and enhanced through fuller integration with the royal priesthood of the whole Body and fuller participation in the One Bishopric of Christ" (Torrance, p. 104).

Apart from its general theme, there are many things in Professor Torrance's book to interest the Biblical student and the preacher, on the way. As an example I would pick out his remarks on the healing of the paralytic on page 47, where Dr Farrer's analysis of the prefiguring of the Resurrection in St Mark receives interesting corroboration. The book deserves attention from Anglican readers, who will be able to appreciate once more the crisp, fresh, and vigorous manner of writing which we have come to associate with the author.

E. J. TINSLEY

## GREEK WITHOUT TEARS ?

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK WITH A FIRST READER. By J. H. MOULTON. 5th edition, revised by Henry G. Meecham. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

JAMES Hope Moulton's *An Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek* was first published in 1896. This edition, the fifth, will be welcomed by teachers of the language. It is by far the best short accidence and syntax available in English. Students will find it an easier volume to use than the fourth edition with its smaller pages and less attractive and in some places indecipherable type.

Dr Meecham's revision leaves the book substantially as Moulton first wrote it, in itself a fine tribute to that great scholar. There are a few very small verbal alterations, and in some sections the material is arranged more conveniently. But the main new feature is the addition of footnotes, chiefly in the syntax section. These, unlike some footnotes, are all helpful to the student; some add a point to Moulton's

text for the sake of completeness, some give New Testament references in illustration, and others name alternative grammatical terms used in other grammars. The very complete list of verbs (pp. 81-98) is made more serviceable by setting out six principal parts instead of the four of earlier editions. To Moulton's three appendices (on words distinguishable by their accents only, explanations of some technical terms, and lists of prepositions with their various cases) Dr Meecham adds two more. Appendix IV lists the periphrastic tenses, and Appendix V, in which he is much indebted to C. F. D. Moule's *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, describes the different uses of *ίva*.

The newcomer to Greek who, having no tutor at hand, hopes to make a beginning on the language unaided will probably find that this Introduction is too condensed and takes too many grammatical terms for granted to be of much help to him in the early stages. H. P. V. Nunn's *Elements of New Testament Greek* still seems to be the only way by easy stages from the alphabet to the optative. But Moulton's Introduction is far more thorough than Nunn's, and the student will be wise not to delay too long in putting it on his shelves as a book of reference, to be exchanged, in good time, one hopes, for the two volumes of Moulton's great *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.

As in previous editions Moulton's *First Reader* is included. There are sixty-four exercises, Dr Meecham having added to Moulton's sixty-one three exercises of Greek into English for the beginner's encouragement. They range from exercises on the alphabet and simple sentences to exercises which demand a study of the mistranslations of the Authorized Version, and the more difficult uses of the moods. The student who works through them conscientiously will profit greatly.

ERIC JAY

## INTERPRETATION OF ST PAUL

ST PAUL AND EPICURUS. By NORMAN W. DE WITT. Minnesota University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 32s.

THIS book affords a notable example of the strange myopia which sometimes affects a good scholar when he ventures outside the strict limits of his own field. Professor de Witt is an enthusiastic student of the philosophy of Epicurus and his followers, and on that subject he has much to teach us. With his mind full of his favourite themes he now turns his attention to the works of St Paul, and not unnaturally finds there a number of phrases and concepts which at least at first sight seem to resemble those with which he has become so familiar. Accordingly, Epicureanism becomes a magic key to the understanding of Pauline thought; the apostle must be supposed to have known the tenets of the sect, to have used their language and ideas as a vehicle for his own teaching, and to have devoted much time and labour to the refutation of Epicurean doctrines.

If the author had been content to remind us of the principles of Epicureanism and of the fact of its widespread acceptance in the world of the apostolic Church, and if he had tried to marshal evidence for St Paul's acquaintance with Epicureanism by means of thorough and scholarly exegesis, his book could have been very useful. Unhappily, he has allowed himself to become so dazzled by his enthusiasm for his subject that he sees nothing but Epicureanism wherever he looks in the Pauline epistles. A would-be exponent of the Apostle's thought who virtually forgets that he was a Jew with a mind and soul soaked in the Old Testament scriptures can scarcely expect to command the confidence of his readers; and this is precisely the situation of Professor de Witt.

Thus the words "peace and safety" in St Paul's eschatological teaching to the Thessalonians (I Thess. 5. 3) are an echo of the insistence of Epicurus at various points in his writings upon peace and personal security. This might conceivably be true, though it is most improbable. Much worse is the assertion that Gal. 4. 3 and 4. 9, with their allusions to the "weak and beggarly elements," indicate that the Galatians "before they became Christians had been Epicureans and believers in the atomic theory". "The word *elements*", we are told, "is a synonym for atoms." Here the author's preconceptions have caused him to make nonsense of this epistle. Indeed, he virtually admits his failure to understand its meaning when he remarks that much of the earlier part of the letter is devoted to Jewish arguments designed "to convince the members of the church of their spiritual sonship in Abraham", and concludes that the whole argument is gratuitous and "for that reason devoid of interest to all except a few professional scholars". So signal a failure to grasp the significance of the Galatian controversy forbids us to take Professor de Witt seriously as an expositor of Pauline thought.

It would be tedious to enumerate the absurdities into which the author is led by his refusal to reckon with St Paul's Hebraic and biblical background. One might cite as typical examples the theory that the "prince of the power of the air" is none other than Epicurus himself who taught that "atoms of air, as ingredients of the human soul, engendered tranquillity of mind", and the assertion that the Pauline statement that the sting, or as the author prefers, the "power", of sin is the law reflects the Epicurean doctrine that the evil of violating the law lies in the uneasy feeling that one may not escape detection.

G. W. H. LAMPE

## CLASSICAL EDUCATION

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND ITS BENEFICIARIES. By R. R. BOLGAR. Cambridge University Press. 45s.

FROM time to time a book is published which soon comes to be regarded as, in its subject, the book of its generation. One may

imagine that it is some such book that Dr Bolgar hopes (p. 11) may be written twenty years hence about the formative influence of the Greco-Roman civilization on the culture of European peoples. In the meantime he offers what he modestly describes as an attempt at a "brief introductory account" of this enormous subject. It seems reasonable to forecast that this book will be the definitive work of its kind for at any rate the present generation.

The territory which Dr Bolgar undertakes to survey is of continental scale, being nothing less than the multitudinous ways in which the experience of the classical world was rediscovered, assimilated, and transformed down the centuries from A.D. 700 to 1700, but by way of introduction he embraces a further area of knowledge, even vaster, the classical heritage itself from Homer to Ausonius. In scanning this earlier scene he focuses attention on the impact of social and political conditions on literature at certain key epochs and discusses the educational uses, predominantly rhetorical, to which Greek and Latin literature was applied, first by the pagan classical world and later by such Christian leaders as St Augustine and Gregory the Great. At an early stage the reader comes to take for granted the skill with which Dr Bolgar guides him through the infinite complexities and portentous detail of the subject, never losing his way, always keeping the significant peaks in view, and constantly enlivening the journey by sympathetic humour and crisp epigram, as when he says (p. 64) of the Byzantines: "If their spiritual ancestors had fought at Marathon, it must have been in the Persian ranks" or epitomizes the utilitarian aim of Rome's education of her barbarian subjects: "Virgil was to replace a legion" (p. 61).

Once the backcloth of the classical scene has been painted in, the pageant opens. First come the stiff, conventional Byzantines, with their strange heresies and wayward despots, aloof from the West and yet intimately relevant to its later development, cherishing the treasure of Greek learning however tarnished it might become by pedantry and stagnation. Turning next to Ireland and Lindisfarne, the author presents the earliest Western scholars groping for the broken threads that led back to Rome and weaving them into a homely but coherent pattern of learning which Charlemagne was eager to adopt as the rudimentary educational system of his raw dominions. This and the succeeding chapter, on the pre-scholastic age, are among the most fascinating in the book; Dr Bolgar illuminates figure after figure of the Dark Ages and reveals their aspirations and achievements, conditioned by the peculiar pressures of their world.

The astonishing revival of learning in the twelfth century, provoking as it did the critical eye of many churchmen who were at the same time well aware of the contemporary need for all the specialized knowledge that could still be gleaned from the classics, made possible the triumphs of the Scholastic Age. The author's familiarity with the quickly win sympathy for their heroic efforts to overcome the sheer writings of this period and his discriminating assessments of its leaders

physical difficulties of scholarship in such an age, and admiration for their intellectual achievements.

Of course the climax of the work is the high summer of the High Renaissance. To praise this part of the book is almost an impertinence, but one may take leave to record the infectious enthusiasm with which Dr Bolgar introduces the scholars and statesmen of one country after another, and the controlling poise of judgement which he constantly shows in appraising each character in his drama. One of the most refreshing things in the book is the writer's gift for miniature-painting of personality. But he never allows biographical or any other kind of detail to come between him and his main theme, the structure of classical education and its effects at all levels in each succeeding century.

The distinctive method of Renaissance study of the classics, the collecting and memorizing of examples of expression and subject matter, had three objects, to equip the scholar in Latin, the *lingua franca* of the day, to familiarize him with the thought and life of the Greco-Roman world, and to enable him to produce literary works rivalling his classical models. The debt of later centuries to this humanistic discipline Dr Bolgar summarizes as follows: that quality in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European literature which is "the strength which comes from the artist's struggle with a difficult literary form"; the assumption that man can dominate his environment; and the permeation of European thought by a thorough knowledge of the institutions and ideas of the classical world.

Disappointment, with the story but not with its narrator, creeps over the reader who has any affection for the classics as he moves forward in the book into the later sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The vast flood of fertilizing waters that the great Humanists had released over Europe is succeeded by a narrowing channel of increasingly stagnant classical studies, the formalism and imitation that hall-marked Sturm, Cordier, and Muret, the reading of a limited number of Latin authors and the writing of unlimited Latin compositions, which was the staple and the ruin of so much education, in England as elsewhere, until well on into the nineteenth century. This brings Dr Bolgar to his epilogue, which will be for many the most vital and provocative part of his book, as it discusses the controversial question of the place of the classics in education to-day and to-morrow.

Before turning to this intriguing subject, one may say a final word of thanks to the author for such a magnificent achievement. The amplitude of his scholarship is shown by his range and precision on every page of the text, in the full and fascinating notes and the two immensely learned appendices. As one would expect in a Cambridge book, misprints are few and the typography is admirable. If one may be permitted to ask for more where so much is given, it would be for a more liberal addition of dates in brackets following the names of the scholars whom Dr Bolgar brings forward in such hosts from

comparative obscurity, and for a bibliography of the works quoted in the notes.

In his final chapter Dr Bolgar defines three areas in which classical specialists of to-day may prospect for rewarding results. The Humanist technique of sedulous imitation necessitated the closest examination of the artistry whereby a great work of classical prose or poetry was produced, and the creative power that such dedicated study could infuse into scholars of an earlier age should equally inspire their successors. This is a claim which can be readily allowed; in our own literature a recent example is A. E. Housman, whose English poems recall classical form and spirit on every page, while his address to his friend, in the Warden of All Souls' collection *Poems in Latin*, uses the older language with a skill and poignancy that rival Propertius. It is to be hoped that scholars will always be found who read the classics and learn some of the secrets those masterpieces can teach about nearly every literary genre.

The second field which classical scholars will always be able to exploit profitably is the study of the institutions and culture of the ancient world. So intimately are the thought and practice of Greece and Rome interwoven in the cultural experiences of medieval and modern Europe that anyone can deepen his understanding of modern history and contemporary life by study of the origins of our civilization. This claim also is as fully acknowledged to-day as ever, and its relevance to a particular department of contemporary research is underlined by Dr Bolgar. Sociology with its numerous daughter-sciences has recently won widespread popularity and has drawn notable assistance from the field-studies of anthropologists. The scrutiny which has been so fruitfully applied to primitive cultures might well yield even more illuminating results for the sociologist if directed to the more developed societies of Greece and Rome.

Finally the author devotes an eloquent testimony to the value for a classical historian of reading his authorities in the original languages; only so can he achieve that indefinable intimacy with their thought which will often be needed to balance his judgement on their institutions. The passage, pp. 387-8, is too long to quote, but will be read with deep sympathy by anyone who prizes his knowledge of Greek and Latin.

The last five pages of the book press home the advocacy of classical education as the best corrective of certain sinister trends in modern society: the concentration of effort and interest on technological and vocational training, with its corollary of impatience with the traditional classical curriculum as an expensive luxury, and the submersion of the claims of the individual by the demands of vast administrative or commercial organizations; both tendencies helping to produce a departmentalized human being whose life lacks unity of purpose and serenity of poise. To restore to the individual his self-respect and something of an ability to survey all being and all time, the classical discipline, "the most intractably Humanist of all the Humanities",

is implicitly commended as the sovereign remedy. It is here that many who owe allegiance to the Humanities will wish to question Dr Bolgar further. Incidentally, he has tacitly shifted his ground. It is no longer the vocation of the classical specialist that is stressed, but classical studies in general: "the present classical curriculum is unsatisfactory" because the grammar schools and universities seem only "to have retained the dull preliminaries of the old Humanist course" (pp. 388-9). While anxious to reform classical teaching at school and the university Dr Bolgar would evidently like to see more school-children and undergraduates reading the classics. It is unfortunate that the scope of his work does not include suggestions for such a reform, for without it there seems little prospect of the increased number of classical students that he desires, so urgent are the claims of other Arts subjects and so well justified the criticisms brought against contemporary methods of teaching classics.

The writer of this review, who was reared on classics at school and the university and has taught them at university and school for the past twenty-five years, is convinced that the classics have their part to play in educational discipline now and in the future; they are a mainstay of the Arts curriculum which, as Dr Bolgar says, "inculcates a view of life which respects individual responsibility and the individual integration of human experience". But the classical contribution must be well defined; there must be no confusion of thought about the two levels at which that contribution can be made. The classical specialist, by his research, his writing, and his diffusion of the wisdom and the reinterpretation that his learning has given him, has and will continue to have an influence of critical importance on the *élite* of the educated world. The study of the classics as a non-specialist subject has a wholly distinct effect, both wider and shallower, on Arts pupils at schools and universities. They can come to know, both through reading selected Latin and Greek authors, and through studying relevant epochs of classical history, much that is important of ancient thought and ways of life, which are the origin of so much that they meet in the Europe of to-day. But they cannot know as much of this as they might unless the teachers of non-specialist classics are ready to prune and adapt their methods with as much boldness as the Renaissance Humanists were prepared to reform the methods of the Schoolmen. Dr Bolgar has done an immense service to the classical study of to-day by his panoramic review of its past; if this produces the widespread thought and heart-searching that it should among those who are now the trustees of so rich an inheritance, he will have put future generations of Humanists in his debt as well.

A. P. WHITAKER.

## PHILOSOPHICAL SYNTHESIS

LIVING AND KNOWING. By E. W. F. TOMLIN. Faber and Faber. 25s.

IN recent years, even amongst the most sympathetic, there has been a growing disinclination to be content with what might be called the analytical concerns which have, by and large, characterized philosophy for half a century. Alongside this dissatisfaction there has developed a growing interest in the possibility of constructing a new philosophical synthesis in which philosophy might do something in particular to bridge the territories of science and religion, whose inhabitants have of late been not so much in conflict as quite ill-informed about and uninterested in each other. In very different ways the recent Gifford Lectures of C. E. Raven and H. J. Paton explore the possibility of such a synthesis, and the present book may perhaps best be seen as an endeavour to follow Raven's general approach but without sponsoring his "holism". Instead, the author tries to formulate something of a new metaphysics altogether, or, as he prefers to call it for most of the book, a "metabiology". For he believes that this philosophical bridge will best build out toward theology from recent developments in the biological sciences.

Broadly speaking, the argument of the book is as follows. In Part I the author surveys "the chief modern philosophies" of man and criticizes them because of a "serious gap" they exhibit. "Of man's nature as an organic being, and of the relation in man between his organic nature and his spiritual nature, nothing has been said that Aristotle did not say with as much, if not greater, perspicuity" (p. 71). It is not "absurdly far-fetched", he claims, to see the present eclipse of metaphysics as due to this neglect: while professing to elucidate the pattern and meaning of existence, no metaphysics has ever measured up to the concept of organic nature.

So the prolegomena to any suitable metaphysics must be something of a biological inquiry, and this he gives us in Part II which outlines what the author calls "psycho-biology"; something which draws "its sources from both biology and psychology" (p. 237). It is in Parts III and IV that various suggestions from this "psycho-biology" are taken up and developed into that particular constructive viewpoint—the "metabiology"—which the author wishes to commend.

This new metaphysics starts by refusing to have, along with "body" and "mind", "life" as well. "Life" and "mind" are both to be understood in terms of "consciousness" or "spirit" (p. 272), and in the following way. "Life" begins with the embryo. From the embryo the organism develops, integrates itself, preserves itself; from the embryo has grown the whole organic world. Now in its psychical expression, the embryo manifests "equipotentiality"—it exhibits what perhaps might be called "homogeneous responses"—by which it "realizes the norm of organic consciousness" through and through. Here is "primary consciousness". Of a "secondary consciousness" the brain

is the organ, and here the brain has "a task to perform of a unique kind". Like the embryo, the brain is also "equipotential" but this time, the conscious concern is with the realization of value, in which realization we are most significantly "ourselves" and "persons". Here in the boldest outline, and as far as possible in terms of the author's own words from pp. 273 and 148-50, is the new "metaphysics" as he allows the word later. It is a "view of nature which, without falling into the opposite extreme of Idealism or into the abyss of Existentialism, represents meaning as that which is attained by the conscious apprehension of value" (p. 234).

In Part V and the Conclusion, the author then examines various philosophical and theological implications of his viewpoint and discusses such varied topics as freedom, miracle, sensuality, eros and agape, evil, archetypes, mysticism. Summarily, his central claim is that we are "co-creators" with God.

It is plain that such a comprehensive view raises innumerable problems, but no one can reasonably expect to have a full philosophical synthesis at the first attempt, and without difficulty. There are many terms to bewilder, and perhaps some to mislead the reader, and he may be tempted to take an unnecessarily unsympathetic attitude to the author's views. Again, "equipotentiality" is clearly an integrative category of the highest importance—perhaps even more than "consciousness", for it is that special feature of "consciousness" by which the author is led to his distinctive viewpoint. But the author tells us very little about it.

Even so, he discusses countless points of interest and importance to those who are searching for some similar synoptic view, topics for example such as abstraction, "immediate experience", self-knowledge. He has also several good discussions of Whitehead, and some interesting reflections on many philosophical biologists. He acknowledges a special indebtedness to E. S. Russell.

At many points this is an involved and puzzling book, but it is courageous and pioneering, and it is the outcome of a rich background of literary, scientific, and philosophical reading. In endeavouring to find a bond between the natural and the supernatural in emphasizing "immanence" rather than "transcendence", the book may seem to the casual reader to belong to a past age. It certainly treats of themes which have almost been forgotten, and when remembered, despised; but it never treats of them in the old way. Not that it escapes many of the old problems (e.g. how to allow for the distinctiveness of Christianity, while admitting some kind of kinship with other religions). But even so, it provides a useful reminder that problems are not solved by being forgotten. More positively it witnesses to the fact that doctrines are never killed by unpopularity. They rise again, though with somewhat distinctive plumage, even from the ashes of scientific controversy.

I. T. RAMSEY

## TRUTH AND MEANING

NEW ESSAYS IN PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY. Edited by ANTONY FLEW and ALASDAIR MACINTYRE. S.C.M. Press. 21s.

THIS is a most useful collection of short articles of considerable interest to philosophers and theologians which might otherwise have escaped the attention they deserve. Some of them first appeared in the journal *University*, which has now ceased publication and back copies of which are not easy to find. The editors deserve our gratitude for making them easily accessible.

The contents on the whole reflect the linguistic approach to philosophical problems which has marked English philosophy in recent years. This ought not to be confused with the narrower forms of Logical Positivism as contained in the first edition of Professor Ayer's *Language, Truth and Logic* (1936). The writers of these articles do not dismiss theological statements as so much nonsense, but give the theologian an opportunity to speak for himself and make what he can of the peculiar logic of his propositions. It is notable that the doctrines which come up for discussion are the traditional doctrines of Christian theologians and not liberal accommodations of them — they have to do with God, omnipotent, omniscient, and creative, and the difficulties which arise from our attempt to speak of the unique in human terms.

It would be tempting but hardly possible in a short review to discuss some of the interesting questions which the essays raise for those theologians who wish to expend rational thought on the revealed mysteries of the Christian religion, but it may be useful to indicate four points at which theological thought is stimulated or ought to be stimulated.

1. All the writers are aware of the problems raised by the fact that language about God is not "straight" language and cannot be "straight" without being anthropomorphic. As Professor Flew sees and describes with great clarity, one of the dangers is that when analogies are progressively refined and compared and qualified they may suffer the "death of a thousand qualifications" and come to mean little or nothing. It is hardly possible to defend analogical thinking if we are analogizing about we know not what; the Christian thinker will probably be driven to maintaining some kind of natural knowledge of God, not clear and distinct but, though obscure, yet apprehended in our realization of what it is to have derived and dependent existence. It is on the basis of this that we analogize; and without it we are liable to be left unsupported as we perform remarkable dialectical acrobatics in mid-air.

2. Apart from Professor Flew's essay on Divine Omnipotence and Human Freedom which is of the nature of anti-apologetics, the book as a whole turns on the meaning, if any, to be given to theological expressions rather than the question of their truth; and the one piece of theological terminology which seems to give rise to most trouble is the

use of "necessary being" as applied to God. Professor Findlay in discussing a possible disproof of God's Existence starts from here. He states traditional Christian doctrine with remarkable clarity, only to find that the Divine Existence is impossible on modern logical views. A God who is to be worshipped, and who is not simply a superior spiritual being to be admired and esteemed, must exist necessarily: but on a modern view of the matter necessity in propositions merely reflects our use of words (p.54). However, few Christian thinkers have maintained that "God exists" is a necessary proposition in the modern sense; the "necessity" of God's existence is a way of contemplating his existence as underived, independent, and unlimited except by itself; and it is not obvious that this is nonsensical. All this is ably argued in two replies to Professor Findlay included in the same symposium.

3. The symposium on Verification and Falsification leads us to the borders of Revelation. It starts again with a question about the meaningfulness of Christian statements. We can be said to understand a statement of fact if we know how to set about showing it to be true or false, or at any rate probably or improbably. Yet a believer's statements about God and his concern for men are not upset by any contrary evidence; what he says about God he will say like Job even from the mouth of the pit. They seem in fact to be statements compatible with any state of affairs; nothing can count against them; and if the believer is also a sophisticated theologian each difficulty about the goodness and providence of God will drive him to further qualifications about God's love, and in the end to almost vacuous assertions. Such briefly is the position argued by Professor Flew. The replies of Mr Crombie and Mr Mitchell deserve particular attention. Both, I think, come to the same end, Mr Crombie at greater length. The theologian's assertions are not vacuous: pain and suffering in the world do raise for him a real problem, the most intractable of all theological problems. He faces this problem from within the sphere of Revealed Scripture and Revealed Theology, and in the light of Christ's Passion and Resurrection his assertions about God's love may not be wholly intelligible and transparent, but they are not lacking in content.

(4) One paper in particular, B.A.O. Williams on "Tertullian's Paradox", raises questions of importance about the Incarnation; it suggests a great need for theologians to think again about the Incarnation and the terms they use about it, and it points to a serious gap in Christian thinking over the last thirty years. There must be at least one statement about both God and the world, a point of intersection for religious and non-religious language. Christians say, "The Son of God was crucified", and in orthodox language this becomes "God was crucified". How are terms about the earthly acts and passion of the Lord to be interpreted with reference to God? For if their earthly reference is genuine do they not imply change in the perfection of God? And if he to whom they are applied is God how can such terms apply to God at all? If, in fact, we use this kind of language, can we talk of God? And if we do not use this language of time and finitude are we not com-

mitted to silence? This much at least might be said; when "change" is denied of God we are asserting his independence; there is nothing, in scholastic terms, which brings him from potency to act: but the exercise of his charity *ad extra* does not involve that kind of change or imply any previous imperfection, any more than, to use a stumbling analogy the imparting of knowledge from teacher to taught involves any lessening of the teacher's enjoyment and possession of his knowledge.

Professor Flew on "Divine Omnipotence and Human Freedom" and Mr Nowell-Smith on "Miracles" both raise difficult and important questions for theologians which can hardly be mentioned adequately in a short review; and this is true of all the papers in the book. Whether written by Christians or non-Christians, all of them deal candidly with questions theologians must face. It will be of little use to pretend that the critical work of the last thirty years has not been done. Theologian can welcome this book as a purge and be glad of the chance to make the unusual character of their assertions as evident as may be. The question is not trivial, for it is bound up with the Christian claim to worship one true and living God.

PHILIP CURTIS

## SCIENCE AND RELIGION

MODERN SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN BELIEFS. By ARTHUR F. SMETHURST. Nisbet, 21s.

THIS book is not a consecutive exposition of the Christian faith in its relations with modern science; rather the author deals in turn with issues raised by modern science in relation to Christian doctrine. This has the advantage of making the book handy for reference and also closely related to the form in which questions and difficulties arise. The method has the disadvantage of making the book a little spasmodic in character. It is divided into three main sections, with four short appendices. The first section deals with general questions such as the presuppositions of modern science, and the problems raised for the scientist in the pursuit of his science in the modern world. In the second part, we have problems as they arise out of individual sciences. This is the longest and most useful part of the book. The third part consists of two chapters on miracles and creeds, and while it is good to see the whole question of authority raised, this is the least satisfactory section of the book. It is in the appendices that we come to what is, in the judgement of one reader at any rate, the most valuable part of Dr Smethurst's work. Here he has given us four brief introductions to systems or approaches which spring out of the background of modern science and are influential among us to-day.

Dr Smethurst deals admirably, with first-hand scientific experience, with the presuppositions of modern science and the limitations of scientific method. He emphasizes the point made by the late A. N. Whitehead and others that the very possibility of modern science grew

out of the medieval sense of the ordered cosmos, and he singles out three marks of this development which require a theology: belief in the orderliness of the universe, belief in the principle of causality or intelligibility in the natural world, and belief in the reliability of human reason. In this setting, the Christian doctrine of creation is set forth, with the important emphasis that matter is given its proper place in what may be called a sacramental universe. At this point, we may pause to notice the author's admiration for Descartes as "perhaps the greatest pioneer of modern scientific philosophy".

The second section is fascinating in the wide sweep of its search for problems. The chapter on modern physics, which deals in turn with Relativity, the structure of the atom, the Quantum Theory, entropy, and the size of the universe, is full of wise reflection. We are warned that "It is no service to Christianity to try to prove the unreality or non-existence of material things", and the following *obiter dictum* is worth quoting: "What is important is that the old concept of isolated individualism, characteristic of classical physics, liberalism in politics, and Victorianism in religion has proved as untenable in physics as in politics and religion. Biology, with its emphasis on organism, and sociology, also agree in emphasising the importance of relationship and community. It is perhaps significant that Quantum mechanics and statistical physics have developed contemporaneously with the Liturgical Movement in Christian theology and worship, which emphasises the corporate nature of the Church, rather than the individual in isolation".

This section goes on to deal with the problems raised by the biological sciences, and includes a valuable discussion of the bearing of recent biochemical and physiological work upon the nature of human character. While the discussion about evolution and progress covers most of the well-known ground, it is enriched by references to much recent work. There are times, however, when it would have been clarified by a discussion of first principles, especially concerning the nature of ethical judgement. Nevertheless, since this is the first larger work, written for the wide Christian public, to undertake a reasonably dispassionate account of pre-frontal leucotomy and the relation of mind to brain, we cannot be grateful to Dr Smethurst for his thoroughness.

The major criticism of this work really arises out of the appendices on Logical Positivism, Dialectical Materialism, Existentialism, and the work of Bultmann and Heim. These are introductions to prevailing modes of thought which govern the outlook of the majority of people whose difficulties the first part of the book is designed to meet. It is somewhat of a tragedy therefore that so much of the book has been written with little reference to these ways of thought. For example, the appendix on Bultmann ignores the fact that Bultmann protests as much against Cartesianism as against the New Testament world-view; and the whole of the book is Cartesian in outlook. The author does

indeed quote from Archbishop Temple's *Nature, Man and God* but not from his chapter "The Cartesian faux-pas"! Perhaps in subsequent editions, the appendices could be moved to the beginning, and the rest of the book be adjusted in the light of them. This would place us even more in Dr Smethurst's debt.

D. R. VICARY

## AUTHORITY IN CHRISTIAN FAITH

ON AUTHORITY AND REVELATION. THE BOOK ON ADLER: A CYCLE OF RELIGIOUS ESSAYS. By SOREN KIERKEGAARD. Translated with Introduction and Notes by WALTER LOWRIE. Princeton University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 36s.

THE parish priest of Hasle-cum-Rutsker in Bornholm, Adolf Peter Adler, published in 1843 some Sermons, whose preface tells us that Adler had had a revelation from Christ about the origin of evil. Jesus also bade Adler burn certain Hegelian writings and stick to the Bible. For this claim, Adler was suspended from his living, and thereupon he published three theological books with some other documents.

Kierkegaard became very interested in these writings. They helped him to clarify certain questions about Revelation and Authority. Many cogitations, drafts, revisions, and prefaces, were lavished on this book, though it was never published. Three of the Prefaces Kierkegaard proposed, and also a Postscript, are here translated; and the title is felicitously chosen. The innumerable amendments are carefully docketed, too, and I for one am grateful for Dr. Lowrie's labour.

Adler is only a peg on which to hang a deep and original dialectic. Kierkegaard's work is abundantly worth studying, if only because it dispels two illusions: (i) that Kierkegaard was a pure subjectivist; whereas he held tenaciously to the objective truth of Christianity, (ii) that he was uninterested in the stirring political events of his time; whereas Preface No. 3 especially shows how sharply he watched contemporary events. The book also makes clear the distinction between Kierkegaard's thought and the secular existentialists who are dependent on his thought; a most important distinction.

But there are also three intrinsic matters of importance. *First*, the relationship between the Individual, the Special or "extra-ordinary" Individual, and the Universal. Everybody, Kierkegaard insists, must be an individual, if he is to live a satisfying, integrated life. He cannot be lost in the "crowd", the "public". "With his responsibility before God, and having examined himself before his own conscience, he attaches himself like a limb to the whole." This does not mean that he wholly submerges himself, having no mind of his own; nor will he trouble if he is not accepted by others. He will reflect the Universal *in his own way*. But once the individual cannot submit to the paradigm of the established order, but wants to create a new

starting point before God, without the interposition of the Universal, then he becomes the "Extra-ordinary", outside the Ordinary, and rightly subject to the censure of the State, which represents the Ordinary, the Universal. The extra-ordinary individual will want to sever connection with the established order; and he must expect to have a Damoclean sword hanging over him. The "reformers" of Kierkegaard's day were rarely willing to take responsibility, but sheltered behind majorities, groups, numbers. Here in Adler, Kierkegaard found the same type in the ecclesiastical sphere. Adler claimed a revelation, and then pleaded with his superiors that this was consistent with the "ordinary" revelation of the Bible. He wanted to have it both ways, unprepared to fight a lonely fight and to suffer.

All this convinced Kierkegaard that he himself was the extraordinary, while Bishop Mynster, whom he rather sarcastically eulogizes, was the ordinary. Mynster invented nothing, and had never shaken, or attempted to shake, the pillars of society. That Kierkegaard felt called to do this, made him refuse to take up the "ordinary" calling of a parish priest.

Secondly, Kierkegaard came to see, through Adler, the difference between a genius and an apostle. The apostles, by virtue of a direct commission and divine authority, preached a doctrine they had not invented, contemporary with all ages alike, revealed to them by Christ. Adler had come forward as an apostle. His revelation is described after the pattern of St Paul's. But in his later works he speaks of himself as a genius (and calls the genius an "autodidactic foal"!). His revelation, then, was the outcome of his outstanding gifts! Here is a confusion indeed. And Adler's revelation was not contemporary for all ages, for he produced an exegesis on it, just as professors do on Christianity, as though it were done with two thousand years ago.

Thirdly, Kierkegaard now sees the fallacy of everybody being "Christians" in Christendom. This presses hard in Denmark, which has a State Church under the Government, where nearly everybody pays the Church tax, and is entitled to Church baptisms, marriages, and burials willy nilly. The fallacy was later to be specially emphasized in Kierkegaard's attack on the Church. Indeed one telling passage in that attack is adumbrated in the *Book on Adler*. Decisions which ought to be Christian are degraded to becoming merely esthetic, and people do not know what Christianity is.

The *Book on Adler* then is a great book. But how unworthily it is translated! Long and involved sentences, which sound right in Danish but wrong in English, are too often left as they are; Dr Lowrie should choose his words better. That we blink and squirm sometimes, is not necessarily Kierkegaard's fault.

T. H. CROXALL

## FAITH ON FIRE

THE SPOIL OF THE VIOLENT. By EMMANUEL MOUNIER. Harvill Press. 6s.

THIS brief and rather feverish book, so un-English in mood and expression, is one which may be all too easily overlooked, or if encountered, only too understandably dismissed. Yet assuredly it must not be. Admittedly the author's impetuous, often cryptic style, does not make it easy to read or even sometimes to follow; moreover it is not (one suspects) well translated. It may not seem to be addressed to our religious or cultural situations in this island, and some of it may hardly be intelligible to those not familiar with the spiritual and intellectual climate of the country in which it was written. (One wonders, for example, how many members of our House of Laity could make head or tail of it.) And yet its challenges are the essential challenges to the "faithful" everywhere today; the issues it raises are those we can least afford to evade. If some writer here could present to us with Mounier's fire and insight—and with a more steady directness perhaps—the ruthless scrutiny this book brings to bear, we could no doubt afford to neglect it. As there seems no prospect of our getting such a book, however, we had better make what we can of this one.

It is like a stone thrown into a pond; it at once disturbs the surface of our complacency and plumbs, however transiently, the depths of our spiritual *malaise*—not as individuals primarily or even mainly, but as members of a Church which Mounier saw as drained of vitality and (all too resignedly) severed from the energies of our time. He is urgent to recall to us the *scale* of that with which our Faith is concerned; its inescapable paradoxes, its inexorable demands, the implications of its call at once to a virility and a humility equally absent from contemporary Christianity. It is with something of surprise—and certainly with a sense of relief—that one finds the essential and truly bracing challenge to the Faith presented here as issuing not from "communism" (to which Mounier hardly refers), but from a far more profound antagonist. Not since Neville Figgis wrote *The Will to Freedom* forty years ago has one come across so clear-eyed and so generous a recognition of the significance of Nietzsche's assault upon Christianity. This book is—and very effectively—sprinkled throughout with quotations from his writings, taken as examples of searing strictures on a spiritless "religionism", the meaning, to say nothing of the justice, of which scarcely one in a thousand of "well-instructed" Christians has ever pondered at all.

"'Tis life of which our nerves are scant": here is the central theme of this book, which Mounier searchingly illuminates from one angle after another, sociological, ecclesiastical, and spiritual. Perhaps its finest section is that which deals with asceticism: "There is no Christian renouncement save that which sets up its dwelling in the very

midst of the world . . . Christian spirituality should never proffer a refusal or propose a sacrifice, except enveloped in, and as if cancelled out by, some higher acceptance." Affirmation must be at the heart of our religion everywhere if it is to remain authentic.

Against her foes (wrote Crabbe) Religion well defends  
Her sacred truths, but often fears her friends.

Let us on no account be afraid of—or deaf to—the friend who has given us this disturbing book.

MAURICE B. RECKITT

### HEALING BY GRACE

SPIRITUAL HEALING. By D. CARADOG JONES. Longmans. 10s. 6d.

IN the present climate of opinion any book on Spiritual Healing may be assured of a good number of readers.

The temptation to sensationalism which this fact provides is not always resisted even by those who should be aware of its dangers.

It is therefore cheering to meet with a work which deals with the subject in a manner which is really objective and scientific in its presentation. The claim in the sub-title that it is an "objective study" is fully justified.

Not that it is in any way neutral as between those who believe in the efficacy of spiritual healing and those who do not. Mr. Caradog Jones has accepted as a working hypothesis that healing by spiritual means is (to quote the sub-title again) a Perennial Grace, and has sought for, and when he has found them, has tabulated instances by which this hypothesis is supported. In collecting the data for this work he has most carefully tested by well-chosen questions the reality of each experience which is claimed as a case of actual spiritual healing. In setting them out he has divided them into different groups according to the nature of the diseases involved. Perhaps the most remarkable cures related are those under the heading "Casualty Section" which concern purely "mechanical" injuries, and some of those which are listed under "Constitutional Abnormalities".

Mr Caradog Jones is modest in what he claims. He is quite clear that any form of spiritual healing must be complementary to and not in the place of medical attention; he affirms in his Introduction that close study of the subject gives the impression that permanent cure by spiritual healing is relatively rare, but he points out that he is only concerned to find out whether it *sometimes* happens.

He also points out that there seems to be no necessary connection between the faith of the patient and his being cured. This need not perhaps surprise us, for to some who live in a world disordered and disorganized by sin there is likely to come a vocation to share in the redemptive work of Christ by the right use of illness. This is not to deny that they are helped and supported by some of the means of spiritual healing.

This brings us to a consideration of just what we mean by this

term, for it is used far too loosely and includes many different processes.

The first agency in spiritual healing is prayer. The knowledge that he is in touch with God and that his needs are being brought before God by other people is a stimulus to what we have learnt to call "morale", and therefore is a therapeutic factor in the life of the patient. Much more than this, the prayer offered by and for the patient will cause the loving power of God to flow to him to aid the doctors in their task, to uphold the mind and will of the patient himself, and to direct the natural (and therefore God-given) physical processes by which healing is secured. This last factor however must be subject to one all-important proviso: "if it be God's will"—for health means wholeness, and for some wholeness is found through passing out of this world by death, for some by the fulfilling of a vocation to redemptive sickness or infirmity.

Another means of spiritual healing is by contact with (usually but by no means always through laying on of hands) someone who has the special gift of conveying healing—a gift individual to him. Again it is true that much subjective help will be given to a patient by knowing that such a person is interested in him or by experiencing such a person's visits, but here also there is sometimes a real objective restoration to health through the agency of the healer. The danger here is that these healers are often outside the main stream of Christian life and therefore the more likely to be open to abuse by malevolent powers.

Finally there is the Church's scheme of spiritual healing—the sacramental methods, not requiring special gifts by those administering them but inherent in the Church's nature and performed by her through the priesthood as part of its ordinary tasks. Here the emphasis is unequivocally upon the aid of Grace to enable the patient to take the right view of his sickness, so that he may be built up to restoration to health, to preparation for death, or to a life of redemptive infirmity. Moreover the scheme of sacramental support and healing has two other emphases which the other means of spiritual healing do not always display: the need for contrition (the Sacrament of Penance or at least a form of general confession is integral to the scheme), and the need for perseverance (hence the scheme culminates in receiving Holy Communion). The whole plan—Penance—unction—Holy Communion—is designed to build up a right attitude in the whole man rather than produce sudden healing of the body or even the mind.

It is clear that there is here still a vast field of study by clergy and doctors and especially by both together, as is already happening in so many places. In all such study Mr Caradog Jones' book will be an invaluable work of reference. All who are concerned with this subject must be grateful for a work which exactly fulfils the limited purpose for which it was undertaken.

D. BRUCE CUMMING

## THE CHRISTIAN'S FUTURE

DIALOGUE ON DESTINY. By GEORGE W. BARRETT AND J. V. L. CASSERLEY. Longmans. 4s.

AND AFTER THIS. By H. N. HANCOCK. Longmans. 8s. 6d.

THE first of these books contains four dialogue sermons on the Advent themes: "The End of the World", "Death and after Death", "Heaven and Hell", and "Kingdom Come". These are, within the limits of the method devised, adequately dealt with. What is of greater interest is the method itself.

The authors point out in a preface that the dialogue method of teaching is not new. It is to be traced through the examination of candidates for a doctorate in a medieval university, the proceedings adopted in proving a saint worthy of canonization, and in Jesuit missions. It is, perhaps, this latter example which affords the authors their precedent. A priest would expound the faith while another would represent the views of unbelievers, and by this means a more comprehensive view of the faith was conveyed.

This series was devised for use in New York in the particular situation which the Rector of Trinity Church, Dr John Heuss, describes in a foreword: "All New Yorkers are in a hurry, but Wall Streeters move faster than any of them. The Church has to fish with a big net there." The advantage of the dialogue method in its novelty for many is that it provides someone to answer back in church; it also aids concentration because two voices are heard. It goes without saying that it needs very careful planning and collaboration on the part of the preachers.

Each of the four dialogue sermons deals with common difficulties in grasping the meaning of the Advent season and eschatology. The Inquiring Layman represents not the active unbeliever but rather the much more commonly encountered person who is plainly bewildered. Thus, in "The End of the World" we plunge straight away into the theme of the coming of the Kingdom and the coming of our Lord at Christmas: but whereas in an ordinary sermon, the listener might begin to write off what he is listening to as theology divorced from everyday life, in this dialogue the interruption is provided whereby the secularized view of Christmas is put forward and difficulties are openly mentioned. This not only serves to sustain interest: there is the positive purpose that what is being dealt with in the pulpit shall touch real difficulties and that the hearer shall not feel that they are being by-passed. In a similar manner the subject of death is introduced in relation to current American funeral customs and the necessity of presenting the contrast between vague belief in survival and the Christian view of resurrection.

It is in the last two dialogues that a reader—as distinct from a hearer—feels that the questions and difficulties begin to run away with the scheme. This is not a criticism of the preachers, for the difficulties

are real ones and, within the limits of time, well tackled. But the subjects of Heaven and Hell and the coming of God's Kingdom in this world need a course in themselves merely for the voicing of difficulties. Unfortunately there are only four Sundays in Advent; but all credit is due to the Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, and his two preachers for launching this scheme during this most neglected season.

The method of these dialogues imposes severe limitations on the preachers, and perhaps this makes it unfair to judge them in terms of the canons of ordinary good preaching. Nevertheless, the reader cannot avoid some impressions by way of contrast to the ordinary sermon. The dialogues are a miracle of compression: the solid teaching given is briefly put, and there is no breathing-space save in the relief of hearing the other voice. There is therefore a suggestion of a "Digest" attitude to the whole subject. But even if this danger is avoided in the actual delivery and hearing of these dialogues, there is still the danger inherent in Question and Answer methods—so familiar to British audiences through Brains Trusts—namely that they serve merely as a palliative to criticism rather than as a stimulus to thought.

In the second book, the Rector of an American Episcopal Church, formerly an incumbent in Swansea, attempts to give a simple interpretation of the Christian belief in life after death. He begins by making use of the attitude of Reason and Reasonable Faith before he comes to the distinctively Christian view summed up in the phrase "Resurrection of the Body". We then pass on to chapters on Judgement, the Intermediate State, Heaven and Hell, and the Communion of Saints. The whole subject is thus covered briefly and simply. The foreword warns us that if we want anything more serious there are many larger works available: but we are bound to ask whether the process of simplification in the present little book has robbed the treatment of any elements necessary to it. And in answering this question, we encounter the difficulty of the gulf that lies between the theological *milieu* in the U.S.A. and in the old country.

This book is an essay in parochial orthodoxy. It is innocent of any influence of recent eschatological studies. The high-water mark of the background reading is Oliver Quick's *Doctrines of the Creed*. It seems strange that a book appearing in England in 1955 should give the impression of having been written a generation before Dr J. A. T. Robinson's *In the End God...*

But we have here an untechnical introduction which may help some. The author is careful to state the views of the main streams in Christendom when he comes to the subject of the Intermediate State, and in dealing with the subjects of Judgement and Heaven and Hell he sustains a bracing forthrightness, which, no doubt, led to the suggestion that this book should grow out of his pastoral dealings.

D. R. VICARY

## ECCLESIA DOCENS

CHURCH AND PARISH. Studies in Church Problems, illustrated from the Parochial History of St Margaret's, Westminster. By CHARLES SMYTH. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d.

THIS book contains the Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1953-4, and Canon Smyth describes them as "a contribution from, rather than as a contribution to, parochial history." The incumbent of St Margaret's Westminster has unique opportunities for making that contribution, as no other parish church can claim a closer connection with the post-Reformation history of the Church of England. The present holder of that office is himself a distinguished historian, and so the reader has every prospect of a fascinating and instructive book.

Nevertheless there are difficulties in the way of the execution of such a task as Canon Smyth has set himself. There is a temptation to read the history of the Church in terms of one's own parish and so to distort it. The author is too good an historian to have fallen into that temptation, and he is able to make personalities and institutions in the history of his parish illuminate not only the great controversies but also Religious Education and the Charity School system, to which one whole lecture is devoted. Another and graver difficulty is that of establishing the parish itself as enough of a connecting theme to give real coherence to the book. Failure to achieve this is not so obvious in lectures delivered at intervals as it is in a volume which can be read at one or two sittings and it is probable for that reason that *Church and Parish* made a more striking impression on its hearers than it does on its readers. As a book it is inclined to be desultory and this is particularly so with the first chapter. Canon Smyth has, however, defended himself in advance against this criticism by a quotation at the end of his Preface which he draws from F. D. Maurice's *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First and Second Centuries*. Perhaps one might say that lectures, unless they are rewritten, rarely make a satisfactory book, but nevertheless of this set as of many others we hasten to add that we would not willingly be without them.

This book is full of good things, of quotations from a wide variety of authors showing a catholicity of reading which one would be proud to emulate, of pointed comment and apt phrase which will long be remembered and quoted, and not least of great sympathy and charity towards many forms of religious opinion which Canon Smyth cannot like and some of which he must oppose. He reminds us at the end of his last chapter that "Church Problems are always ultimately pastoral problems". There is among some parish priests a tendency to think that the incumbent of such a charge as St Margaret's has no real pastoral experience. It is to be hoped that such persons will read this book and be the wiser for it.

The first of the six chapters is devoted to the general subject of St Margaret's and its relation to the House of Commons, and as we have already observed is somewhat formless though none the less interesting. The second illustrates from the history of St Margaret's the vicissitudes of the Church under the Commonwealth. Some of those who now criticize the settlement of 1662 would do well to read this chapter carefully and to ponder Canon Smyth's remark that "across the Channel, the Anglican position acquired a more positive, a more precise, and a more coherent intellectual content than it had previously been obliged, or able, to provide". The third chapter we have already mentioned as dealing with Religious Education. The fourth is called "New Wine and Old Bottles". St Margaret's, like many other London churches, suffered from the establishment of a lectureship designed to inculcate doctrine different from that preached by the incumbent, and in the early nineteenth century this resulted in an important lawsuit in the ecclesiastical courts. This is made the centre of an interesting account of the lectureship system and some reflections on party trusts and the effect of party divisions on the ordinary laity. Chapter five, "The Church and Liberalism", is devoted to Milman, Farrar, and Henson, and leads to this wise conclusion: "There is a place for scholars in the ministry: but, unless they are prepared, like their less intellectually gifted brethren, to say their prayers and love their people, their orthodoxy or their liberalism will be sterile as regards the purpose for which they have been ordained." The last chapter, "The Prodigality and Carefulness of God", is again a survey of the history of the church. The accidents of its survival are stressed, the failures in its mission and the unexpected and unlooked-for revivals, and the lectures conclude with a reminder of the nature and end of the Ministry.

ERIC KEMP

### ALL GLORIOUS WITHIN

ST PAUL'S IN ITS GLORY: A CANDID HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL, 1831-1911. By G. L. PRESTIGE. S.P.C.K. 21s.

THE untimely death of Dr Prestige in 1954 deprived the Church of England of a distinguished scholar and, what is more, of one who had unusual endowments for the making of readable books. He was only for four years a member of the chapter at St Paul's but, on account of this book, he will be remembered there when many have been forgotten who served the foundation much longer. It is a book that for generations to come will be read at St Paul's by all who want to learn about its history during a period of great interest and about some of the strong personalities who contributed to its fame. But it is a book that will appeal to a much wider circle of readers as well, —to all who enjoy reading volumes of Church history that take one behind the scenes, and in particular to all who are associated with cathedral and collegiate foundations.

The Hon. George Pellew, Dean of Norwich, in *A Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., on the means of "Rendering Cathedral Churches most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church"* (published in 1837) said that "no institutions can differ more from each other than our Cathedrals—their foundation, their statutes, their working, the number and titles of their members, and the nature and extent of their duties all vary". This is much less true now than it was then. Although there are still pleasant variations in character and custom between our cathedrals, they have so much in common—especially in the developments which since 1840 have made them what they are to-day—as to make a detailed record of the fortunes of one of them intelligible, informative, and even entertaining to readers who belong to any of them.

One day a comparative and comprehensive study will be made of the course of cathedral reform during the nineteenth century and of the controversies it set in motion. The age produced a wealth of critical and constructive ideas on the subject, mostly in pamphlet form. Many of them would repay attention to-day, not least those that advocated making cathedrals centres of theological learning and instruction. Dr Prestige, however, had no intention of making a general survey of this literature; he sticks closely to the records of St Paul's, which are indeed as rich and revealing as anyone could wish. It is to be hoped that his example will lead to the production of similar books about what happened in and to other cathedrals during the same period. But the course of reform at St Paul's has an exceptional interest, because its metropolitan position naturally exposed it to public attention and involved it in national events more than could be the case with cathedrals in the provinces.

St Paul's was fortunate in that from the 1830s onwards it had a succession of deans and canons who, so far from raising specious objections to proposals for reform, were themselves pioneers in correcting the abuses of the past and had a practical vision of how, in the circumstances of the time, the cathedral could best serve the diocese and city of London and the Church at large. Dr Prestige supplies delightful character sketches of these notable men, from Sydney Smith at the outset of the story to Robert Gregory who was still in office at its close. (The only members of the chapter for whom he displays no sympathy are the evangelical archdeacons of London who seem to have been comparative nonentities.) The services were transformed, the standards of duty were raised, and the finances were rationalized. The fabric was preserved and its interior furnishing and decoration were taken in hand. Best of all, the cathedral was thronged with worshippers.

The "glory" referred to in the title is of course the glorious time when Church, Liddon, Lightfoot, Gregory, and later Scott Holland, with their complementary gifts and their disposition to co-operate, made St Paul's a centre of devotion and inspiration such as it has never been before or since. A not inconsiderable portion of the credit

must be given to Gladstone for the imaginative appointments he made as Prime Minister when there were vacancies in the chapter. Alas! by the time Dr Prestige concludes his story there was a marked decline from those great days. He suggests that the completion of the interior embellishment of the cathedral about 1900, just when the peril to its foundations was about to be discovered, is symbolical of the response made by St Paul's to the challenge of the times and of more besides. As he says, St Paul's in its glory represented "the opulent piety of the Victorian middle classes in their most truly religious vein", but in the new century "Victorianism was not enough".

A. R. VIDLER

## REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

LIBERTY AND REFORMATION IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By WILLIAM HALLER. Columbia University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 48s.

SIR Justinian Isham remarked to Bishop Brian Dupper in a letter of February 1660, "we have lately had as many several doctrines as there are points on the compass, that they having now gon around they begin Presbyterian againe, and who knowes not wither this dance may not like others end in the same measure they began". Were the baronet's feelings justified, and did nothing positive come out of the successive crises of the Civil War and interregnum? It was lately been said that "the history of England after 1660 was a continuation of its history before 1640", but historians are as divided over the results of the Civil War as they are over its causes. Professor Haller's title, together with his acknowledged dependence upon S. R. Gardiner and C. H. Firth, would suggest that he is one who believes that something positive was achieved for Liberty and Reform by the Puritan victory. His book, which covers the years 1640-9, is a masterly survey of the immense sermon and pamphlet literature in which the "several doctrines" of Presbyterian, Independent, and Leveller were set out, though at the end the reader may well sympathize with Sir Justinian's point of view in 1660 and wonder whether things did not go back to where they started, for, on the last page, we are left with Lilburne fighting for liberty against Cromwell and Cromwell, in the interests of Liberty, suppressing its self-appointed champion. There is the paradox of the Puritan Revolution.

In the early days of the Long Parliament none of the aristocratic leaders of the Constitutional Movement intended revolution. Armed resistance to the Crown was undertaken by "left-wing" constitutionalists of Presbyterian sympathies, but it was the faith and conviction of the Independents which brought inspiration and driving-power to that resistance and turned it into revolution. It is true that the Civil War cannot be understood solely as a struggle for religious liberty, but any view which fails to take account of the religious convictions of those

engaged in it and does not see it related in some sense to the contemporary Wars of Religion is a defective view. Professor Haller's book which continues his earlier *The Rise of Puritanism* (1938) shows what those religious convictions were by studying the sermons and pamphlets of the time. Its aim is to show what influence the preachers and writers had upon current events and how, in turn, current events were interpreted by a free pulpit and a free press: "My purpose", the author says, "is to present the history of the discussion which ensued when in November 1640 all restraints on pulpit and press came suddenly to an end and preachers found themselves free as they had never been before to expound the Word in confident expectation that the long awaited reformation in England would lead to the reformation of the church throughout the world and so to the final redemption of mankind".

The preachers in 1640 were those "godly ministers" like Stephen Marshall and Edmund Calamy who had steadfastly belonged to the National Church while longing and planning for its emancipation from episcopacy and its re-organization along Presbyterian lines. This reformation of the Church they urged as the necessary condition of reformation in the State and, very soon, of success in the Civil War. However, a problem of authority soon arose to plague the authors of reform because Parliament soon foresaw, as George Digby said, that "instead of every Bishop we put down in a Diocese, we shall set up a Pope in every Parish", and it could not allow the Ministers to enjoy an independence which not even the prelates had enjoyed and to exercise far-reaching powers over which it had no control. The Presbyterians claimed for their system the authority of Scripture but that authority was not left unchallenged by a man like Selden whose pressure, like that of the Independent group; in the Westminster Assembly, which Parliament summoned for the task of reformation, indicated that from the first there would be differences of opinion and different interpretations laid upon the liberty of the Church and of the Christian. Parliament's requirement "no man to be denied to enter his dissent from the assembly" made certain the break-up of Puritanism by forces generated within itself. Liberty of conscience and toleration, which the Independents claimed for themselves from "An Apologetical Narration" onwards, was anathema to the Presbyterians, who clung to the axiom of one national comprehensive Church. The military successes of the New Model Army, which both practised toleration and encouraged its officers to preach, seemed to set the seal of divine approval upon the Independents. Professor Haller guides us through the fierce controversies which the ascendancy of the Army and of Cromwell occasioned, but his narrative is never dull and the real issues at stake—issues of sovereignty, law, and liberty—are laid bare with a clarity which is the fruit of his long study of this period and its literature.

It is clear from this book how in the first place the Puritan arguments were founded exclusively on religious tenets. The claims of the

"godly preaching ministry" were Biblical claims; the claims to liberty of conscience and toleration for all who were neither ungodly, unbelieving, nor misbelieving, were the logical consequences of Protestant respect for the supreme authority of inward conviction; the claims made for liberty of the subject and the rights of "Freeborn Englishmen" were grounded in the doctrine of free grace. As the debate proceeds, however, other grounds of argument, philosophical and humanistic, appear in Milton advocating divorce and the liberty of the press, in Overton arguing for political equality, in William Walwyn questioning the grounds of authority in Church and State and drawing up the Levellers' programme. The absence of scriptural argument in the Putney debates has frequently been noted. Thus as time went on the aims of the Puritan revolutionaries were by no means formulated in exclusively religious terms nor were the aims themselves exclusively religious.

Professor Haller's narrative is lucid and readable; the chapter on "The Rise of the Levellers Party" is even racy, but Lilburne is a lively subject. The matter is arranged chronologically, and provides an authoritative commentary on the complex argument about liberty and reform which influenced and was itself influenced by the decisive events of 1640-9. The argument was unresolved in 1649 when the Revolution committed its greatest act of power. Thereafter the Revolution outran itself, but the issues it had raised could never again be ignored. For one thing toleration had to come, while Puritan ideals were transmitted and translated to the age of Locke and beyond by Milton's poetry and prose. That other influences were at work in 1640-9 and that religious reform and political liberty were not the only objectives of the Puritans and their associates does not detract from the solidity and value of Professor Haller's book.

The notes might more usefully have been arranged at the end of each chapter instead of the end of the book, and the English price seems excessive.

GEOFFREY CARNELL

## CAROLINE PREACHING

WINGS OF AN EAGLE. Edited by G. LACEY MAY. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

THIS is an Anthology, containing sixty extracts from the sermons of famous Caroline preachers, with an introductory essay and a bibliography. The passages are powerful, varied, and well chosen: they may well serve as a "cocktail" to many readers, who will find from Mr May's volume how best to delve more deeply into the literature of this fascinating period. The editor attributes much of the effectiveness of these Laudian preachers to their power of a trained and consecrated visual imagination, applied vividly to Holy Scripture with a view to strengthening personal fellowship with God. These great men were clearly the forerunners of the definitely non-papal type of modern

Anglo-Catholics. To apply the term "Catholic" exclusively to the Roman Church, claiming to be universal in dominion, but not conforming to the Vincentian Canon, is, says John Donne, "such a solecism, as to speak of a white blackness, or a great littleness." On Hell as the state of absence from God Donne is quite frightening: "What Tophet is not Paradise, what brimstone is not amber, what gnashing is not a comfort, what gnawing of the worm is not a tickling, what torment is not a marriage bed to this damnation, to be secluded eternally, eternally, eternally, from the sight of God." Among the most attractive, readable, and definitely Catholic of these preachers are Mark Frank and John Cosin, both of whom desired to see sacramental Confession and Absolution restored to their historic place. The passages from Jeremy Taylor reflect his sufferings, fearless courage, and deep devotion. Andrewes is included as the last of the "witty" preachers, who displayed their learning in quaint conceits and innumerable quotations from Scripture. His rather artificial style makes him less easy to read than later preachers, on whom nevertheless he had considerable influence. Marked development may be noticed when one comes to the calm, reasoned style of Isaac Barrow, who was named "the perfect preacher". Each collection of extracts is prefaced by an informative note on its author. Latin and Greek quotations are numerous throughout, but they are generally translated or paraphrased in the text.

FREDERIC HOOD

## ARMENIAN CHRISTIANITY

THE CHURCH IN ARMENIA. By M. ORMANIAN. Edited by T. Poladian. 2nd (revised) English edition. Mowbray. 21s.

THIS is a new edition of a book that was first published in French in 1910, was translated into English in 1912, and has now been revised by the Dean of the Armenian Theological Seminary at Antelias in the Syrian Lebanon. It must be said at once that the revision might have been, with advantage, a good deal more thorough. The only signs of any change are a new chapter (XX) dealing with the Armenian Church in the present century, a number of short footnotes, and some additions to the list of Supreme Patriarchs and to the statistics of the various Armenian groups in the two appendices.

Ormanian was born, as long ago as 1841, of Catholic Armenian parents, took part in the Vatican Council as a theologian, and joined the Armenian Monophysites in 1879. He was Patriarch of Constantinople for his rite from 1896 until 1908, and died in 1918 at the age of seventy-seven. There is much that is of interest in the first part dealing with the history, even if certain questions, such as the apostolic foundation of the Church in Armenia and the original independence of the Etchmiadzin patriarchate, are treated as facts, whereas they are highly controversial issues. Six chapters are devoted, in Part II, to the teaching and dogmas of the Armenian body, the hierarchy is

explained in Part III, and discipline in the Church in Part IV. Under Liturgy (Part V) there are chapters on the church buildings, the ministers of the sanctuary, the obligations of worship, the calendar, the feasts, and the commemoration of saints. Literature is the subject of Part VI, and Part VII is entitled "The Present Time" and deals with the external aspect of the Church, the various sects, the national character, and the Church's influence in the world.

The weakest of all the sections is that dealing with the liturgy. It seems quite regrettable that no attempt has ever been made, either by the Patriarch or by his reviser, to give a simple but accurate description of the Holy Liturgy as celebrated in Armenian churches. It is curious that, in default of such an account, it has not been possible, even in this recent re-edition, to refer to the translation of the liturgy in Dr F. E. Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Vol. I. Eastern Liturgies pp. 412-57). A full description of the rite, with many passages given in quotation, is found in Mr Archdale King's *The Rites of Eastern Christendom* (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1948, Vol. II, pp. 521-644).

The absence of all illustrations except a portrait of the author is a defect that might be remedied in a subsequent edition. Among several curious mistakes is one apropos the Apostles' Creed (p. 95), to the effect that the Vatican Council "added new expressions to it"! This, as coming from one who was present at the Council in 1870, is all the more extraordinary. The statistics as given in the chapter on the sects (pp. 183-5) and those in the tables at the end of the work have not been harmonized. For example, the Catholic Armenians are said to number 200,000 at p. 184; 128,400 at p. 209; and 51,349 at p. 212; but it may be presumed that the last figure refers only to the faithful under the direct rule of Cardinal Agaganian. None the less, these and certain other details are distinctly confusing.

JOHN M. T. BARTON

## NO MEMORIAL ?

BROTHER NICHOLAS. GEORGE LAMB. Sheed and Ward. 8s. 6d.  
NEGLECTED SAINTS. E. I. WATKIN. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

It is most interesting to note the marked increase in recent years of studies in the lives of Saints, and instructive to inquire the reasons. It is indeed significant that as our civilization becomes more and more materialistic, with homes cluttered up with gadgets, clever and complex machinery replacing not only muscle but also mind, art often grotesque, advertisement vulgar and noisy, there is a growth in a literature which essays to portray people who, though living in this world, are startlingly not of it, whose interest in civilized comfort is limited to a stupendous effort to be free of it, and whose whole energy is concentrated on spiritual living. Drowning, as we well may be, in the ever advancing sea of

things, we are still just as much made in the image of God as was ever the simplest child of nature, and it is surely nostaglia for our true home, and the way thereto, that urges us to study the lives of those who walk it with such clear-sightedness and confidence, with speed and poise. Even if we are not going to follow their individual and particular ways of union with God and of service of men, our sight and understanding of the saints refreshes, encourages, and thrills us as we pursue our own dimmer paths. They urge us to a greater love of God, move us to make a deeper surrender of our wills to him, and show us a more intent following of our Lord Christ. Christians are bound to love the saints.

It is doubtful whether Mr Lamb's hero can sustain so long a book, for the life of Nicholas of Flue was singularly uneventful, records of his sayings few, his imaginative visions very personal, revealing goodness but bringing no striking illumination to Christian doctrine or practice. In order to make this simple life fill a book of 190 pages, a great deal has been made of the political history of his years, with much repetition of contemporary biographical testimony, even in the exact words. Nicholas himself would stand out with much greater clarity and persuasiveness if his story had been told with chronological simplicity and directness; as it is, time is shuttled to and fro quite bewilderingly, so that we never know at what point we may next see our saint; and he himself is often buried under a weight of historical names and movements. A reference list of authoritative sources is desirable.

Mr Watkin gives the larger half of his book of 241 pages to lives of Saints Martin of Tours, Bruno, Hugh of Lincoln, and Thomas of Villanueva, the remainder to five lesser *beati*; and his own postscript on the nature of sanctity, and of various exterior signs in particular, and on the rôle of a hagiographer, is, as one would expect from this scholar's pen, as stimulating as any other chapter of this book. Each of the Saints was a man of outstanding intellect, with high gifts of administration, discernment, mental and physical energy: they were men who would have influenced their generations in whatever spheres they had functioned, apart from sanctity; subjects for a large canvas; they are therefore interesting in the fullness and rich variety of their doings and their teachings, and for the impact of their lives on history. This is not the case of the blessed, except perhaps the great Dominican, Jordan of Saxony; they were little lights of blessing and inspiration in their immediate localities, and it is their own neighbourhoods only which would preserve their memories with joyful thankfulness.

We may rebel at the adjective "neglected" as applied to Saint Martin and Saint Hugh; especially would it be false at Lincoln, where Cathedral and diocese pay especial veneration to their patron annually at the time of his festival, which they celebrate with pilgrimage, procession, and prayer; where they have searched for his relics in order that they might restore his shrine. But there can be no disappointment with this author over the material for his Lives; with a scholar's care he states his authorities, and he has had unique opportunities for studying essential sources. What we may deplore is that in such brief studies

Mr Watkin frequently holds up the story and blurs the picture by interposing his own explanations and personal opinions in the narrative; sometimes this is in footnotes, to which the eye has to drop with irritating frequency, perhaps only to find a piece of irrelevant discursiveness. Too often experiences and events are overlaid with explanations instead of being allowed to reveal by themselves the high truths of sanctity which make them both beautiful and inspiring. It is often misleading to try to explain what the saints meant in their discourses; let their own words speak for themselves, and then those who read will enter into their meaning as far as they are able, each in his own degree. And we get a much more vivid impression of a vital person if a saint is presented as a whole personality, developing all through life, from birth to death; not as a series of departments, which indeed is the effect of reading a string of miracles each tersely related in brief sentences ("A matron could not eat, for she suffered from lockjaw, Osanna opened her teeth with a spoonful of food. She was cured"), records of successive visions, accounts of prayer, comparisons with other saints, personal generalizations, all woven together by quotations from contemporary biographers.

The printing, format, and binding of these two volumes is of the high quality we appreciate from their publisher; the dustcover of *Brother Nicholas* is particularly pleasing and clever.

SIBYL HARTON

## RELIGION AND LETTERS

MISS MITFORD AND MR HARNESS. By CAROLINE M. DUNCAN-JONES. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

MRS Duncan-Jones calls this delightful book "Records of a Friendship". This friendship was between the authoress' great-great-uncle William Harness and the famous writer of *Our Village*. Mary Russell Mitford was born in 1787 and Harness in 1790. Both lived and worked in the most eminent literary circles of their day. Their relationship was that of brother and sister: their friendship was intimate, but they were not lovers, and there seems never to have been any question of their marrying. The illustrations add to the charm of the book, which takes the reader into the company of Lord Byron, Wordsworth, Southey, the Brownings, Washington Irving, Theodore Hook, Charles and Ellen Kean, Fanny Kemble, Mrs Siddons, Tennyson, Charles Dickens, John Henry Newman, Charles Kingsley, and many another famous personage. Harness was an old-fashioned high churchman, well-known as a preacher at Regent Square Chapel and later at All Saints', Ennismore Gardens, that gorgeous Italianate church which he built. The sermon at his Institution there was preached by Archdeacon (afterwards Cardinal) Manning. In his earlier days Harness had a rival preacher on the other side of the square in the person of Edward Irving, the founder of the "Catholic Apostolic Church". Irving believed in the revival of

the gift of tongues and in the near approach of the Parousia. A long account of one of his services from Harness' pen is recorded by Mrs Duncan-Jones. "And so home to breakfast and righteous indignation"—and to prepare a sermon on "Modern Claims to miraculous Gifts of the Spirit". Harness had a contempt for Spiritualism, which was becoming widely current, and his disagreement with Miss Mitford in his assessment of Elizabeth Barrett Browning was partly caused by the latter's absorption in that cult. Miss Mitford was a Liberal and Harness the stoutest of Tories, but they found themselves in agreement on the burning question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. They were much pleased when the Act became law. It was not only in the sphere of politics that Harness was a Conservative. He strongly objected to the hymns which were creeping in instead of Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms—and as for Sunday Schools: "To this eminently popular method of profaning the Sabbath, I have always entertained the most decided aversion."

A short review can only give a glimpse of a beautifully written book, based on much hitherto unpublished material. It must not be missed.

FREDERIC HOOD

### MULTUM IN PARVO

THROUGH THE AGES: THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By the late FRANCIS E. BARKER. Church Information Board. 2 vols. 12s. 6d. each.

THIS is a fascinating and informed introduction to Church history which ordinands and students in training colleges may read with profit, and which will give to many teachers just that kind of general and balanced picture for lack of which some avoid tackling the historical parts of an Agreed or Diocesan syllabus. There is nothing superficial or partisan about these books in which the author's knowledge of local history and documents is coupled with a wide reading of the best secondary authorities. The story begins with the Apostles and ends with the *Mission de France*. In telling it the author says many valuable things, particularly about the Eastern Church, Islam, the Elizabethan Settlement, and the Seventeenth century; while he never loses sight of the Christian Missions as general histories sometimes do. The author's literary interests give distinctiveness to his treatment of the Bible translations, religious poetry, the significance of carols and hymns, and the evidence of contemporary plays and diaries. The illustrations, sometimes from contemporay sources, are good; but the indexes are uneven and the reader will look in vain for references to Becket, Gore, Edward King, or William Temple, though chance allusions to Old Cairo or a Winking Madonna are duly noted. There is a good bibliography, and many should find the questions printed at the end of each volume valuable and suggestive.

GEOFFREY CARNELL

## STRATEGY AND MISSION

THE BRIDGES OF GOD. By D. A. McGAVRAN. World Dominion Press. 7s. 6d.

THE statement that many of the people who support overseas missions to-day have a mental picture of the mission field which is fifty years out of date, is becoming almost a platitude of missionary propaganda. It is undoubtedly true that there is considerable scope for missionary education in helping people in this country to understand the nature of the problems and the opportunities confronting the Church throughout the world. The re-distribution of power, the resurgence of the great ethnic religions, the spread of materialism and communism, the growth of industrialisation, and the disruption of the tribal pattern of life—these are but a few of the factors which have transformed the setting in which the Church has to proclaim the Gospel in witness and work.

But Dr McGavran's book conveys a challenge not only to the missionary supporter but even more to those who bear responsibility for missionary strategy. In effect, the author asks them to consider whether or not, in the light of the revolutionary changes in the world situation, there is justification for a continuance of a missionary policy in which so much attention is focused upon institutions and mission stations.

The author starts by endeavouring to answer a crucial question in Christian Missions—"How do Peoples become Christian?" He rejects as erroneous answers which stress any one method such as, for example, concentration upon work among aboriginal tribes or reliance upon the continuity of a mission over an extended period. Instead, he stresses that peoples become Christian when they move as groups into Christianity, groups of varying sizes consisting of the innumerable sub-societies which make up a nation, tribe, or clan. In Dr McGavran's opinion the Christian Mission has thought too much in terms of Western individualism, concentrating upon individual conversion, instead of relating its method to the group-life and group thought of Africa and Asia.

Turning to the New Testament the author interprets Matthew 18. 19, 20 as indicating that the command is firstly to "make disciples of all nations" and secondly to "teach them to observe all things". "Discipling is the essential first stage . . . the second stage is that of Perfecting the People". The two, he emphasizes, must not be confused. Dr McGavran illustrates what he describes as the "People Movement" at work in the expansion of the Church in the first century, through Christian history and, not least, at the time of the Reformation, with its widespread evidence of the social nature of religious change.

Throughout, there were accessions to Christianity of whole groups with their leaders and expansion across the "Bridges of God" of family and social relationships. The author does not, however, mini-

imize the importance of individual conversions throughout the expansion of the Church.

In the nineteenth century there was a radical change in the situation of the expanding Church. Few were the bridges between the western missionaries and the peoples whom they sought to evangelize, and the gulf of separation was great. Consequently, there was developed the method of the mission station and its "gathered colony" of Christians. In place of direct contact and evangelism on the broad front, there was developed the institutional approach with its magnificent service, compassion, and witness, particularly in the realm of educational and medical work. But Dr McGavran asks if these were not secondary rather than primary objectives of the Christian Mission.

He pays tribute to the value of these institutions and their contribution to the total life and development of the countries in which they were situated. But, in his opinion, there has been so great a change in the situation that the institutional method and the Mission Station approach can rarely be justified. Increasingly, nations overseas are assuming responsibilities in the fields of education, medical work, and welfare. This tends to make many Christian institutions anomalous. Their staffing and maintenance frequently constitutes a major diversion of the Church's resources in manpower and money in areas where mobility and evangelistic outreach are essential.

The author criticises "Mission Station Churches" on the grounds of isolation and introversion, lack of evangelistic sense, and preoccupation with maintenance as an end in itself. He suggests that where the Younger Churches are strong and vigorous, their development is attributable more to People Movements than to evangelism spreading outward from the nationals within the Colony Church of the Mission Station.

The author is convinced that the stimulation and support of People Movement Churches should be the main contemporary strategy of the Christian Mission. Their advantages include their relative economic independence of outside support, their spontaneous expansion and possibilities of growth among their own people, the fact that they are naturally indigenous in their ways of organization and worship, and their ready development of a sound pattern of Christian life. Dr McGavran indicates that there are now sufficient of these Churches throughout the world to warrant a major concentration of attention and resources upon them, as for instance in areas of Africa in the path of Islamic advance, in the region from Eastern Assam to North-West Indo-China, and in Chota Nagpur. He considers that such development would lead to a new spirit in missionary evangelism, in the Church's mission in education and medical work, and in the contribution which the Younger Churches could bring into the worldwide Christian fellowship.

Some may feel that the author does not wholly do justice to the contemporary contribution of the Christian institution or examine as

adequately as one would wish the relation of the Church overseas to the new intelligentsia in the community. But as Professor Latourette writes in his introduction, "Here is a book which deserves a careful reading by all who are concerned for the world mission of the Church. It is clear that we are entering a new stage in that mission. That stage demands a careful re-study of our message and our method."

Moreover, this book will repay study by those who are concerned with the mission of the Church in this country where, as one is often reminded nowadays, "the Church is a missionary Church in a missionary situation". For it poses questions on the conversion of the individual and the subsequent bringing of him *out of* his group, the nature and purpose of the Church's institutions, and the relation of Christians with non-Christians in their families and community, which are not without their relevance to the work of the Church in Britain.

FENTON MORLEY

## THE CARIBBEAN

MRS ROBERTS VISITS THE WEST INDIES. By Mrs B. C. ROBERTS. S.P.G. 2s. 6d.

GONE are the days when to read missionary literature was a painful duty, a strain to the eyes and only to be made profitable by a great effort of sympathy towards the writer. The Missionary Societies have taken on a new look both in their publicity and in their publications, and this book is an excellent example of what can be done. It is agreeably written, well printed, and illustrated by eleven admirable photographic plates; and all for half-a-crown.

The book is a result of the fact-finding tour of the West Indies undertaken by Bishop and Mrs Roberts and the Bishop of Taunton on behalf of S.P.G., and takes the form of an account of the journey from London and back to London. In the course of it the reader is given an idea of the beauty of the West Indies and the charm of their inhabitants, while the grim economic and social troubles which surround the source of the world's roads and chewing gum are never disguised. For the purpose of the book is not, of course, simply to make Englishmen wish that they could afford to winter in Nassau or Jamaica (though of course to read the book during an English winter is asking for trouble!), but to bring home to us with a sense of urgency the needs of the Church in the West Indies and to make us think of them not as "their" needs but as "our" needs; for they are the needs of Christ's Church. In this purpose the book should admirably succeed. No one can say that he has not the time to read it or that it is too difficult for him. Yet that does not make it an easy book; for it can hardly happen that anyone who has any luxuries left in his life at all

will be able to read it without being moved to understand that his standard of life is a great deal higher by world standards than he had thought—and probably higher than it ought to be in the face of poverty such as Mrs Roberts describes.

B. J. W.

### PICTURES OF THE BOOK

THE BIBLE STORY. By GUY DANIEL. Grosvenor Press. 25s.

THIS handsome volume is not likely to be of use to readers of the *Church Quarterly* themselves; but they may find it useful for their children. The author has made a synopsis of Bible history from "the year dot" to A.D. 100; and this is illustrated by forty-eight coloured plates of paintings ranging in date from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. These are not the obvious and hackneyed pictures; and as the foundation of a nursery picture gallery they by themselves are worth the price of the book. Criticism of Mr Daniel's text is inhibited by admiration for his courage in undertaking so formidable a task. But it should be said that there is no sign of the influence of "biblical theology", and that the theological presuppositions of the story are those of thirty or forty years ago. In spite of this, however, the book may well provide a bird's-eye view of the contents of the Bible which will be helpful to and will not mislead children of, say, 14 or 15, who read the Bible itself and are well grounded in Christian knowledge.

B. J. W.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*A notice in this selection of books received does not exclude a subsequent review.*

*Christ, the Christian and the Church.* By E. L. Mascall. Longmans 21s.

This is a new impression of Dr Mascall's study of the Incarnation first published in 1946. Its reappearance is timely since one of the consequences of the Incarnation which he discusses at length is that of the unity of the Church.

*The New Testament in the Revised Standard Version.* Illustrated edition. Nelson. 12s. 6d.

This is a presentation edition, in rexine, gilt lettered, and a slip-case. There are eight coloured reproductions of Old Masters. It is well produced, but it is doubtful whether the R.S.V. is sufficiently widely read as yet for there to be a great demand for this edition.

*Baptism and Confirmation To-day.* S.P.C.K. 5s.

The Schedule attached to the Final Reports of the Joint Committees on Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Communion as presented to the Convocations of Canterbury and York, October 1954.

*Charles Gore and Anglican Theology.* S.P.C.K. 2s.

The Gore Memorial Lecture 1954, given by the Bishop of Durham.

*Fulfilling.* By Dorothy Kerin. James Clarke. 8s. 6d.

There has never been a time when more was being written on healing, Christian and otherwise, than the present. This is the account of one who found herself called to this work, and it is the story of a faith which prevailed to overcome many setbacks to the achievement of her aim. She has worked throughout with the approval of the bishops of the dioceses in which her homes were established. There are the inevitable case histories, and witnesses, though fewer than in some books of this type, but one cannot help pondering on the "see that thou tell no man . . ." of the healing miracles, and the only definite command to "go tell . . . the blind receive their sight, etc." which was a particular assurance to the Forerunner in prison that his own witness had not been misplaced.

*The Stations of the Cross.* By Caryll Houslander. Sheed and Ward. 8s. 6d.

*The Stations of the Cross.* By Francis Wheeler. S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.

These two books both appeared in time for Lent last year, but there is so much of devotional worth in them, that a reminder of their existence

is not out of place. Caryll Houselander's book is for private meditation, with a wood-cut for each Station, while Francis Wheeler has compiled a number of different forms for both public and private devotion.

*The Return of the King.* By J. R. R. Tolkien. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

Those who came under the spell of Professor Tolkien's first two volumes of *THE LORD OF THE RING*—and there were many such—will need no incentive to read this volume which completes the trilogy. In addition to completing the story itself, there are extensive historic records of the people of the Shire, and their genealogies. In the latter one is tempted to feel that imagination has had full rein since only a small number of the names concerned eventually find their way into the text. Professor Tolkien the philologist is in his element in the invention of the language of the Shire, here set out in full with grammar and syntax. All this adds to the enjoyment of a narrative in the best epic style, and should be read as such. There are those who would dissect each page in a search for theological or psychological archetypes, and will complain that even in this last volume no "solution" is reached; but may we not be allowed just for once to enjoy a good story for its own sake?

*Ethelbert Talbot, 1848-1928.* By C. Rankin Barnes. (American) Church Historical Society. \$1.

This is a short account of one who became the Presiding Bishop of The Episcopal Church in 1924, after a life of service to that Church as Missionary and Diocesan Bishop, and which draws a picture of a man of zeal and devotion against the background of the American Church of his day.

*The Password is Love.* Kathleen Carpenter. Highway Press. 4s. 6d.

An account of the assistance being given by Christian workers in the new village settlements in Malaya.

*Together in Prayer.* Church Missionary Society. 2s. 6d.

A diary of missionary intercession for every day of the month. Well produced with a page of descriptive notes, and a clear map of the area which is the subject of each day's intercession. Such methods as these are to be welcomed as being the only way in which missionary prayer can be saved from the unimaginative generality and focused on the particular, thereby becoming active.

*To Whom we Dedicated.* By E. A. Brandon. Dundalgen Press. 10s. 6d.

Short biographical notes on a hundred or so Saints in whose honour are dedicated the majority of Irish Churches, mostly of local interest.

*William Ralph Inge, 1860-1954.* By W. R. Matthews. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.

A reprint from the Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume XL.

*The British Philosopher as Writer.* By W. R. Matthews. Oxford University Press. 5s.

The Presidential Address for 1955 to the English Association.

*Letter to a Homosexual.* By Kenneth N. Ross. S.P.C.K. 6d.

The combination of Christian charity with an upholding of the Christian standard without yielding to sentiment gives this booklet a value in excess of its dozen pages to all those who are concerned with this particular pastoral problem, and evidences the sympathy and understanding of the true parish priest.

*Edges of His Ways.* By Amy Carmichael. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

This is the latest addition to the books of the Dohnavur Fellowship. The title is from Delitzch's translation of Job 26. 14, which in R.V. reads "Lo, these are but the outskirts of his ways: and how small a whisper do we hear of him! But the thunder of his power who can understand?" Here are collected a series of Amy Carmichael's writings in the form of a daily message to her friends of the Dohnavur Fellowship, during periods when she was largely cut off from them. The fruits of her own wide reading, with the scripture quotations from whichever of a dozen different translations she felt most aptly fitted the context in each case, the messages seek to meet the many and varied needs of those she had in mind. But even so, she offers them only as the "edges of his ways, and the whisper of the Voice" of him whose devoted servant she was; it was for her readers then, as now, to draw on the thunder of his power to meet their needs. Those who are already acquainted with the Dohnavur books will find in this volume a Day Book after their own heart.

*The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation.* By W. F. Howard. A revised edition by C. K. Barrett. Epworth Press. 16s.

Wilbert Howard, an eminent Johannine scholar, was prevented by death from bringing this study, first published in 1931, into line with the more recent corpus of writing on the problems of the Fourth Gospel. All who in the past have benefited from this work, as well as the student of to-day who reads it for the first time, will be grateful to Mr Kingsley Barrett for his painstaking revision, which includes a good deal of new matter and brings the work completely up to date.

*Man in the Midst.* By John Taylor. Highway Press. 6s.

A study of Man's involvement in the whole work of Creation, which the author sees as being at the point of intersection of the natural and supra-natural spheres.

*And Who is My Neighbour? What is Spiritual Healing?* Both by Douglas Webster, Highway Press. 3s. and 1s. 6d.

The first of these two small books is a series of five Bible Readings in search of the answer to the question which is the basis of all Christian teaching on personal and social relationships. The second is a brief but sensible attempt to distinguish true spiritual healing from the counterfeits which it most certainly is not. It is important to do this to-day when so many are claiming to work in this sphere and in the name of Christianity. There are biblical references, and a bibliography which lists titles of trustworthy books for further study of the subject.

*Jesus and the First Three Gospels.* By Walter E. Bundy. Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 60s.

It is important that this major work only recently published should be mentioned here, although it is obviously out of the question to review it adequately in a short paragraph. It is a critical study of every story, saying, and background detail of the material which appears in the synoptic Gospels. The author, who is the Professor of the Bible at De Pauw University, has aimed at making a strictly historical criticism of the synoptic material which he sees as being in the realm of tradition rather than that of historical biography. Extensive footnotes refer the reader to the relative passages in almost all the well known studies of the synoptic problem.

*Portrait of a Parson.* By Susan Miles. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

William Corbett Roberts, rector of a little known country parish in Bedfordshire, died on 24 January 1953 at the age of eighty. That his wife, writing under the name well known many years ago, has been able to put down simply and yet forcefully an account of his life is a cause for thankfulness. As a curate he was attracted to the Christian Socialist movement, and one of his lasting characteristics was a passionate desire for justice and a charitableness towards all, and especially those who suffered most from the lack of these virtues in the respectable society. He was for a time Principal of Dorchester Missionary College, but he is best remembered as the well-loved Rector of St George's, Bloomsbury. But there is a great deal more in this small book than the usual clerical biography. The picture which emerges from so intimate a hand is above all that of the true pastor, with an unceasing care for all those committed to his charge, and others far beyond his official cure of souls.

*William Edmund Smyth—A Memoir.* By T. R. Teague. S.P.C.K. 5s.

When the Diocese of Lebombo was created in 1893, William Edmund Smyth was consecrated as the first Bishop. From Cambridge to St Peter's, London Docks, under Fr Wainwright was the first move towards the fulfilment of a missionary vocation. While working in the East End, Smyth was able to complete his medical training, and after three years he

volunteered for work in Zululand. Fr Teague was a priest in Lebombo, and writes from personal knowledge of the Bishop who later became Warden of Beda Hall, Fort Hare University in South Africa. The story of the Bishop's work both as missionary and as medical pioneer is vividly told, and may well inspire others to be mindful of the great needs of the church overseas in its work for the extending of Christ's Kingdom.

*The Pseudo-Cyprianic De Pascha Computus.* By George Ogg.  
S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d.

This is a translation with notes and considerable biblical references of the earliest work on the computation of Easter extant. It was published in the fifth year of Gordian, A.D. 243, but there is little known of its actual authorship, previously attributed to Cyprian. It is a valuable addition to the translations and studies of patristic writings already published by S.P.C.K.

## EDITORIAL

RECENT months have seen the publication of several important documents in connection with the South India affair. There was not only the chronicle of both Convocations, but also the address given by His Grace the President at the opening of the October session of the Canterbury Convocation, and the speech of the Bishop of Chichester in the Upper House at the same session. They will go down to history as the record of a much-heralded crisis that failed to eventuate.

It had been widely asserted that any decision in the least degree favourable to the Church of South India would either disrupt the Church of England or lead to wholesale secessions to Rome. In fact the Church of England is still whole, and if there have been two or three secessions there has been none of any person holding important office in the Church. This is not clearly understood abroad, and even in some parts of the Commonwealth it is still believed that there can hardly have been so much smoke without more fire. Here at home our feeling of relief ought not to prevent us from deriving what lessons we can from our experience.

The reason for the original alarm was that very few people knew what was being proposed, and therefore feared the worst. It is to be hoped that in future when grave issues are before the Church some way will be found of letting as wide a circle of the public as is possible have precise information about the business in hand. It would be better to dispense with the confidential character of committee reports than to leave the general public to the mercy of lying rumour. Actually in this instance the proposals did not go beyond the conclusions already reached by the Theological Committee of the Church Union, and there is no doubt that its report had a great, and perhaps a decisive, influence on the debate. The practical unanimity of the vote in July was a surprise to everyone, but when the steps then taken were reconsidered in October Convocation showed no desire to retrace them. It was evident that the July vote was due to no snap decision but that the clergy had really studied the situation in the light of the reports before them and had definitely made up their mind.

It is to be hoped that, having made these decisions, the clergy will now carry them into effect *con amore*. Little but good can result if C.S.I. is now made to feel that it has the good-will and sympathy of the English clergy in its effort to integrate itself with historic Christendom. We shall do more harm than good if, having taken this step, we are continually looking back over our shoulder. That our own discipline must be maintained goes without saying, but the more help C.S.I. gets from us the sooner will the need for repressive legislation disappear.

From the domestic point of view one of the more interesting reflections on these events is that the passing of the crisis coincided with the introduction into the Canterbury Convocation of the custom of allowing the two houses to transact as much business as possible together. No doubt the habit could be carried too far: each house must retain and feel its own identity. But at the moment the practice seems entirely beneficial. Certainly business is executed with greater dispatch, and old members of both houses say that a new atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-will has been created. Long may it continue.

Another interesting reflection is that now for the first time for many years the two houses withheld attack from outside together. Normally when there has been trouble, the Upper House has had to bear the brunt of it alone. On this occasion, however, they took important decisions together, and together they defended their actions against such outcry as there was. We believe that this consciousness of unity will be of great importance in the future development of Church affairs, and we feel quite confident that it marks a turning-point in the history of Convocation.

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THE discussion about the Dead Sea Scrolls has reached a stage which would be amusing were it not likely to harm some timid souls. The suggestion, widely spread in America and repeated in this country by one or two archaeologists who should know better, is that Christianity is now discovered to be so similar to a pre-Christian Jewish sect that it has lost all claim to originality. One egregious author has even said that in their consciousness of this fact Christian scholars are doing their best to keep the knowledge of the scrolls and their contents from the public. It would be difficult to imagine a more complete misunderstanding both of the claims of our religion and of the methods of its scholars.

There is nothing novel in the idea that Christianity may be indebted as well to unorthodox as to orthodox Judaism. Long ago Streeter coined the aphorism, "Christianity was mainly a Galilean affair", and there seems no obvious reason why we should be more afraid of the unorthodoxy of the Dead Sea than of that of the Sea of Galilee. The suggestion that the religion of Jesus turns out to be only a modified form of Essenism is, of course, puerile. If the scrolls really show us what Essenism was like, then the contrasts between the two are more striking than the similarities. But however close the parallels, they would in no way detract from the uniqueness of Christianity. That uniqueness rests in the personality of Christ and in his centrality to every rite, doctrine, and rule of conduct.

Jesus himself claimed that he came not to destroy but to fulfil what had gone before. Although he spoke "with authority", Christian scholars have no desire to isolate him from his intellectual environment. Our effort is to see him as clearly against the conceptual background of his day as against the physical. Indeed Christian scholars may fairly claim to have done far more than any others to trace connections between the teachings of Christ and other religious leaders.

So far from being disconcerted by the discoveries at Qumran, professors of Christian Theology are delighted that so much new grist should be brought to their mill. As men of science they will wait upon a proper dating of the documents before using them in tracing the history of ideas. But if, for instance, the Teacher of Righteousness turns out to be a concrete embodiment of the Suffering Servant, he might fill a gap in our knowledge of the transition between the second Isaiah and Christ. If further some of the more fanciful suggestions could be substantiated, as for instance that John the Baptist was one of the adopted children brought up by the Essenes, or that Jesus himself spent some of his "hidden years" among the sect, they would provide fascinating subjects for speculation not only among the scholars but among the novelists. In the meantime we await with eagerness the sober judgment of the experts on the dating of these most intriguing documents.

The prophet Elijah, we are told, when in need, was fed by the ravens. The British Council of Churches has determined that the modern prophets in their dire need shall be fed from the same source. At least they have called their new magazine for preachers

by the name *The Raven*. The pabulum provided is intended, when fully digested, to result in better expository sermons. The title suggests a possible return to the allegorical method of Biblical interpretation, but there is no evidence of this in the first number, which proceeds on the most approved Antiochian lines. Appearing just before Easter it devotes itself to the theme of the Resurrection, on which there is an excellent article by Professor Nineham, as well as other illuminating expositions of the relevant passages in 1 Corinthians and the Fourth Gospel.

All of us can do with a little extra help in the preparation of our sermons, and it to be hoped that an unreserved welcome will be given by preachers both clerical and lay to this new venture. Its help will not excuse us from effort of our own, but it will make us better informed and it will also set our thoughts moving a little more briskly than is their wont.

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As others see us . . . The following charming paragraph appears as a note attached to an article in *Istina*, a first rate quarterly published in Boulogne and devoted to the subject of Church unity.

Is it not possible that the enthusiasm for unity and the determination to maintain and develop the communion of these churches [in India] with the Church of England give some evidence of an anxiety that is not altogether religious? Is it not possible that the ecclesiastical communion is being called in to preserve the cultural and other ties to which the newly acquired political independence portends some danger? There would be nothing wrong in this: our actions normally spring from mixed motives. This very Gallic suggestion loses something of its piquancy in translation, but we cannot help wondering how many stolid members of the two Houses were affected by this thought when they gave their famous vote!

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# A KEY TO ALL MYTHOLOGIES ?

By ULRICH SIMON

MOST contemporary discussions about Myth suffer from a certain lack of definition. The ensuing confusion often leads to needless controversy, with the contesting parties talking about Myth in a different sense. Some new order appears to be needed to do justice to the great complexity of things mythological and to analyse their different aspects.

Myth, derived from *μῦθος* means simply "speech". "Language and myth are near of kin"<sup>1</sup>: it is their exact relationship which yields the desired definition. But this relationship tends to defy logical systematization because the whole rich world of phenomena is spoken about. Thus, for example, both "the heavenly things" of the New Testament as well as the blood-charms of the sacrificial pig in the rites of Demeter are in some sense "mythical". Furthermore the wealth of genuine *mythologoumena* becomes, to the classifying logician, embarrassing owing to the great flexibility of the Myths. They are always changing; adaptation and degradation deprive them of stability. The lack of definitive constancy is indeed typical: "Il n'y a guère de mythes . . . où les êtres et les objets les plus divers ne se transmuent instantément les uns en les autres"<sup>2</sup>.

A principle of selection must be chosen to clear a path through so much forest and undergrowth. A survey of recent work permits us to speak of five such major principles. Each one concentrated on one characteristic of Myth and interpreted the material accordingly. Each one stressed something essential and erred in excluding something equally essential.

(1) The historical school of religions looks upon Myth as an historical document. It claims that the origin of every myth can be traced back to an historical situation. It is the record of a past of tribes, nations, and races. The mythical stories were part of the general endeavour to preserve unity and continuity of corporate existence. They were told to promote social strength by providing the group with a satisfying tradition and "to endow it with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher,

better, more supernatural reality of ancient events".<sup>3</sup> Society tends to break up without that peculiar kind of tradition; the historical myth acts like a social stabilizer. Frazer always cites the promotion of fertility as the *raison d'être* of spells and ceremonies.<sup>4</sup> The myth as a whole functions to secure the identity and preservation of various social groups, of different sizes and at different stages of development. By telling the tales the leaders fill a psychological need.<sup>5</sup> What their myths relate is meant to give the impression of "having actually occurred in a previous age".<sup>6</sup> In this way present-day customs recall an heroic past when legendary beings are alleged to have walked upon the earth. Thus laws relating, for instance, to marriage or diet receive their sanction from a "history of the gods".<sup>7</sup> The epic grandeur of the tales must not obscure their propaganda value; they are not merely aetiological in an abstract sense—accounting for the past in a detached spirit—but, marching step by step with the real life of a progressive society, they idealize and personalize the present by the glories of the past. The myth, according to the principle of historical interpretation, is then really the same thing as an ideological superstructure. It serves for and within the framework of an organization by giving it a popular version of a magnified and illustrious past.

(2) The Myth-Ritual school<sup>8</sup> and its selection of the characteristics of Myth owes a great deal to the historical analysis. It is, however, sufficiently independent to mark and stress a different principle. Myth expresses "the most deeply rooted hopes, fears, and emotions of a community concerning the practical and pressing problems of daily life, physical and spiritual".<sup>9</sup> This definition acknowledges that the religious side of life is inseparable from the political and social fortunes of the community. To pinpoint the salient feature of the myth we are asked to look at the words, for the myth speaks where and when the rite acts, and both are invariably linked up with some solemn occasion. Even where the rites have died—together with their civilizations—some of the words have chanced to survive in a somewhat mutilated and ghost-like form. The ancient Near East has supplied us with these myths, which were once chanted or recited in the vast region from Iran to Egypt.<sup>10</sup> Although they represent the feelings and aspirations of both agricultural and urban societies they display certain similarities. These points of contact used to be described as form-

ing a Myth-Ritual pattern. The elements of this pattern derived from the central position of the king and the accounts of the creation of the world. The king is humiliated, dies, enters the darkness, rises from death, fights and conquers over demonic foes, is married to the land, and gains his throne in the solemn New Year procession. His rôle is that of a god and he recapitulates the beginnings of earthly life. The late Professor Frankfort, however, modified and protested against the thesis of an overall "pattern" in view of the fact that the king of Egypt was himself God, whereas in Mesopotamia he represented God and may have become God.<sup>11</sup>

(3) Although this juxtaposition of Myth and Ritual yields a tidy and technically accurate definition of Myth and rightly emphasizes the cultic recital as the criterion of the genuine Myth, an important school of thought expresses dissatisfaction with this approach, which clearly owes everything to Frazer's methods. Otto broke the spell of *The Golden Bough*. He protested from the strong position of unequalled knowledge and direct experience of comparative religions against this intolerably rational and unrealistic estimate of Myth. Myth is a matter of religion, and religion is concerned with the Holy, the Other. As music begins with music and ends with music, so the Holy cannot be interpreted by anything except itself. No amount of projectionism, no idealizing and personifying of events, no mere propaganda and embellishment of institutions can account for the power and the endurance and the transmission of Myth.<sup>12</sup> The religious feeling is primary and unique; it suffers no psychological explanation. Not even fear or any other strong emotions produce religion and hence the old tag, *Timor fecit deos*, does not apply. Myth gives expression to the awe-full mystery of religion. It does not deal with functional politics. By rejecting the Frazerian hypothesis Otto frees Myth from a narrow link with the promotion of life. He suggests that the available evidence shows that society often endeavoured to rise above the daily exigencies and routine demands of the seasons. Even contemporary religious practices, which involve the use of *mythologoumena*, confirm the world over that the utilitarian thesis is untenable. One may well ask why men indulge in spoken and visible representations of the Other which cannot help them at all in their day-to-day task of living.

The answer to this question is partly supplied by the exponents of comparative religion and in the works of Jung and Kerényi.

The latter buttress Otto's claims by postulating the existence of universal archetypes.<sup>13</sup> The nucleus of Myth is to them irreducible and always remains the same, irrespective of historical development. The evidence is to be found in dreams. The images of the unconscious are the same as the archetypes used in the speech of Myth. They belong equally to the heritage of all mankind. The Myth is as irrepressible as the dream and in a sense more real than a great deal of ordinary speech. The common Myth belongs to the beginning: it is, and speaks of, the fundamental experience of God and the world. Whether this support, which comes somewhat unexpectedly from psychoanalysis, will make Otto's work more convincing to his opponents remains to be seen. Dreams certainly convey numinous and mythical data, but the evaluation of dreams as evidence is debatable. Moreover it must be stressed that the "case histories" deal almost entirely with pathological instances. The clinical evidence would be of greater value if it could be corroborated by the dreams of healthy people, drawn from all races, classes, and creeds. If this could be obtained—genuine dreams of ordinary people are difficult to come by—much of the contemporary reaction against, and good-humoured contempt for, Jungian archetypes and growths "in the shade of the Golden Bough"<sup>14</sup> might be dispelled. The suspicion of Myth is ancient and lingers on, and the claims of the numinous and the evidence of dream-archetypes appear to have sharpened the modern opposition to Myth.

(4) Ignoring the historical, the ritualistic, and the archetypal attitudes, the foes of Myth define it as a "purely fictitious narrative".<sup>15</sup> Sometimes facts are embedded in the tale, but the numinous stories contain more false than true data. Hence Plato—one of the foremost to lose patience with the inextricable blend—scorns the Myth of Ouranos and Kronos, hard stories, not worthy of belief.<sup>16</sup> The five references to Myth in the New Testament are all equally condemnatory. No one is "to give heed to fables" (1 Tim. 1, 4), to "profane and old wives' fables" (4, 7), or to "Jewish fables" (Tit. 1, 14). The mythological tendency is to be avoided like the plague, for "we did not follow cunningly devised fables" (2 Pet. 1, 16), and these are the very antithesis to the truth (2 Tim. 4, 4). Clearly the tales in question are not charming but dangerous. The degenerate myth is not an innocent accretion to a factual report but, *tout court*, a lie. It is

morally stained, and those who contrive its composition are deliberate deceivers. Consequently orthodox Christian circles repudiate the Myth. The Catholic Encyclopaedia merely catalogues (*ad loc.*) "see Paganism"; Barth, speaking for orthodox Protestantism, echoes this view with the denial that there is any Myth in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> The formidable array of critics who dismiss Myth as an undesirable product of the imagination is furthermore strengthened by Dialectical Materialism and Logical Positivism in our day. The scientific method and linguistic analysis combine to show the hollowness of these fantastic and incoherent elements of speech. Neither the historical nor the ritualistic nor the archetypal definitions can save these fancies from being unreal and meaningless.

Notwithstanding this low estimate of Myth, some of its most radical critics adopt a less sweeping attitude. Plato blazed the trail of those who fight and delete Myth and yet speak in new myths: he cannot but use the Socratic myths to teach ethics and true piety.<sup>18</sup> His paradoxical attitude recurs in all who de-mythologize in order to re-mythologize. The writers in the West either will not or cannot discard wholly the traditional images and themes of the ancient Myth. However broken down, its main features have not become obsolete. The Myth may be dead, yet . . . "soyez tranquille, le mythe se défendra".

Goethe gives us the best example. This enlightened pantheist hated obscurantism and dismissed the "apocalyptic absurdities", which were at his time still canons of orthodoxy, with ridicule. Nevertheless, he deployed every known *mythologoumenon* in his Faust. The Lord, Satan, Gabriel, and others mix freely with Greek and Eastern Powers, both on and above and under the earth. Is it not significant that the eternal Virgin Mother crowns the redemptive end?

The contemporary quarrel with Myth adopts the same double approach. Bultmann does not attack mere whims of fancy nor even "the power or powers which man supposes he experiences as the ground and limit of the world".<sup>19</sup> He does not wish to abolish but to interpret the *mythologoumena* which obscure revelation and impede decision.<sup>20</sup> His concern is with the interpretation of the Bible and man's faith. He notes that it is a normal procedure to reinterpret the unacceptable *mythologoumena* in terms of sacrament, secular thought, and aesthetic activity.

The ensuing theological debate and disturbance need not concern us here. The attempt to interpret and not to suppress these ancient elements of Myth fits in with the Western tradition; it also yields the inference that they are more than lying fables, empty nothings, discredited by science and culture. Behind this legacy of uncomfortable material lies a kernel that must be taken seriously.

(5) The definition of Myth as an epistemological fact falls right outside the scope of history, ritual, dream, and fancy. This approach is not concerned primarily with the contents of any Myth but with the mental disposition and activity behind myth-making and myth-sustaining traditions. Here is a "category of religious thought",<sup>22</sup> whose function it is to "translate the real into terms of the ideal, the punctual into terms of the durative and transcendental".<sup>23</sup> The "shapeless mass of incoherent ideas",<sup>24</sup> refractory to human logic, finds in this way transcendental representation. Far from dealing with a crude mass of superstitions or gross delusions, the Myth is a special mental phenomenon. It springs from the attitude which enquires into origins and transcends the empirical environment by claiming to unfold the inner meaning of the universe. It strives to attain "a demonstration of the inner meaning of the universe of the human life"<sup>25</sup> by unfolding a real world behind the unreal. For this purpose it uses the language of certain selected and pictorial words, which are more than mere metaphors. These terms are difficult to describe. Jaspers likes the somewhat elusive "Chiffer", probably in order to stress the relationship between human speech and the Transcendent. Myth, he insists, is "the language of that reality, which is not itself empirical reality but that reality with which we live existentially".<sup>26</sup> In other words, therefore, the language of Myth describes the world beyond and yet necessary to our existence. Scientific symbolism and philosophical analysis cannot grapple with it, though it constitutes the unchangeable ground of human existence. The transcendent data assume human dress without a special effort of contrived symbolism or syllogistic reflection. Instead the mind spontaneously perceives and communicates Myth in perfectly ordinary propositions.

The mythical thought-forms, according to this conceptual definition, are not a voluntary extra in the mind. There is a mental realm of reality which necessitates this and no other form or image. These pictures, images, representations, forms and reports speak of

“supernatural meaning”: a “translation into mere ideas causes the real significance of Myth to vanish”.<sup>27</sup> This claim to be an exclusive medium rules out the evaluation of Myth; whether mental images represent anything real or not hardly concerns epistemology as such. It is therefore beside the point to assess the veracity or fictitiousness of Myth, for a mental activity asks neither for approbation nor for condemnation. It is enough to note its existence. A myth is a true myth if it communicates non-empirical, transcendental, and existentially significant data to the mind in readily accessible, audible, or readable form.

This survey of five different approaches towards, and interpretations of, Myth has intentionally ignored nuances of definition and subtleties of mythology. As soon as these are also taken into consideration it will appear that a certain amount of overlapping occurs. The following table sums up what has so far been achieved by drawing a clear line between the five classes under which Myth may be classified.

The close relationship between history, ritual, religion, fancy and thought is necessarily reflected in the connection between ideology, myth, archetype, fable, and concept. A simple story may belong to all the five classes at once. Every story must be examined in its relevant setting before any attempt at classification can be made. It is the way in which the critic tackles the story which determines his classification.

As an example the Samson narrative in Judges (chs. 13-16) may illustrate this complexity. As an ideological weapon its purpose is immediately clear: “the Israelite hero defeats the Philistines; indeed his self-immolation brings the victory; let every Israelite endeavour to follow his example; above all, let the Gaza strip be cleared of enclaves of foreigners”. The ritual recital is now absorbed in practical propaganda. The martial aspect is more important than the religious feeling of awe. The fantastic elements of the fable do not disturb the main pursuit of the ideology’s pursuit of power. The mental activity is made subservient to the communal end. Thus the Samson story adds nothing to conceptual thought and nothing could be further from its tribal tradition than to bother its members with transcendent data.

Yet, the anthropologist probing into the background will not be content with this one-sided explanation. The parallels to solar myths are too obvious to go by unacknowledged. Samson is

Class:	History	Ritual	Religion	Fancy	Thought
PROPOSED TERM	Ideology	Myth	Archetype	Fable	Concept
DEFINITION	Design to preserve racial or tribal continuity and to promote social strength by providing the group with a satisfying tradition.	The words which accompany a ritual or solemn deed with seasonal regularity, past or present.	Unique and universal imagery which the Holy evokes.	Product of the imagination, apt to pass into nonsense and likely to stand in the way of truth by deceiving the credulous.	Epistemological phenomenon inherent in mental attitude which enquires into origins and transcends the empirical environment by claiming to unfold the meaning of the universe.
SUGGESTED BY	19th century anthropology and 20th century politics.	Discoveries of ancient myths.	Otto's work in comparative religions and Jung's clinical analysis of dreams.	Anti-mythical schools, Platonic, Christian, Marxist, Logical Positivists.	Philosophical Transcendentalists (Schelling, Cassirer, Jaspers).
SPECIAL FEATURE OF RECOGNITION	Propaganda	Recital	Awe, Mystery.	Fantastic, incoherent.	Mental activity.
EXAMPLE	The "Myth of Blood and Soil".	Enuma-Elis (Babylon).	The Virgin Mother.	The Apocalypse of Paul.	Transubstantiation.

another Heracles. His name recalls his connection with the sun (*shmsh*). He has seven locks, like Gilgamesh, for he is Lord of the seven stars. He has great labours to perform. In his humiliation, eyeless at Gaza, the light goes out. Looked at from this point of view the deep strata behind the story stress the origin of the material. Not propaganda but a cultic recital kept it alive on the occasion of a sun festival. This feeling of awe is accidental, the incoherence owes much to later interference, the mental activity

involved has nothing whatever to do with abstract concepts or transcendence. The Myth has become severed from the Ritual, but it remains a myth just the same.

The archetypal interpretation also has its stake in the Samson tradition. It is interesting to observe how the common images of the dream-world abound there: the angel's visit, the birth of a child, the appearance of a lion with a swarm of bees and honey inside, a vintage feast, violence, harlotry, etc. Samson (the *animus*) and Delilah (the *anima*) are locked in strife and love, while the Philistines represent the shadows which threaten the hero from within. The whole imagery demands interpretation; without this psychological illumination only a series of unconnected episodes confronts us. But once the whole timeless theme is heard then the religious consciousness is stirred. The climax of the tale, when the doomed hero vindicates himself in dying, draws upon a religious archetype which only religious feeling can create and appreciate. Even if the tragedy of Samson can favour the subsequent making of social-historical propaganda and may be used regularly at a cultic recital, it originated in the common archetypal tradition of mankind and cannot be understood apart from it.

Nevertheless a less solemn view may also be taken of the identical material. The story of Samson is nothing more than folklore, the product of a long line of story-tellers. The story is fantastic because it does not aim at truth; it is incoherent because so many imaginative tongues have had their share in it. Just as the modern man hears the tale without so much as considering the possibility that these things really happened, so the original circle listened to it as a good tale and no more. Since the story moves pleasantly it holds our interest and succeeds where ideology, archetype, and concept fail; for the fable, though despised like a cuckoo's egg in a nest of myths and disowned by all its occupants, excels all in entertainment value and consequently survives the hazards of time and criticism.

Against this cheap estimate the claims of the last class sound extravagant: how can the tale of Samson have anything to do with conceptual thought and transcendental experience? Does mental activity really need figures such as these, and what universal meaning can be derived from them? Unexpectedly, however, these questions do admit of a positive answer. The story of Samson has a story behind it, a proportion or level of significance. With-

out this symbolic element the story would be little better than a novelette. But Samson is every human being who engages in strife against a canvas of transcendental meaning. At the beginning the problem of intuitive knowledge is set forth in the guise of the angelic story. Intuition is a wonderful secret, a transcendental event (cf. Judges 13, 15 ff.). Then, in the Delilah episode, the problem of personal relationships is symbolically represented. The ambivalence of the emotions is something more than the expression of mere moods. Love and treachery, loyalty and revenge belong to the transcendental experience of male and female. Lastly, perhaps, the "two middle pillars upon which the house rested" symbolize the physical and spiritual supports of the State which outraged passion demolishes.

It may well be urged that the allegorizing of a story deprives it of its genius and goes irresponsibly beyond the legitimate limits of interpretation. But this mental activity is irrepressible, for the mind selects its material freely and responds to it symbolically. Thus the most cherished traditions are kept alive in contemporary terms. It is the active mind which leaves its decisive impact upon the material, and it is the material which elicits the transcendental response.

Many, if not most, stories, in the Old Testament, and not a few in the New, can be exposed to this five-pronged attack. The political approach fosters the discovery of an ideology; an antiquarian interest seizes upon the alleged liturgical myth; the psychologist finds and interprets the universal archetype; the sceptic pays homage to the entertainer's skill; the philosopher abstracts the idea.

The failure of the partisan approach, however, has become obvious: one exclusive theory of interpretation of myth is always wrong. The strands of history and cultus, of fable and archetype, of transcendental thinking, are now too intertwined ever to be unravelled again. There is no simple key to all mythologies. Yet the five fundamental aspects of Myth provide the detached judge with a useful order. If he is a theologian and uncommitted to any particular school he can apply it in the examination of his material. To return to the Samson tradition, the theologian will probably accept all the claims sketched above. Thereupon he will add the Biblical interpretation itself, which cherishes these traditions from a totally different point of view. The "revelation" of these stories

is precisely that there is "no revelation" in the heroic enterprises of a strong man. The verdict at the end of Judges—"In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes"—covers our illustration as well. The Biblical use of the mythical material confirms the validity of the five-fold order as such, but transcends the same altogether in harnessing it to the order of Revelation. But that is another story.

<sup>1</sup> E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lévy Bruhl, *Morceaux Choisis*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Malinowski on "Myth", *Enc. Brit.*, vol. 16, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *The Myth of Adonis*, *The Golden Bough*, Pt. IV, vol. I, pp.

<sup>3</sup> ff.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. VI, *Mythus und Religion*.

<sup>6</sup> Article on "Myth". *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, N.Y., 1949, p. 778.

<sup>7</sup> For Tillich's famous definition of *Göttergeschichte*, see *Religionsgeschichte der Gegenwart*, vol. iv, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> cf. *Myth and Ritual*, 1933, ed. S. Hooke.

<sup>9</sup> E. O. James, *Christian Myth and Ritual*, 1933, p. vii.

<sup>10</sup> Now easily accessible in translation, e.g. in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. Pritchard, Princeton, N.J.

<sup>11</sup> cf. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 1948; *Before Philosophy*, 1946, esp. pp. 239 ff. (Pelican ed.).

<sup>12</sup> cf. R. Otto, *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, 1932, esp. pp. 51 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. C. G. Jung and K. Kerényi, *Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, 1951; also, *Labyrinth Studien*, 1950, esp. p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. a telling criticism under this title by M. J. C. Hodgart in *The Twentieth Century*, Feb. 1955.

<sup>15</sup> Part of the definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>16</sup> Rep. 377-9.

<sup>17</sup> Kirchl. Dogm. I/1 pp. 345 ff.; II/1, pp. 129, 699, 720; III/1, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Phaedo* 61, *Phaedrus* 265 c, Rep. 588 c.

<sup>19</sup> *Kerygma and Myth*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> cf. esp. *Merkur*, 75, p. 1423. The long argument in *Merkur* proves that Bultmann does not favour a simple solution.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Expository Times*, Jan. 1953, Jan. 1954, May 1954 ff.

<sup>22</sup> cf. Th. Gaster, *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions*, Amsterdam, 1951, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Th. Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> For an excellent summary of the mythical faculty in man, see E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man*, 1944, ch. 7.

<sup>25</sup> A. W. Watts's definition in *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, 1953, p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> *Merkur* 69, p. 1012.

<sup>27</sup> K. Jaspers, "Briefe an Bultmann", *Merkur* 76, p. 511.

## JOHN EVELYN AND HIS DIARY

By CHARLES SMYTH

IT is somewhat difficult to remember that John Evelyn (1620-1706), whom most of us would naturally associate with the reign of Charles II, was in fact born during the reign of James I, and died in the reign of Queen Anne. The traditional view of his personality and achievements is succinctly stated in the article by Leslie Stephen in the Dictionary of National Biography, where he is characterized by the one word, "virtuoso" :

Evelyn is the typical instance of the accomplished and public-spirited country gentleman of the Restoration, a pious and devoted member of the Church of England, and a staunch loyalist in spite of his grave disapproval of the manners of the court. His domestic life was pure and his affections strong, and he devoted himself to work of public utility, although prudence or diffidence kept him aloof from the active political life which might have tested his character more severely. His books are for the most part occasional and of little permanent value. The "Sylva", upon which he bestowed his best work, was long a standard authority, and the "Diaries" have great historical value.

It was not, however, as a diarist, but as a virtuoso—a Fellow of the Royal Society, a recognized authority on numismatics, architecture, and landscape gardening, and the author of *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-trees and the propagation of Timber in H.M.'s Dominions* (1664), an informed and influential plea for the reafforestation of the country—that John Evelyn was known to his contemporaries. For it is again somewhat difficult to realise that his Diary, like that of his friend Samuel Pepys, remained unpublished until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Evelyn's Diary (or most of it), edited by William Bray, made its first public appearance in 1818; Pepys' Diary (or most of it), edited by Lord Braybrooke, made its first public appearance in 1825. The former, as Dr W. K. Fleming demonstrated in a classic article in the *Quarterly Review* (July 1925: "Some Truths about *John Ingle-sant*"), was one of the sources plagiarized by J. H. Shorthouse in his brilliant "Philosophical Romance" (1881): "so much of Rome is Evelyn's Rome, a sentence here, an adjective there; and the same may be said of Genoa, Siena and Florence, with occasional

assistance from Reresby" : nor is it altogether fanciful to discover a spiritual affinity between John Evelyn and John Inglesant. (They were both so exceedingly refined.) But the Edgbaston vitriol manufacturer's " verbatim ' liftings ', extending sometimes to paragraphs and pages," passed undetected by the literary pundits of the 1880's, Lord Acton not excepted, though Acton—the one dissentient voice amid the general chorus of adulation—was critical of Shorthouse's errors of detail in Italian history ; which was indeed to strain at a gnat while swallowing the camel. We are at liberty to infer that the acquaintance of our Victorian forefathers with Evelyn's Diary was superficial, or at least selective.

It is even possible that, of Evelyn's writings, the one that appealed most to the Victorians was not the Diary, but *The Life of Mrs Godolphin, Written at the Request of my Lady Sylvius, By a Friend*, which was first published in 1847. It was edited by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, who, in a dedicatory epistle to the Archbishop of York—the owner of the manuscript, and the great-great-grandson of the author,—congratulated His Grace on having "lived to see a British Court which in purity of morals and domestic virtue affords the most blessed contrast to those evil days through which Margaret Godolphin was enabled to live in the brightness of a godly purity, and to die in peace." (To snigger at this honest sentiment is very easy: but it is also unrealistic and irresponsible, and indicates a lack of historical imagination.) The publication of this biography, which has become a minor classic, could hardly have been more aptly timed. "We are most firmly persuaded", wrote a reviewer in the *Quarterly Review* (September 1847), "that never among the higher classes of our countrywomen was there more than there is now of the very spirit and temper that sanctified Margaret Godolphin . . . Nor is it unworthy of notice . . . that the piety and pious observance of the English ladies of the present time bear a far closer resemblance, even in minute features, to the Godolphin type, than could have been pointed out as *characterizing*, at least, any one generation between hers and ours." Evelyn's memoir ran to seven editions between 1847 and 1888, and has been the basis of many sketches of the life of Margaret Godolphin, among which the essay in Miss Margaret Cropper's *Flame Touches Flame* (1949) may be particularly recommended. The definitive edition of the *Life*, by Miss Harriet Sampson, was published by the Oxford University

Press in 1939. Reviewing this in the *Sunday Times* (28 Jan. 1940), Mr E. S. de Beer himself wrote of the "inviolable friendship" between John Evelyn and Mrs Godolphin that "on its more worldly side their relationship was rather like that of father and daughter in the twentieth century: the religious element in it gave it depth and permanence, so that it outlasted death itself; when Evelyn came to write the 'Life' of Mrs Godolphin he felt that she was still almost as near to him as she had been in life. His book, which was not intended to be published, is scarcely a masterpiece, and its somewhat baroque mixture of religion and sentiment is not to everyone's taste; but it is a noble and gracious record of a devout life and of a singularly happy relationship . . ." *A Devotionarie Book*, written by Evelyn for Margaret Godolphin, was edited by Bishop Frere and published in a limited edition in 1936: it comprises a treatise of Frequent Communion, a form of Mental (or what we should call Spiritual) Communion, and sundry Reflections or Considerations, interspersed with Acts of Private Prayer.

But even at the height of his posthumous reputation John Evelyn did not altogether escape the censorious scrutiny which is the fate of those whom the children of this world suspect of being righteous overmuch. It is true that Disraeli in *Lothair* (1870) makes Cardinal Grandison speak of him in the highest terms ("Mr Evelyn had a most accomplished mind; indeed, a character in every respect that approached perfection. He was also a most religious man"): but, as Mr David Piper has remarked in a recent broadcast (*Listener*, 5 Jan. 1956), "already by 1882 *The Times* found him self-satisfied, and in his character 'a considerable dash of what is vulgarly called a 'prig' . . .' Not, however, until 1920 — two years after the publication of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*—did Virginia Woolf, in an acute if superficial essay entitled "Rambling round Evelyn" (reprinted in *The Common Reader*, 1st series, 1925), salute the tercentenary of his birth, first by describing his Diary as "what we must consider the uninspired work of a good man", and then by proceeding to suggest, at least in outline, "our case against Evelyn":

... He was, we cannot help suspecting, something of a bore, a little censorious, a little patronising, a little too sure of his own merits, and a little obtuse to those of other people. Or what is the quality, or absence of quality, that checks our sympathies? Partly, perhaps, it is due to some inconsistency which it would be harsh to call by so strong a name as hypocrisy . . .

All this was purely exploratory: it was not so much an attack, as rather an armed reconnaissance. But the significant word was "hypocrisy".

Then in 1951, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, came Mr W. G. Hiscock's *John Evelyn and Mrs Godolphin*, a work of scholarship, "based, in part, on the hitherto unpublished material recently made accessible at Christ Church by the kindness of Mr John Evelyn." This devastating study presented the Inviolable Friendship ("Vn Dieu, Vn Amy") in an unexpected, questionable, and distinctly unattractive light. Broadening the scope of his assault, Mr Hiscock has now returned to the charge in *John Evelyn and his Family Circle* (1955), of which the real heroine is not Mrs Godolphin but Mrs Evelyn, whose existence we had almost overlooked. This is not altogether surprising, for she is hardly ever mentioned in her husband's Diary except incidentally.

Mr Hiscock has thus made it difficult for us to read *The Diary of John Evelyn*, "now first printed in full from the manuscripts belonging to Mr John Evelyn and edited by E. S. de Beer"<sup>1</sup>, "without a mental prejudice against the author. It is also apparent from the introductory essay, "Evelyn : Life and Character" (i. 1-43), written before the publication of Mr Hiscock's revelations, that the editor himself does not regard the Diarist with an unqualified respect.

But his edition of the Diary is a work of dispassionate, meticulous, and monumental scholarship, to which he has devoted more than twenty years, and which it is almost an impertinence to praise. To William Bray indeed (and to his friend William Upcott) remains the credit of having rescued the MSS. of Evelyn's *Kalendarium* from oblivion, and possibly from casual destruction (i. 53-56). Yet Bray's edition of the Diary leaves much to be desired: it is marred by deliberate omissions amounting to considerably more than a third of the original text, and also by innumerable deviations from the manuscripts, whether emendations of Evelyn's prose (intended to make the book easier to read) or unauthorized additions. The omissions were not unwarrantable: Bray found some passages too unintelligible, and others too crude, for inclusion; other passages, relating to the private affairs of the Evelyn family, he thought unsuitable for publication. By far the greater part of

<sup>1</sup> Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Cumberlege. 6 vols. £15.15.0.

the material omitted consists of notes of sermons to which Evelyn had listened, and notices of meetings of the Royal Society: Bray regarded the latter as redundant (since the authoritative minutes could be studied in Birch's *History of the Royal Society*), and the former as uninteresting to the general reader: he clearly underestimated their importance for the ecclesiastical historian. A sample of Bray's editing may be given.

23rd November [1679] . . . I dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, and then went to St Paul's to hear that great wit Dr Sprat, now newly succeeding Dr Outram, in the cure of St Margaret's. His talent was, a great memory, never making use of notes, a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily delivered.

Here is the same entry as given by Mr de Beer (iv. 188):

I din'd at the Bish: of *Rochesters*, & then went to heare that greate Wit Dr *Sprat*, now newly succeedng Dr *Outram* in the Cure of St *Margarits*, who preached an incomparable sermon on: 1. *Thess*: 4: 11: Exhorting to Unity, & not to be so buisy and curious in others affairs, as the world was now too much, to the Danger of the publique peace: Dr *Sprats* talent was, a greate *memorie*, never making use of notes, a readinesse of Expression, in a most pure and plain style, for words & full of matter, easily delivered.

(Bray may perhaps be pardoned for ignoring the highly topical character of this discourse, delivered at the time of the Meal-tub plot, as Mr de Beer reminds us in a footnote. But why did he interpolate the words "to St Paul's", without any authority from his manuscript?)

The objects of Mr de Beer's edition are summarized in his Preface: "to reproduce what Evelyn wrote as faithfully as type can follow manuscript, and to bring it by means of annotation into relationship with the knowledge of Evelyn's time and of our own." (There are in fact about 12,000 notes provided, not to mention an index of approximately 600 pages.) "There is no expurgation: I have, however, followed Evelyn's wishes in not printing a deleted passage, the only one which he clearly wanted his successors not to read" (i. v. 66). In addition, Mr de Beer gives us the text of the *De Vita Propria* (not used by Bray), a recension of the Diary, breaking off with Evelyn's arrival at Siena late in 1644. On the other hand, Bray printed (though not very accurately) a great number of letters, which are not included here, presumably because a new general edition of the correspondence is being prepared by Mr Francis Bowman (i. 130).

Mr de Beer has rendered the inestimable service of enabling us, for the first time, to read what Evelyn actually wrote, and his edition of the Diary is distinguished by exact scholarship and lavish erudition.

Yet a man's private journals are never a complete self-portrait. The candour of Pepys is as misleading as the reticence of Evelyn: the necessary correctives have been supplied respectively by Sir Arthur Bryant and by Mr Hiscock, who has presented a more substantial "case against Evelyn" than Virginia Woolf. But we must not lose our sense of proportion. If Evelyn had been a hypocrite, he would not have cultivated the friendship of Jeremy Taylor, nor would he have used Thomas Tenison as his confessor. If he had been a prig, Samuel Pepys would never have declared, "the more I know him, the more I love him".

The "case against Evelyn" rests upon Mr Hiscock's "interpretation of the psychological aspects of the friendship"; an interpretation which includes the hypothesis that in *The Life of Mrs Godolphin* John Evelyn deliberately falsified the facts.

Margaret Blagge was a Maid of Honour to the Queen, and betrothed to a rising young politician, Sidney Godolphin. She had a well-deserved reputation at Court for being exceedingly devout. On 16 October 1672, Evelyn made a pact of Inviolable Friendship with her. He was a man of fifty-two, she was a girl of twenty, and Godolphin was abroad. There is no reason to suspect that Evelyn was conscious of anything dishonourable or unwholesome in the friendship, for he did not attempt to conceal it from Mrs Evelyn at his home in Dartford.

To act as spiritual guide, philosopher, and friend to this young and charming creature, and to superintend her religious development, gave him a new outlet and a new interest. He composed Offices and Meditations for her use, and (as the Diary records, somewhat cryptically) they prayed together privately at frequent intervals. Despite what Evelyn says to the contrary, Mr Hiscock is convinced that, after two years of this, he came to the conclusion that she would do better to remain celibate. The evidence is circumstantial: yet it is significant that when Godolphin married her privately at the Temple Church on 16 May 1675, she did not dare to acquaint Evelyn with the fact, which he did not discover until the following April. The news came as a painful shock, for Margaret

had promised that, in the event of her marriage, her Friend should not only be a witness, but actually give her away. Evelyn in the *Life* admits to "a friendly Quarell" over her prevarication, but states that she was so penitent that he "could not but forgive her heartily"—a statement which Mr Hiscock takes leave to doubt. However, by August the friendship was resumed in its new context, and Evelyn addressed to Godolphin's bride a lengthy and intimate document entitled *Œconomics to a newly married friend*, while Mrs Evelyn contributed advice on domestic management.

On 23 September 1677 Evelyn prayed with Margaret for the last time. On 9 September 1678 she died from puerperal sepsis. Evelyn undertook the funeral arrangements (Godolphin was too overwhelmed with grief), and returned home, to be comforted by his wife. Having prudently retrieved his letters to Margaret from her bereaved husband, he settled down to write the story of their friendship, which he completed in 1684. In 1702 he sent a manuscript copy of it to Godolphin, who had recently been elevated to the office of Lord Treasurer, and whose patronage he coveted for his grandson: but no acknowledgement is extant. The *Life* was not published until 1847.

Whatever we may make of all this, it does not really affect the value or the importance of Evelyn's Diary, which remains "one of the major sources for English history in the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly in the spheres of religion and culture" (i. 107). In any case, even if we are to regard the Inviolable Friendship as a curious and equivocal and perhaps a somewhat distasteful episode in the life of a devout and honourable man, it does not follow that Mr Hiscocks's "interpretation of the psychological aspects is necessarily the last word upon the subject. "Evelyn knew nothing of psychology" (*John Evelyn and his Family Circle*, p. 98): is it not possible that Mr Hiscock knows too much? He is certainly inclined to overplay his hand, notably in regard to Evelyn's "confession" on his sixtieth birthday (*ibid.*, p. 118 *n.*; cf. p. 126), which is produced as though it were a trump card: but what does it amount to? ". . . He made a list of his sins (for the most part in contracted Latin difficult to decipher), spanning the years from schoolboy quarrels to recent filial (*sic*) anger", concluding with ". . . excessive affection for Margaret Blagge, and many undecipherable failings; including—we must believe—the false-

hood that he advised her to marry. Her initials P.B. (Pearl Blagge) occur several times . . ." This is all very hypothetical and tendentious, and it is surprising that so competent a professional historian as Mr Trevor-Roper (*Sunday Times*, 8 Jan. 1956) should be so easily convinced by it.

Mr de Beer, who regards the *Life of Mrs Godolphin* as one of Evelyn's best writings, places a more charitable construction on the friendship: "While he was not conscious of any needs on his side, there was a place to be created and held in his affections by the right person; his own daughters were too young to provide the companionship which a father of fifty years of age very often obtains from a daughter just approaching womanhood" (i. 25). It seems probable that the truth lies somewhere between Evelyn's version of the episode and Mr Hiscock's, which, among other things, fails to take account of the important section on the 17th-century "Cult of Friendship" in Miss Sampson's introduction to her edition of the *Life* (pp. xxv-xxxiii). Some weight should also be attached to Mrs Evelyn's testimony in her will, which can hardly have been inserted simply for purposes of face-saving:

His care of my Education was such as might become a Father a Lover a Friend and Husband for Instruction Tenderness Affection and Fidelity to the last moment of his Life, which Obligation I mention with due Gratitude to his Memory ever dear to me.

The thing that worries Mr de Beer is Evelyn's failure to join the King's army in the Civil War. "Evelyn lacked the enthusiasm, the romantic devotion to men or causes, which compels men to hazard their lives and fortunes" (i. 40). That may be so: but it would be dangerous to build too much upon it.<sup>2</sup> Mr de Beer himself allows that "had martyrdom been thrust upon him, he would have accepted it cheerfully"; and even Mr Hiscock, when describing Evelyn's devotion to duty at the time of the Plague, pays an ungrudging tribute to his courage (op. cit., p. 56): "Some years previously, on Christmas Day 1657, in Exeter House Chapel, Evelyn had shown that he could be physically brave when he persisted in receiving the Holy Communion with the muskets of Commonwealth troops pressed against his body. Now he was morally brave, sustained by a belief that God would protect him."

It is unlikely that we shall ever know John Evelyn as intimately as we know his friend Samuel Pepys. The one thing that we know about him beyond any possibility of contradiction is that he was

one of those "sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious Sons of the Church of *England*" to whom the Preface of the 1662 Prayer Book was addressed. He would be gratified to know that his Diary, as given to us for the first time in its entirety by Mr E. S. de Beer, presents a unique and inexhaustible quarry of material for the contemporary history of the Church he loved.

<sup>2</sup> There were many other conscientious men on either side who did not consider it their duty to enlist. For example, John Milton as young man had actually taken up fencing: "I was strong and capable enough in my Youth to handle my Weapon and to exercise daily fencing so that wearing a Sword by my side, as I usually did, I thought myself a match for those that were much stronger." Yet when the Civil War broke out, he reserved himself for duties of a more elevated (and more congenial) character than military service: "For since from my youth I had been devoted in the highest degree to the humarer studie (*humanioribus studiis maxime deditus*), and was always stronger in mind than in body, and since I esteemed less highly the service of the camp, in which any common man of greater physical strength could easily have surpassed me (*qua me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superasset*), I betook myself to those things in which I could be more effective (*ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui*); that, if I were wise, I might contribute my utmost, not from the lower part of my nature but from the higher and and more excellent, to the affairs of my country, and to this transcendent cause. And so I thought thus, that if it was the will of God that these men should perform such gallant exploits, it must likewise be His will that, when performed, there should be others to narrate them with dignity and ornament, and that the truth, having been defended by arms, should be defended also by reason (the only defence which is truly and properly human). . . ." (*Defensio Secunda*, 1654: Columbia Univ. Press edtn. of the *Works of John Milton*, vol. viii, 1943, p. 10). — John Evelyn may not have been a combatant, but at least he was not an intellectual prig.

# THE DEATH OF KIERKEGAARD

By T. H. CROXALL

KIERKEGAARD died at the age of 42, on 11th November 1855, in Frederick's Hospital in his native city of Copenhagen. The following article sets out to deal with this event and its implications, but as his death occurred in the midst of his pamphleteering attack on the Danish Church, I must needs linger a little on that attack first.

He had long felt dissatisfied with the emasculated form of Christianity he felt the Danish Church was presenting. He shrank too from the general shoddiness, as it seemed to him, of contemporary society. Faust-like, he doubted the validity of it all. Yet he loved people and earthly existence, and would fain have "realized the Universal", as his phrase goes, by marrying and becoming a law-abiding, respectable citizen. Had not the great Hegel recently been teaching that the State was the guardian and arbiter of morality? Kierkegaard was a *persona gratissima* among the intelligentsia, where he was the soul of wit and gaiety. Moreover, as his niece Henriette Lund puts it in her *Memoirs*, "the streets of Copenhagen were a large reception room, where he wandered early and late and talked with whomsoever he would". Kierkegaard ranks among the world's deepest psychologists, and the streets were in no small measure his school and training ground. A famous actress, Julie Sodring tells us how her father loved to walk abroad with Soren Kierkegaard and share his psychological experiments as, e.g. one day when they gave a beggar not a copper but a bank-note, to watch the reactions. It is the greatest injustice to speak of Kierkegaard as "the melancholy Dane", idly repeating the title of a book by Martin. Kierkegaard constantly calls himself *tungsindig*, which gets translated "melancholy". To be *tungsindig* is characteristic of the Jutland stock from which he came. It implies constant introspection and rumination rather than mere gloom. I argued all this out in the *Times Literary Supplement* a year or so ago. No, Kierkegaard was a gay companion to all, and moreover took their troubles in his heart too. He could not attack the Society he loved, nor the Church he so faithfully attended till the last year of his life. But he did use (though with a kindlier motive, he hints, than

a Voltaire or Aristophanes) the Socratic method of irony, to "draw attention" and inculcate reform.

Hans Brochner, for twenty years a friend of Kierkegaard, together with the above mentioned Henriette Lund, are our best primary sources for our personal knowledge of Kierkegaard. Brochner, replying to a friend in Kiel who wrote to ask his opinion of Kierkegaard, writes as follows (and what Brochner says has perhaps the more value because he was not an orthodox Christian as Kierkegaard was. I might add in parenthesis that Brochner wrote in the *Fatherland*, just after Kierkegaard's death, an assessment of Kierkegaard's authorship, which is about as good a short assessment as I have ever seen). Here are extracts from his letter to Kiel:

I shall indeed miss him. But when I think how completely he fulfilled his life's mission, how rich and copious that life was in its short duration, and how much of him is left behind, I cannot think of his death with any feeling of depression. On the contrary, his death seems to me beautiful and felicitous . . . Of his life there is little to say, if one keeps to external circumstances. He was born on 5 May 1813, entered the University in 1830, took his degree in 1840, became Magister Artium [=Doctor to-day] in 1841, and died in 1855. That is about all the biographical material that can be adduced. So much the richer his inner life. The predominant influence in his childhood was a strictly orthodox religion . . . . Living with his father and elder brother developed in him that sharp dialectic which in his youth ran away with him, so to say, and in later years became the instrument of his religious development. When he began to study independently, it was German philosophy and poetry that specially influenced him. Hegelian philosophy occupied him for a long time; even, it would seem, overwhelmed him. But his respect for the ethical demands of existence taught him to see the fallacy of Hegelian philosophy. He was also influenced by Lessing, Hamann, Jacobi, and Kant, and later by the study of the Greeks, especially Socrates, whom he revered as a genius and as the human ideal. The poets and philosophers of the German Romantic School occupied him. Schlegel's *Lucinde* interested him not a little, but the strains from it in his writings are mere echoes. He struck a deeper note. He followed the course of Danish poetry with a most lively interest, and a piety which often led to over-evaluation . . . He always held aloof from practical politics, though as a young man he was interested in political theory not a little, and was opposed to the new Liberalism . . . He was a conservative; and the whole trend of his life led him to dislike attempts to change the outward order.

He persistently blamed the Danish Primate, Bishop Mynster,

for example, after the Parliamentary Constitution was set up, for submitting Church matters, which are ultimately spiritual, to be decided by popular majority-votes. Would we too could see the ridiculousness of it! As late as 1851 when a certain Dr Rudelbach advocated civil marriage, and praised Kierkegaard because he thought he would approve this outer change in separating Church from State, Kierkegaard wrote in the *Fatherland* (31 January 1851), "I have with diligence, and not a few sufferings, tried to bring Christianity home to the heart . . . but I have taken conscientious pains that not a passage, not a full-stop, not a line, not a word, not a syllable, should suggest that a change in the outer can help us".

But back to Brochner.

While still young, Kierkegaard boldly and polemically, with the sharp weapons of dialectic and irony, fought against what was prosiac and maudlin. Later, he worked with a high standard before his eyes, "in the service of the Divine"; and that with an energy of will which would not be cowed by his weakness of body, and which compressed into a few short years that which would ordinarily be contained in a long and rich life. His life was characterized by an artistry wherein everything was given over to the service of the Idea. And I know that even in his earnest conflict with the Church he maintained a loving sympathy with others, maintained his equanimity and clarity of thought, maintained through faith, a peacefulness and repose which did not desert him, even in the terrible sufferings of his deathbed . . . . You ask for the main points to which his last conflict was directed. They can really be summed up in one. He was set against the amalgamation of worldliness and Christianity. For him Christianity is heterogeneous to the world, absurd to the intellect, and only to be appropriated by the passion of faith. It demands that we die to the world; its hall-mark is suffering; its constant attendant is the possibility of causing offence. His polemic was against every presentation which rested securely in an unspiritual amalgamation of Christianity and worldliness; against every presentation of Christianity as something we are born into without ado by birth or ceremonies; against treating falsely a religion whose aim ought to be to transform life, by making it merely an object of thought or of poetical presentation.

That is high and valuable testimony from one who would not adopt Kierkegaard's orthodox Christian standpoint.

In 1846 a comic paper called the *Corsair* began a protracted attack on Kierkegaard. It caricatured him in comic pictures; and these get repeated in books and articles with sickening frequency. Yet in the very midst of all the bitter attack, he wrote the *Discourses*

*in Different Spirits, Works of Love, and the Christian Discourses.* While he was insulted, he strove to bless. He has refused to have his likeness portrayed, though a letter to his brother Peter in 1875 from a half-cousin, N. Christian Kierkegaard, tells us that he had once started two sketches, and Kierkegaard had cheated him by not appearing after two sittings. The portraits were completed later, however, and I personally (because I possess a copy of one of the photographs in question) can endorse Henriette Lund's description of her uncle's appearance, as against these sickening caricatures. "In the pencil sketch I have of him", she says, "his nose has a slight but refined aristocratic curve, reminding us of Bulwer Lytton when he was young; only Uncle Soren's nose, though curved, was more bold and fleshy . . . His mouth I admit was large; but what a complete gamut of moods found expression in its curves, and lines, from gentle sorrow and tenderness to bold defiance or subtle irony. And then the eyes, they did not deteriorate with the years. Rather their soulful expression acquired such a heightened lustre, that they shone like stars when I saw him for the last time in hospital".

Two years after the *Corsair's* attacks began, Kierkegaard had a religious experience (it is dated 19 April 1848) which he describes thus: "My whole being is changed. My reserve and self-isolation are broken. I must speak. Lord, give me thy grace". His *Papers* show pages and pages of preparation for an attack on the Church—"loading the gun" as he called it. It was too late, now, for soft sympathy, except in private, and for individuals as such. He is a determined man who "wills one thing", and that is to speak out. As far back as his book *Training in Christianity* (ready 1848, published 1850) his weapons were sharpened and ready. He felt urged forward by *Divine Styrelse* or Governance. He attacked the clergy at large, though chiefly Bishop Mynster their Primate. An either/or had been put to the Individual in Kierkegaard's first work. An either/or is put to the Church in his last. The former insists on the subjectivity of truth. The latter on submission to the full objective truth of Christianity. Kierkegaard is no mere subjectivist. He stands firm, as Geismar rightly says (and Geismar is still the best of all Kierkegaard interpreters), by orthodox Chalcedonian theology.

Bishop Mynster died on 30 January 1854, and was buried on Tuesday, 7 February. Kierkegaard had asked and hoped that

Mynster would declare the Christianity preached by him and the Danish Church to be an "accommodation". What good it would have done in the eyes of Kierkegaard, who always insists on action, not words, it is difficult to see; except that it might have mitigated his criticisms. But Kierkegaard had great respect for authority, ecclesiastical and civil. In his *Book about Adler* (1846-7) he even eulogizes the Bishop at length; (but sarcastically) and moreover Mynster had been his father's confessor. So he respectfully delayed his attack till Mynster died. On the Sunday before Mynster's funeral Professor Martensen, delivering a funeral oration, acclaimed Mynster as "a genuine witness for truth" in line with that "sacred chain of witnesses to the truth, which stretched down the ages from the Apostles." And the next day this oration was printed and published. This was like putting a match to tinder. Kierkegaard had often used the phrase "witness for truth" to indicate a blood-witness or martyr. He felt that Martensen was purposely using the word in a different sense; and, to make matters worse, using it about Mynster to boot. Immediately he wrote a scathing denunciation of Martensen dated February 1854, but gentleman-like, he did not publish it until (a) a subscription list for a memorial to Mynster had been closed, (b) Mynster's successor had been appointed. Martensen was a candidate for the bishopric, and Kierkegaard would do nothing to spoil his chance. The other candidate was H. N. Clausen. Martensen was under a cloud because of his pro-German sympathies in the Schleswig question. He had been born in Flensburg (now German) and speaks with enthusiasm in his *Memoirs* of German culture. The King preferred Clausen, but the Cultus Minister forced Martensen's nomination through. (The Cultus Minister is now the Kirke Minister. Let me here say that the Danish Church was, and still is, a kind of Department of State, having its minister with portfolio in the Government. The Church is maintained, and the clergy paid, by a tax which is levied through this Ministry). That the Cultus Minister could override the King is due to the fact that in 1848 Fredrick VII had already renounced absolute monarchy and given the country a Constitution. It is interesting to read the scathing newspaper comments of the pro-Clausen party. One of these sarcastically remarks that Martensen will no doubt be glad to cease being a Professor, in view of the strictures by Kierkegaard which show professors up so badly.

After Martensen was consecrated Bishop, Kierkegaard published the aforementioned attacking article. It appeared on 18 December 1854, but bore the original February date to show it had been ready some months. The article aroused consternation. *Dare* anybody attack a State servant and State institution like this?

Kierkegaard had expected an outburst. Henriette Lund tells us that one of her aunts, sister-in-law to Kierkegaard, had recently refused to sit at table with Kierkegaard when he—purposely, to test the effect—spoke against Mynster in her house. He expected legal punishment; perhaps to be put to death; perhaps lynched by an angry mob. But this might help his cause, for Christianity needs from time to time “a little pinch of spice”, viz. a martyr’s death.

But nothing happened, so Kierkegaard continued with twenty articles in the newspaper *Fatherland*. Then we read in his *Papers* (XI<sup>2</sup>.A.413): “I realized I could not use this journal indefinitely. So I chose to begin some broadsheets of my own”. The first came out in May 1855, entitled *The Midnight Cry*—a title which looks to the parable of the Ten Virgins. “This must be said, so let it be said. Whoever you are, and whatever your position, by ceasing to take part (if in fact you do take part) in Divine worship as it now is, you have one guilt the less, and that a great one, that you do not take part in treating God like a fool, and in calling that the Christianity of the New Testament which in fact is not the Christianity of the New Testament”. After this broadsheet he published a series of tracts of his own entitled *The Instant*. This title looks to his own doctrine of the Instant, i.e. the meeting place of Eternity with Time. And this looks in turn to Plato’s doctrine of “the sudden”  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \varepsilon\xi\alpha\iota\varphi\eta\varsigma$  (*Parmenides* 156) where Plato is discussing the transition from rest to motion and *vice versa*. (The argument applies equally, says Plato, to the transition from unity to plurality and *vice versa*, likeness to unlikeness and *vice versa*.) “Change from a state of rest”, says Plato, “does not take place while the thing is still, nor from movement while the thing is in motion; but between motion and rest lies ‘the sudden,’ that curious entity which is never found in time”. It is, we might say, *ubique et nusquam*.

Kierkegaard is smart enough to observe that Saint Paul, speaking of the transition from Time to Eternity, also refers to “a moment, a twinkling of an eye” as coming at the “crack o’ doom”;

though St. Paul's word is not *ἐξαιρενῆς* but *ἐν ἀτόμῳ*. A doom, thinks Kierkegaard, is bound to fall on the Church if eternity is to come to its own in its temporal set-up; and this doom Kierkegaard pronounces in nine numbers of the *Instant*, each with twenty-four pages covering seven or eight articles by himself. Popular and polished, and containing surely some of the world's most original and telling satirical imagery, the tracts have at bottom but one thesis, as Brochner says (Kierkegaard compares Luther's ninety-five), viz.: "In Christendom, especially in Protestantism, and especially in Denmark, Christianity exerts no more". The *castigatio verborum* is as relentless as it is brilliant. The State Church's bishops and priests (and Kierkegaard courteously mentions no priests by name) are criminal in accommodating Christianity and fooling God, in order to get a safe living and maintain safe Government jobs.

We naturally ask how far Kierkegaard is justified. Many of the clergy were probably innocent enough, and did not quite understand the attack. Was the respected Prelate Bishop Mynster *nydelsessyg* i.e. "voluptuous" (and the Danish word is a strong one), as Kierkegaard said? If he was, he would not be the Church's only voluptuous prelate.

Let us try to get a right perspective. Though he attacked a Church, Kierkegaard had tried to understand *the* Church as such. His *Papers* show he had found joy in the religious depths of Tersteign, Hugo St Victor, Arndt, Origen, Irenaeus, Fenelon, Tertullian, Savonarola, and Chrysostom attracted him by their demand for action, not mere talk. And Pascal the ascetic had said what Kierkegaard always maintained, that to know God speculatively, is not to know him at all. He knew too (and criticizes) Grundtvig's Church theory. On the other hand, he studied the anti-christian Feuerbach "who knew all about Christianity and rejected it". And, though he censured Feuerbach, he found sympathy with his condemnation of "worldly" Christianity. Kierkegaard also wrestled with the Wolfenbüttler Fragments, and deepened his interest in Schopenhauer, whose pessimism (though Kierkegaard hits hard at it sometimes) influenced him banefully at length. About this time too he read Seneca's letters with enthusiasm, gladly recognizing the ideality which exists outside Christianity, but thinking it ultimately an illusion.

In his attack, therefore, Kierkegaard is not beating the drum of an ignoramus. He knows what the concept "Church" means, and attacks not *the* Church as such, but *a* Church. Until now he had denied that outer reforms were any good. Now, in 1855, he did call for a modifying of the State connection. But note that his whole authorship had inculcated a change of heart first. He took care to begin from within, and I submit that this is the right order.

Mynster tells us in his *Memoirs* that he himself had taken up the ministry merely as a "living". But later he experienced a conversion which made him a surrendered Christian. Yet it is difficult to avoid the impression that as a Bishop he became an autocrat, fond of worldly state, and "accommodating" towards State and Society. H. N. Clausen, for example, writes in his *Notes on the History of my Life and Times*, "There rested a pompousness of quite its own type over all his being, which in all circumstances would have held me at a distance; and a distant superiority, which I doubt whether you will find in anybody except priestly personages in high positions. I have sometimes met among Cardinals in Rome, a similar unity of fine polished social elegance, and parsonic unctuousness, which produces a special, but far from attractive effect". And one of Mynster's successors in the bishopric, Skat Rordam, gives us a sharp condemnation of his worldliness [Geismar VI 15]. His biographers Neils Munk Plum and H. Schwanenflugel hint at his consciousness of being a good preacher in people's eyes—perhaps not a very great crime!

I have read a book by a pietist ordinand named William Beck, who says the clergy round his village were very worldly, and that in 1855 Kierkegaard's strictures almost turned him from ordination. And a young man named Niels Ludberg wrote to Kierkegaard's brother Peter, "Soren Kierkegaard has made many of us young people doubtful; and it seemed to me dangerous to seek ordination without any particular urge. I might be tempted, when wanting to marry and become a father, to seek not God's Kingdom and His righteousness, but a living". Were there space, I could quote articles from many a contemporary magazine showing the heart-searching Kierkegaard caused. Geismar suggests that even in his day, and he died after 1938, the shortage of ordination candidates might be due to Kierkegaard. One man, Kofoed-Hansen, was about to give up his orders through Kierkegaard. But he read Tertullian instead,

and became a Roman Catholic. There was an article in the *Fatherland* of December 20, 1855, signed . . . r, (which is usually taken to be Brochner) calling upon the clergy to resign their posts. As a non-Christian Brochner saw the tension between Christianity and the humanities, and he followed Kierkegaard in pushing his demands to their logical extremes. We read too, in P. P. Jorgensen's life of the said Kofoed-Hansen, that a certain high placed M.P. named Peter Christian Zahle, who was much influenced by Kierkegaard, also pressed resignation upon the clergy. A certain Provost Block wrote an article to the effect that Kierkegaard had put himself outside the Church and therefore must expect the doors to be closed against him. "What a cruel punishment", sarcastically replied Kierkegaard in the *Fatherland* of April 27, 1855. "But it means nothing, because I am already outside." A Norwegian priest named Lammer in Skien, started a sect of his own, and helped Ibsen to fashion his Brand, who is supposed to be like Kierkegaard. (I must say he is not, though. For he talks about "all or nothing" instead of "either/or.")

The problems I am touching on are perennial, and Kierkegaard's attack, though I admit it is overdriven, and in some things false (as for example in his depreciation of marriage and begetting children), yet it is not all nonsense; and it gives us all, and especially us parsons, furiously to think.

Mynster, being dead, could not reply to Kierkegaard. But Martensen could and did. I have quoted his reply *in extenso* in my *Kierkegaard Commentary*<sup>1</sup> because I think it only fair that he shall be heard. It hits hard, and I do not shrink from facing it. I agree with Martensen that Kierkegaard was wrong to invite people to leave the Church and give them nowhere to go. His great idea, however, was not to start a schism or a sect. Apparently, according to the *Holbaek Avis*, November 21, 1855, some people did contemplate a sect, and even engaged a prayer-room for worship. But it came to nothing. As for the phrase "witness to truth", it may seem silly that Kierkegaard was up in arms about a different connotation from his own. But we must remember how carefully Kierkegaard chose his words, and how he longed and suffered for an ideality to which the Church seemed blind. He had written a large and brilliant literature, of which Martenson admits he had only read a part; and both he and Mynster tried to pass it over

in haughty silence. Did they know in their hearts that Kierkegaard was right, and that they were "accommodators"? It may seem extraordinary that Kierkegaard should have expected martyrdom; yet in how many countries to-day are not people martyred for opposing State institutions? Some people, with Martensen, will disagree with Kierkegaard that suffering is the best criterion of a true Christian. I can only say that life's bitter experiences have brought me wholly round to Kierkegaard's view. Was Kierkegaard, as Martensen says, heartless as Mephistopheles? Perhaps, in this attack; though even love must be severe sometimes, must it not? But recall Brochner's words about Kierkegaard's continuing sympathy. This is substantiated by Kierkegaard's *Papers*, where we find many an appreciative and kindly word during the attack. Above all, read the Discourse on *God's Unchangeableness* (the last he ever wrote), in which the old tender and loving Kierkegaard appears, right in the midst of the attack. Martensen's own solitary article in reply to Kierkegaard is very bitter. The question whether the clergy, who follow a celibate and rejected Master, ought themselves to be married and live in comfortable though hardly affluent homes (which they must provide for their children anyhow), is one which Kierkegaard forces us to face up to; though Kierkegaard is wrong in quoting texts to prove that Christianity inculcates celibacy, and not the texts where Christianity obviously approves of marriage. Towards the end of his life Kierkegaard was unduly influenced, I think, by the Buddhist-like tendencies of Schopenhauer. But if we are to consider Christianity as in any degree world-embracing, rather than, Buddhist-like, world renouncing, we must do it with a caution to which Kierkegaard invites us. Martensen complains that, in seeing the dangers of Hegelian Idealism (which Martensen equates with the Realism of the Middle Ages), Kierkegaard never reconciled it with Empiricism (which Martensen equates with the Nominalism of the Middle Ages). Certainly Kierkegaard is a dualist and a transcendentalist who stood opposed to Hegelian immanence. But he accepts Jesus Christ and finds the reconciliation in him. Martensen quotes somebody unnamed as saying that Kierkegaard was "a noble instrument with a crack in his soundboard"; and Sibbern, a contemporary philosopher of no mean stature, called him a Philistine. In the *Attack* you may sometimes be tempted to think these things, but not in his vast previous authorship. I could wish with

Martensen that Kierkegaard had developed the corporate and catholic side of Christianity more. But he never contravenes it, and had I space I could quote two long untranslated passages in which Kierkegaard shows how accurately he balances the two. Martensen puts the Church before the Individual. Kierkegaard does the opposite. I personally am sure Kierkegaard's is the right order of emphasis. Martensen says that Kierkegaard's doctrines of the Individual, and the Stages in life's way are not new. But nothing, I suppose, is new in philosophy or Christianity. Yet the doctrines receive new impulse from Kierkegaard. How widely the world has seen this ! Martensen said "nothing much has resulted from Kierkegaard's writings". But to-day half the world knows Kierkegaard, including Japan, where one man at least has become Christian through Kierkegaard. And Kierkegaard is rightly hailed as the father of modern existential philosophy of the Christian type, which has influenced so many brilliant Christian writers.

It is now a century since Kierkegaard died. Our age has new emphases, but there is hardly a psychological, religious, or philosophical problem we have to face, which Kierkegaard does not deal with somewhere. That is why he is so worth the pains of study. We to-day have reached a stage which Kierkegaard saw coming, when democracy pays lip service to the individual, but paradoxically enough submerges him in the group, the *-ism*, the party. Already Kierkegaard deplored the tyranny of the press. What would he say now to radio and television, which may even be more baneful; or if he saw the drab smoke-ridden ramparts of industrialism, the flag-flying race for armaments, the cold-war propaganda, the deadening hand of mechanization, all of which catches people up in their swirl, so that the individual gets lost in the crowds ? Kierkegaard set up his Individual chiefly against the cold intellectualism of his day. Are we not still suffering from the effects of neo-Hegelianism? Never was Kierkegaard's cry "choose yourself" more needed than to-day. Crowds and majorities, as he said, are not the criterion of Truth. *Vox populi* is not *vox Dei*; for fallible human judgement, multiplied quantitatively, can never take on the infallible quality of Divinity.

It is sometimes said that Kierkegaard's emphasis on the Individual is impossible for a shrunken world which is more and more interdependent. We must unite or perish, men say. But unite

what for? Many unities which oppress us to-day are the very massifications which Kierkegaard dubs "the lie". And where is truth but subjectivity? Who can appropriate truth *for me* but myself? Kierkegaard, I repeat, is not a subjectivist in the sense of having no objective criterion or standard. His standard is Christianity. His individual is not "the measure of all things" as Pythagoras said. He does not proudly claim self-sufficiency, like Max Stirner's *Einzel*, Aristotle's *μναστηψ, υχος* or like the Pharisees. Kierkegaard's Individual is to live humbly before God, like the publican in the parable. How can you convert these crowds into intelligent and noble communities except *via* the Individual in Kierkegaard's sense? If we took Kierkegaard seriously, and asked ourselves some of the exacting questions he puts to us, then we might be better equipped to face the invading and expanding tides of materialism and despair.

Kierkegaard lay about a month in hospital. Few people visited him, but all agree that his brain was perfectly clear to the end. Some letters which certain visitors wrote to his brother Peter are preserved. Kierkegaard's nephew, the young and affectionate Henrik Lund, happened to be a house-surgeon in the hospital. The matron was Froken Fibiger, a woman, says Geismar (I think he is quoting from her brother's *Memoirs*), who had gone through deep sorrow and dedicated her life to self-sacrificing works of love. She always, so the letters I have mentioned tell us, kept fresh flowers beside the sick man's bed, and I for one say, "Thank you, Froken Fibiger". There were small skirmishes with the doctors. "You want to treat my sickness physically," Kierkegaard told them, "but it is psychical." He refused, on religious grounds, the bottle of Bavarian beer they prescribed for him daily. This is in the medical report. (I do not understand Kierkegaard here, for he was certainly no teetotaller.) The medical report (I read it long ago, and it is recently re-published) is a vacuous document. The doctors clearly did not know what was the matter with him and dosed him with camomile tea. I wonder if it was a long-standing internal ulcer? It felled him to the floor twice.

Three visitors stand out in importance. First Henrietta Lund, who writes in her *Memoirs*, "I got the impression of victory mingled with sadness, the moment I entered the room, and was met by the gleam of light that as it were radiated from his face. Never thus have I seen the spirit break through its earthly frame, and lend it

a radiance like the glorified body of the Resurrection Day. Once on a later visit I got a different impression, and the painfulness of the illness was more to the fore. But that first visit and his loving farewell, I can never forget."

Troels-Lund, a half brother of Henriette, then a boy of 15, later a historian, also visited Soren Kierkegaard. He got the same impression as Henriette, and even tried (though unsuccessfully) to explain it away as being too emotional; a fact which only strengthens his testimony. He was with one of his uncles when he visited the hospital, who rather brusquely told Soren Kierkegaard to get up and walk. The sick man looked at Troels, and "his glance radiated through its sadness a very gentle gleam of forbearance, coupled with a disarming sense of fun. And yet there was something in his glance which uplifted and purified. His eyes shone with a soulfulness that made an indelible impression".

A third visitor was a Pastor Boesen, a true friend of Soren Kierkegaard's from boyhood, and then a priest at Horsens in Jutland. He came up to Copenhagen specially to see him. At the request of Hr. Gottesched, collaborator and successor to Pastor Barfod in producing the first edition of Kierkegaard's *Papers*, Boesen has left an account of his visits Baesen and Soren Kierkegaard had become acquainted when their respective fathers took their families for a time from the cold, rationalistic State Church to worship with the Moravian Brothers. It is just the Wesleyan situation repeated on the Continent. Incidentally, the room these Brothers worshipped in was also used by the then Anglican Community before their present Church was built. The Anglicans, we read, had their own pulpit and harmonium (why do harmoniums cling like barnacles to Christianity?). The conversations between Boesen and the sick man are too long to quote, but Boesen was acting as Pastor and ascertained that Kierkegaard was fully at peace, and sure of himself and the guidance of God. Would he like Holy Communion ? asked Boesen. "Yes," was the reply, "but not from a priest. Priests are royal servants, and royal servants have nothing to do with Christianity. I would take it from a layman." "That is difficult," said Boesen. "Then I'll die without the Sacrament." "Surely that is not right," said Boesen. "I can't agree", was the reply. "I have made my choice." So, unlike Pascal, who relented at last and took the Sacrament, Kierkegaard died without it.

The body was taken to the Cathedral Church of Our Lady. The Church was packed, and a commotion was expected. Had the Church any right to do the last honours for a man who had attacked and even repudiated it? His niece Henriette Lund was in the gallery. Here is her description of the scene:

I looked over the nave where a tightly packed mass of people tossed like a heaving sea, while a ring of quite sinister-looking figures settled itself round the flower-decked coffin. Then the Church doors opened, and to my joy a close band of an entirely different appearance pressed in. This band wanted . . . to stand as guard of honour round the coffin. Could they get near enough? With entire sympathy I saw in the forefront a powerful figure who dauntlessly made his way through. The others followed quite undaunted, until they had formed a ring, which like a strong wall, replaced the other ring.

Of priests in vestments, I saw only, besides Uncle Peter Kierkegaard, old Dean Tryde. Had I been in normal spirits I should certainly have smiled. For he was obviously ill at ease, and pushed his skull cap backward and forwards on his head with feverish haste. But now Uncle Peter stood up, and the skull cap was allowed to remain in peace. The people became still as mice. Uncle first spoke of the old home, of which he was now the only survivor. Then he spoke of the deceased, and tried to sketch his importance for the Church.

We do not know accurately what Peter said. Twenty-six years later he confessed he had had no notes "except some headings on a visiting card". Aided by a newspaper report — which must I think have been the *People's Friend* of December 7, 1855, or possibly the *Holbaek Avis* of November 23, 1855 — Peter tried, after so many years, to reconstruct his speech. It tallies with what Henriette says. He staved off any explosion.

Dean Tryde conducted the committal at the cemetery — apparently rather cursorily. The *People's Friend*, quoting an eye-witness, says that after the earth-casting and bare words of committal, "the Dean stood for a moment with his hat before his eyes, and then stepped down". (He had been opposed to a Church burial, and had only yielded out of respect for the family.) "A suppressed murmur, 'That was bad', went through the crowd . . . Then a young man, sister's son to Kierkegaard (the same Henrik Lund who was house-surgeon at Frederik's Hospital) stood forth and asked permission to speak. The Dean objected, but the young man, stretching out his hand protestingly said, 'I believe you have finished?' The police were present, but no one deemed it wise to

nterfere." Lund said that Kierkegaard's last articles were in line with the New Testament. Here he read *Revelation* 3.14 to the end—the letter to the Laodicean Church. Then he read from *The Instant* No. 2, the article entitled "We are all Christians", stressing the plunder the State makes in regarding all as Christians (even criminals and unbelievers), just because they are baptized. The State Church, he said, is "the great whore" — that lady from *Revelation* who has done signal service in many contexts !

"When Lund stepped down", continues the *People's Friend*, Tryde pointed out emphatically that the law did not allow an unordained man to speak in a cemetery . . . A young student shouted 'Nobody else is speaking so let us go home'. But an outcry from the other side replied, 'Stop the thief, he is desecrating holy things'. and for a long time a battle of words ensued as to who was responsible for 'this scandal'."

The grave is a common family burying place, where the father, his two wives, and three children, including Soren, lie buried together. Not till 1874, when a paper called *Dagbladet* asked for a memorial stone, and three people, including a First Lieutenant Wolff from Sweden, had written to Peter with the same request, did Soren's name appear. Now the grave-stones are arranged as Soren wished, with a poem by Brorsen under his name; a poem he had wanted, and which I versify thus :

'Tis but a little while  
And I have won,  
My conflict here on earth  
For ever done,  
In Paradise at peace  
World without end  
With Jesus I'll not cease  
To speak, as friend.

The above article which is commemorative of Kierkegaard's death, (this occurred about a century ago), has dealt with the somewhat negative and very polemical, even lop-sided, part of his writings. But I beg my reader to believe that his work as a whole is positive, stimulating, deep, and wide — and above all existential. Moreover he was a deep man of prayer, and part of my humble tribute to him is to have translated a number of *Meditations* from the *Papers* which have

recently been published.<sup>2</sup> As a young man he had been caught up in the Oscar Wilde-like, in what he calls the "aesthetic life" — a life made up of momentary and purposeless pleasure only. *Either/Or* brilliantly portrays — not by argument but in character and pseudonyms — many facets of this life. At its base is a despair in which the "aesthete" refuses to see. Kierkegaard bids us therefore "Choose Despair" and make the ethical choice. Judge William, the pseudonym of *Either/Or II*, is a happily married man who maintains that to live the "universal" life of a decent citizen is sufficiently good and beautiful. God and religion are vaguely present to him, but Kierkegaard calls such religion the religion of immanence or "religion A". The Judge does not see that even this "decent" life is impossible without a deeper conception of God, and a sense of man's fundamental sinfulness and need of forgiveness and grace. But to be face to face with God calls for the surrender of the finite in favour of the infinite. With fear and trembling the man of religion makes this choice (*Fear and Trembling* is the title of Kierkegaard's next book) hoping perhaps for Repetition or Resumption, if God so will, of what is resigned. Kierkegaard's next book is called *Repetition*. But a deep psychological analysis of Sin is necessary, and this Kierkegaard gives us in the *Concept of Dread*, and *Sickness unto Death*. But sin, when Christianly viewed, has its remedy in Christ's atoning work, who is also our Saviour, our Pattern, Judge and Pledge of Immortality. All these things and much more, are worked out with intense originality and brilliant presentation in Kierkegaard's specifically Christian works. Christianity he describes as the religion of transcendence, or "religion B". Kierkegaard will not allow us to confuse "religion A" with "religion B" as people do; or to think we can in the least "go further", as Martensen had declared, than the early ages of truth. We owe the Apostles and prophets of Christianity all down the ages, a debt of gratitude for their witness to the truth. And among these glorious witnesses stands Soren Kierkegaard.

<sup>1</sup> James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1956. 25s.

<sup>2</sup> James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1956. 12s. 6d.

## IS SOCIETY REDEEMABLE?

By MAURICE B. RECKITT

In the challenging article which the Archbishop of York contributed to the October number of the *Church Quarterly Review* he had some particularly valuable remarks to make about "those forms of evangelism" which "cut at the root of Christian sociology just as they cut at the root of a rational faith", since "the moral will is separated from its context because the appeal is made to less than the whole man as a reasoning being and a social being". At the school of sociology to which Dr Ramsey's paper was so admirable an introduction an attempt was made to examine some aspects of the subject more specifically, and a fundamental question was posed in the words which form the title of this paper, which, however, was written subsequent to that gathering.

It may help us in seeking to answer the question to start from where one must suppose all Christians to be agreed, and see how differences between them develop—often more or less unconsciously—as the subject opens out.

All Christians must agree in some sense that if, as baptized persons, they continue in their Faith, they have to think of themselves as "redeemed" by a divine power independent of and quite distinct from any efforts of their own from servitude to the sin by which mankind is deformed from his true nature, as God designed it to be. But this is not solely a spiritual and private salvation, affecting only our interior life. Because of God's revelation to us of himself and of the availability—and indeed "prevenience"—of his grace, we are—and should know ourselves to be—set free from the two characteristic moods between which a secularized society always—what the Roman catechism calls the two sins against Hope: Presumption and Despair. These sins, which are none the less such for being attitudes of mind, lead on the one hand to the illusion that all things are possible and all roads are open to man following his own will and depending on his own resources, and to the opposite mood—more prevalent at the moment—the dread that man is the helpless sport of fate in a meaningless world. Into these disastrous heresies the redeemed Christian who has once begun to understand his Faith should never fall.

Further, the great majority of professing Christians believe that the life of grace into which they have been initiated is not a private privilege which they have appropriated for themselves, but comes to them through, and ought to be experienced in, a redeemed community, both mystically through worship, and the Sacraments, and the "Communion of Saints", and practically through the fellowship which this does or ought to create and exemplify. The life of the primitive Church, as depicted in the Bible and in what we know of the early centuries, was suffused by these convictions and is not to be understood apart from them.

Again—and here is a third point in acceptance of which most Christians can and do go forward together—all this has historically had, and will in some measure and in certain directions always have, an impact on the life of men in the world, whether they are believing Christians or not. This impact will affect not only their individual ideals and conduct to a greater or less degree but also the values which their societies accept, and even the institutions and conventions which they establish. Our Faith has not only contributed, often over long periods of time, to build up a civilization, as in the Dark Ages; it has prevented human societies from crumbling away altogether when it might have been expected that they would do so. It is indisputable, I think, that earthly societies, when "all had given them over", have in fact been unexpectedly preserved, and preserved through the faith, the courage, and the tenacity of Christians, most of whom at any rate had not in mind any such thing. They were simply standing up for and setting forth what they believed God demanded of them. Social and political recovery was thus in a sense a "by-product", though I do not believe such a restorative mission needs—or ought—always to be purely unconscious. But in any case this is how our Lord told us to think of ourselves, humbly of course but confidently—as the "salt of the earth", as leaven giving form and stability to "the whole lump"—and it seems to me at least doubtful whether these phrases ought to be limited to what are rather arbitrarily thought of as purely spiritual and "interior" matters.

It is well to stress this large and important measure of agreement on the implications of "redemption" because even many Christians who would not wish to deny or question it are in fact often very insufficiently aware of all that is implied in it. Yet in my view such a common outlook is very far from disposing of,

still less fully and satisfactorily answering, our question "Is Society Redeemable?" There is a good deal more involved in it than this, and it is on this "more" that Christian outlooks to-day do diverge more perhaps, and with more far-reaching consequences, than those who incline to these varying outlooks generally realize.

It is now twelve years since one of the greatest of English archbishops died. That William Temple had an immense influence upon the mind of almost every school of Christianity in this island cannot, I think, be denied, and this was particularly true in respect of the subject with which we are here concerned. His leadership of the Malvern Conference in 1941 revealed him as an unmatched interpreter of the Christian mind at that moment. His "Penguin" volume, *Christianity and Social Order*, sold 139,000 copies, and has been reprinted (by the S.C.M. Press) since. Yet I doubt very much whether what Temple stood for is clearly understood and enthusiastically accepted by the mass of Christian people in Britain to-day. But if it is not, it is important to know why it is not. There will of course be several short answers to this. Temple died before "the era of atomic power" dawned; before the Cold War set its freezing hand upon us; before the Welfare State was securely established; before the Labour Party (to which he had once belonged) had come to—and gone from—power. These answers are relevant, but in themselves they are hardly sufficient. They do not suffice to dispose of the question "Is Society Redeemable?" There can be no doubt, I think, that Temple believed that, if we understood the matter profoundly enough, we must say that it is. There is little question that a great many devout Christians to-day doubt whether it is. It is worth digging more deeply to discover, if we can, why this should be so.

There are a number of reasons for this, and they are to be found on very different planes. Some are essentially "contingent", the product of our immediate environment and recent experience and of the "climate of opinion" which these have created. Others, though not unaffected by this, are in essence "long-term" factors, often ultimately theological in character. It is difficult to disentangle them and it would be a little artificial to attempt to do so. I will therefore approach the matter in a more indirect way.

We have to recognize that what we—rather vaguely—call the "Christian social movement", though its original impulse sprang from one of the greatest of Anglican theologians, F. D. Maurice,

developed contemporaneously with hopes for the future of mankind, and a type of ethical inspiration, which had very little direct relation to a distinctively Christian understanding of the nature of man and God's purpose for him. (It is doubtful, for example, when Tennyson wrote of "one far off divine event" whether he was thinking of the Day of Judgement!) It was probably inevitable that the humanistic flavour of nineteenth-century idealism, which in fact largely arose to fill a vacuum caused by the tragic neglect of the prophetic office of the Church for two centuries, should colour the outlook of Christians who were working side by side with social moralists to combat evils to which the majority of Church-people remained blind, whether wilfully or otherwise. Moreover Christianity in its turn did do much to give a spiritual flavour to the hopes of social progress and to forestall the perilous fallacies of the materialistic social philosophies which were spreading on the continent of Europe. Such great prophetic spirits as Scott Holland and (though to a lesser extent) Charles Gore, while rightly trying to relate the truths which they found in the evolutionary optimism of their day to the truths of the Christian revelation, were perhaps, as Dr Ramsey suggested, a little too much affected by the "progressivist" mood of the nineties and the early nineteen hundreds. But after 1914—that Grand Canyon of our modern world—the catastrophic and tragic elements in human history most disturbingly re-affirmed themselves. What had come to be described rather carelessly as the "social gospel", whatever truth might be found in it, was increasingly seen to be something very much less than, and even different from *the Gospel*. And the conventional practice of "progressive" speakers of equating in their perorations the Kingdom of God with the particular kind of social utopia which happened to appeal to them, raised legitimate suspicions in the minds of those who took their biblical theology seriously. The social movement in the Churches went on, and continued to throw up its truly prophetic figures—Conrad Noel, Studdert Kennedy, Basil Jellicoe, to name but a few. But it did not sufficiently establish confidence among many of those who took their religion most seriously that it was rooted and grounded in the Faith.

Such apprehensions, as I have suggested, were not, however, the product merely of intellectual examination; they were prompted by the course of events. Social progress since the first Great War—

and even more rapidly since the second—has assuredly been neither lacking nor unreal; even moral progress in some directions has had its authentic achievements in this period. But all this has been taking place within a wider framework, if not of cultural decline, at any rate of great peril for what men had assumed to be the assured foundations of modern civilization. Social security has been brought much nearer, but it is physical and psychological *insecurity* which are the predominant features of our “age of anxiety”. If you had told a liberal idealist fifty years ago that the next half century would bring to Europe the return of torture, the mass murder of millions of those deemed to be social outcasts, the subversion of civil rights and the indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants, he would have derided you not merely as a pessimist, but as an utterly irresponsible scaremonger. That all this—and much more of the same sort—should nevertheless have happened, has naturally stimulated an “eschatological” mood in the contemporary climate of Christian opinion. The “world” appears now to many to be at least so far in the grip of the Evil One that no rectification of its aims—to say nothing of its practice—by what is now a minority of Christians seems to be any longer within reach of the Church or a part of her business. Perhaps, they may be led to suspect, it never was.

Less fundamental, though with important effect upon the minds of many, is the impression that in this country at any rate, the quest for as much social justice as can reasonably be expected is no longer urgent or even perhaps practicable. The Welfare State may appear to have settled the framework of our society, and to have released the Church and Christian individuals from further responsibility for any social concern. Related to this is the impression that social issues, however important, are no longer a matter for moral decision. They are felt to belong either to the sphere of “social science” or to “social psychology”, with neither of which, it is felt, religion has any right or Christians, as such, any competence to “interfere”. Many Christians are in fact only too ready to believe all this, since they fancy that it sets them free to pursue a purely “religious” devotion, or in the secular field to get on with their jobs without raising awkward questions or bothering about moral scruples in relation to their daily work.

These, I think, are the origins of what is an altered situation—one different from that to which the challenging voice of Temple

presented so strong, if now seemingly only a temporary challenge. But beneath all that I have described lies the unanswered question—Is society redeemable, is it, religiously considered, a reality at all? This is an even more fundamental question than that posed recently in (among other places) the *Christian News Letter*—“Is there a Christian sociology?” I believe myself that, both essentially and potentially, there is, and that a Church fully alive to the full implications of its theology would come to realize this to a degree that relatively few have begun to do as yet. But I do not want to debate the question in this form now. I want only to ask whether society has to be recognized as inescapably a sphere in which the struggle that God’s will may be done has for ever to be carried on; or whether it suffices to think of our social relations as merely providing occasions for individual ethical endeavour, in which we may hope to solve all problems if enough of us are personally converted and “morally rearmed”.

Redemption is a mighty word in the Christian vocabulary, and there are two connotations which it carries for us. It has been achieved for us by Christ once for all; and the demand for our realization and acceptance of this involves a personal challenge which has to be individually faced. If this is true—and no Christian I suppose can deny that it is true—any extension of it beyond the personal sphere will seem to many valid only by analogy, and analogies in such a field are naturally suspect. Men feel that to apply them thus is to fall into a rhetorical habit and to blur the sharpness and uniqueness of the primary meaning of what has been affirmed. I have a good deal of sympathy with this apprehension and I think it would be a pity—and quite an unnecessary one—if this question, Is Society Redeemable? were to be contested as if it were primarily a matter of what we are now taught to call “semantics”. Let us then leave the phraseology of the question aside for the moment and try to see the issue as, in my view, it essentially is.

F. D. Maurice was never tired of declaring to the people of his day, who, whether outside the Church or inside, scarcely ever understood what he was driving at, that “the world belongs to God and not to the Devil”. All his theological and sociological teaching sprang from and was permeated by this conviction. Very few Christians then, and all too few now, really agreed with him. The Church—whatever you might conceive this to be—belonged to

God; the hereafter belonged to God; what religious people liked to isolate as "spiritual things" belonged to God. But the world, no; if it did not actually belong to the Devil, as it often appeared to do, it belonged to politicians, to business men, or to the proletariat. Its interpreters were not Christian prophets, but philosophers, or economists (this was very widely believed in Maurice's day), or social revolutionaries. (To-day we are apt to prefer social scientists or psychologists.) What did Maurice mean to say, what do we mean to say, if we reject such a dichotomy as Maurice was protesting against? I think we mean something like this:

Human society has its place in a divinely constituted "natural order", and in the purpose of God. This does not mean that the purpose of God is exhausted in the achievement of an ideal society, for the "good news" of the Gospel is the news not of Utopia, but of redemption. Nor, since salvation is of grace not of nature, does it mean that men are "saved" by living in a rightly ordered community. It *does* mean that the ordinary worldly activities of men, the daily business of living and working by, and with, the resources of the natural order, are directly relevant to the Christian life. A community in which the laws of the State, and the economic and cultural life of the people, were ordered according to the design and will of God, would be friendly to the operation of divine grace, and in it the individual could more freely work out his salvation.

Christian Sociology is, then, not only desirable but necessary, for it is the attempt of the Christian mind to discover and define the nature and function of human activities in the rightly ordered society, and to examine social problems in the light of its discoveries. It sees society not merely as an historical, or political phenomenon, but as having its own place in the wholeness of creation, and fulfilling its own being only in relation to the complex and organic unity of natural activities of which it is a part. And, because it is a *Christian* sociology it remembers that this "whole", this ordered creation, is the world which God so loved that He gave His Son to die for it.<sup>1</sup>

There is a famous sentence at the opening of Aristotle's *Politics* which declares that "Man is by nature a political animal". This translation is not altogether satisfactory, but the essential point is clear enough. You cannot abstract the human unit from the set of environmental circumstances and social relationships in which he is set. He would not be man without them. He has to struggle with the false assumptions and perverted aims of a "world" which

<sup>1</sup> These two paragraphs are taken from the programme of the 1955 Church Union School of Sociology on "Faith and Society".

he has "renounced" at his initiation; but his "salvation" cannot be achieved by his attempting to disentangle himself from social relations and institutions but only by the effort to purify and to rationalize them. Nor can he do this adequately—or sometimes at all—by himself. Our moral problems, as we encounter them in the immense complex of contemporary society, cannot be solved by us as individuals because they do not belong to us as individuals. To suppose otherwise is in fact a subtle and deadly invitation to the nourishment of spiritual pride and a spurious moral superiority. I do not want to attack anyone in this paper, but I feel that it is only too significant that so many of those who most consciously proclaim themselves to be "morally rearmed" are content with four "absolutes" which do no include Absolute Humility.

To deny or obscure the reality of social problems as such, or to contend or assume that they will disappear if Christians do their duty as converted individuals, is not only utterly unrealistic, but it will inevitably abandon the direction of human affairs either to wicked men (as Lutheranism in face of Hitlerism before the war showed in Germany), or to falsely understood objectives for human living, or to a cultural and economic fatalism as dangerous as either. For if the Church appears to make no claim or exert no influence to suggest and direct the aims which society should pursue, if, that is, it seems to abandon its prophetic function in face of purely secular assumptions and impersonal forces, the individual is apt to lose faith in his own spiritual significance and moral autonomy. Such a fatalistic climate, moreover, is one which affects the pastoral mission of the Church, since it makes the Gospel, which postulates the moral responsibility of the person, unnaturally difficult to preach. For most people have enough common sense to recognize the close limits of their own purely individual power to influence the course of events, and if the Church fails to offer any critique of social aims and institutions as a whole, its claims will tend to appear to men as unrealistic, and therefore probably untrue.

Again, since as Aquinas declared, "grace perfects nature", the greater the conformity of human institutions to their purposes in the intention of God, the more securely can a supernatural understanding of man's life here be developed upon such a foundation. There can be no doubt, I think, that the evangelistic and pastoral work of the Church to-day is gravely hampered because of the

unnatural conditions which deform man from the fulfilment of his true purposes and make it difficult for him to see himself as a being with a spiritual destiny. Life in the divine society, vital as that is (though now also unnaturally hampered), was never meant to exhaust or act as a substitute for the Christian's experience of communal life. If our religion is essentially communal (and ought to be far more actually so), it is because in being so it responds to the nature of man as God designed this to be. God, as Temple was so fond of saying, is "not interested only in religion", and he does not desire men to take only one set of their communal relationships seriously. If the Church fails to communicate to the world anything of that profound understanding which only a Christian interpretation of man and society can provide, then it will be deserting—as for too long it did desert and too often still neglects—a vital part of the task which God has allotted to it for the rescue and restoration of his world.

How has such desertion come about and why does it continue? I would quote in this connection some words which I wrote two dozen years ago,<sup>1</sup> but which I fear are almost as true now as I felt them to be then :

In the case of many who profess Christianity with sincerity and a good conscience, their thought of the world has become so infected by secular influences that it has become impossible for them to take human society seriously as a sphere of spiritual significance. Religion is for them too sacred a thing to be "dragged into" earthly concerns. Nothing in the religious teaching they commonly receive or in their knowledge of Christian history prepares them to envisage the possibility that the relations of "business" or the "hard economic facts" as they know them can be sanctified by a new Christian impulse or clarified by a re-born religious philosophy. Their baptism has never meant for them any true initiation into an actual society with affirmations and refusals of its own about every vital aspect of human order. Therefore, conceiving no sanctification or clarification of social life by religion as within the "frame of reference" for Christian activity as they can understand it, they foresee only the vulgarization of the sacred by the secular and suspect all effort to effect a correspondence between them. But if we can see how this suspicion comes about, and even sympathize with the unformulated instincts which prompt it, we must not fail to appreciate the disastrous consequences which flow from it. For inevitably, if Christian people cannot be brought to take their social and economic activities and problems with any

<sup>1</sup> In *Faith and Society* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1932).

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religious seriousness, but deal with them on rule of thumb principles picked up from the habits of expediency and the cynicism of the world whose values they have nominally "renounced", the social order will remain a seed plot of every form of spiritual disease, and the validity of Christianity will remain an incomprehensible proposition to most of the serious minded in the world outside the Church's borders.

If this is true, or in so far as this is true, I think we have one significant clue to the reason why many to-day, if required to face this question. "Is Society Redeemable?", would answer, whether directly or evasively, in the negative. But let them, let us ourselves, understand clearly what the question is. It is *not* "Will society be redeemed?", will the social order, here or anywhere else, assume the character of a new Christendom? That is quite a different question which I do not now seek to raise. It is even in a sense an irrelevant question, for it is not the business of the Christian to have an eye on the satisfactions which he or his descendants may derive from his activities. A Christian duty is not an investment entered upon in the expectation of receiving a dividend; it is at once an inescapable obligation and a sublime privilege. Behind our private devotions, our corporate worship, and our activities in society must lie our conviction that creation, as the first chapter of scripture tells us, is "very good"; that God designed his world to be the scene of a divine order. And we, as Christians, are the means through whom he wills that the endless struggle to prevent it falling ever further from his purpose for it must be carried on. It is in this sense that we are, as St Paul declared, "workers together with God", and the better we try to understand the scale of our task, to equip ourselves for it, and to persevere in it, the more we may hope to give, not only to the world but to God, of what he hopes for and expects from us.

# HISTORY AND RELIGION

By P. MUNZ

IN this paper I propose to discuss the relations between some historical statements and some religious statements. The problem of these relations is a particularly important one in view of the fact that the Christian religion is said to be an historical religion and that it is considered therefore to be fundamentally different from all other religions. It seems to me that quite apart from the question as to whether this is true or not, its meaning is by no means clear. It is, for instance, a widely held view that the statement that Christianity is an historical religion means that certain statements (e.g. "Jesus Christ was resurrected from the grave") are objectively verifiable, historical statements and that Christian belief is therefore supported by historical events. I propose to argue that this is not the case; that historical statements, including the verifiable historical statements about the life and death of Jesus, are, as historical statements, of no consequence to religious belief; that historical statements are of consequence to religious belief only when they are interpreted in a special way; and that, therefore, the view that Christianity is an historical religion in a sense in which other religions are not historical, whatever this may mean, cannot mean that there are certain historical events which give a special weight to Christian belief.

In order to elaborate my argument, I propose, first of all, to consider a special case of an alleged relation between historical statements and religious belief, chosen from a recent book on a non-Christian form of religion. I shall then proceed to examine the relationship between historical statements and religious belief in the Christian context. I shall conclude with a brief indication of what I consider to be the proper meaning of the view that Christianity is an historical religion.

The nature of my argument will be essentially philosophical, in that no purpose could be served by appealing to authority. Nor is it conceivable that any kind of empirical investigation of any known facts could shed any light on this problem. In such a case there can be no arbiter but philosophical reflection and analysis.

It does not seem likely that the appearance of Dr Murray's book *The Divine King in England* will raise any very thorny problems for the historian. Her handling of the evidence is, to say the least, completely unconvincing. But it cannot be denied that the book raises a problem for the theologian. Dr Murray argues that a very large number of English kings in the Middle Ages were sacrificed ritually, or managed to find substitute victims, in order to ensure the continued fertility of the soil. Now there is no doubt that a good many kings of England did in fact die a violent death and that, in the reigns of some others, other people close to the king died violent deaths. Dr Murray seeks to establish by ordinary historical research that these violent deaths were ritual sacrifices. Her historical evidence, as I said, is quite unconvincing; but there remains a problem. A ritual sacrifice may be effective irrespective of how many people know that a certain violent death is in fact a ritual sacrifice. Indeed, one may well ask how many people need to know that a certain violent death is a sacrificial death for the sacrifice to be effective? Is it not conceivable that although neither the victim nor the participants are aware of the sacrificial nature of the death, the death either is in fact a sacrificially effective rite or is considered by posterity as such, or both?

In order to understand the real nature of the problem, I would like to offer the following reflections. If the nature of the problem is understood, an answer may readily suggest itself.

There are two ways in which we can regard any event. We can adopt an attitude of scientific curiosity towards it and seek to explain it; or we can contemplate it in awe and admiration and look upon it as a uniquely significant phenomenon. The first is the attitude of science and the second is the attitude of faith. It is important that we should distinguish these two attitudes clearly; for if we understand them clearly we will see that neither can logically lead to the other.

If we are scientifically curious about a phenomenon, we must endeavour to explain it in terms of something which we understand already. It is conceivable that such an endeavour will involve a long search; and it is even conceivable that after a long search we may be forced to alter our opinion as to the truth of some things we thought we knew already, because they fail to account for the newly observed phenomenon. It is, however, not

conceivable that we should ever have an adequate reason for saying that the phenomenon in question is intrinsically inexplicable and must be contemplated as such. We can either relate it to our knowledge or must endeavour to remodel our previous knowledge in order to relate it to the new phenomenon. To accord any other treatment to the new phenomenon is to abandon our initial attitude of scientific curiosity towards it and to adopt a different attitude.

If we adopt an attitude of faith towards a phenomenon, we shall always stop and contemplate its significance. In this case the relation of the phenomenon to any previous knowledge is completely irrelevant. As soon as we try to explain it in terms of previous knowledge or use it as a ground for modifying any previous knowledge, we have stopped contemplating it and have adopted an attitude of scientific curiosity towards it.

The point I wish to make is this: although there is only one event in question, there are two entirely incompatible ways in which it can be treated. As far as the event is concerned, it is always what it is; but as far as we are concerned, we must always decide in which way we wish to treat it. The two treatments of science and faith cannot be reduced to one another; nor is it possible to start with one treatment and, gradually, by some clever steps, arrive at the other treatment. Any transformation of the one treatment into the other would be a logical confusion.

This argument throws an important light on the question of the so-called miracle. The distinction between the two attitudes for which I have argued seems in fact to make the use of the word "miracle" either redundant or contradictory. If we adopt the attitude of scientific curiosity, there can be no event which could conceivably be described as a miracle. If there is an event that cannot be explained by the ordinary, known laws of nature, we must either reformulate the known laws of nature or try to formulate a new one. As soon as we refrain from doing either of these things, we have stopped playing the game of scientific research. If there is an inexplicable event that is observed only once and which, therefore, neither warrants a reformulation of known laws nor entitles us to argue that any known laws are false, the proper word to describe it is "coincidence" or "illusion", as the case may be. The use of the word "miracle" in this connection would be a contradiction of the initial standpoint which

we have adopted.

If, on the other hand, we adopt the attitude of faith towards a newly observed event, it would be redundant to describe this or any event as a miracle. For to do so would mean that we consider all other events to be explicable in terms of known natural laws and, for some reason or other, consider this event to be intrinsically different. But as we have chosen the attitude of faith, we cannot arbitrarily consider the other events to be explicable. The use of the word "miracle" in this context is therefore redundant.

If someone persists in describing some events as miracles and others as naturally explicable events, he can mean no more than that he is changing his attitude from scientific curiosity to faith and back again. There is, of course, nothing to stop anyone from doing this; but it is impossible to see what kind of reason anyone could advance to justify such behaviour. For, although the behaviour itself might not need any justification, one would be entitled to expect a justification of the decision to jump forward and backward at certain points and not at others.

If, however, we decide to retain the use of the word "miracle", we must be careful on all occasions to use it only to describe those events that are seen from the attitude of faith. For it is logically possible to use the word redundantly; the only use that is not permissible is the contradictory use. In this case, we may sum up by saying that "miracle is the child of faith". It is indeed inconceivable how anyone should be able to argue, for example, that we should believe in the existence of any supernatural agent *because* there has been a miracle. If one did not already believe in say, a supernatural agent, one would never be able to describe any event as a miracle, for one would then be adopting all the time an attitude of scientific curiosity towards it.

With the help of these reflections it will now be possible to understand the true nature of the problem raised by Dr Murray's historical investigations. If one adopts an attitude of scientific curiosity towards the phenomenon of ritual sacrifice, one cannot but reach the following conclusion. Our knowledge of the properties of the soil and of the phenomenon of fertility obliges us to conclude that if anyone in the Middle Ages believed that the fertility of the soil could be increased by the celebration of a ritual sacrifice, he was suffering from an illusion. Moreover, since

the evidence which Dr Murray quotes in order to prove that the people concerned were suffering from this illusion, is, by the standards of historical criticism, extremely doubtful, we must conclude that the people she alleges were suffering from this illusion did not, in fact, do so. But this is, of course, not the end of the matter. If one adopts an attitude of faith towards these events, it is conceivable that one will come to recognize them as vast cosmic happenings. In this case the phenomenon of the violent death could well be seen as a ritual sacrifice and, moreover, there is no reason at all why the fact that none or very few of the actual participants knew of this character of the violent death should detract from the efficacy of the sacrifice. For one could not really argue that the efficacy of some such cosmic event would depend on the number of people who recognized it as such. This would be almost like saying that the earth did not revolve round the sun before a very large number of people knew that it did.

We have thus reached a somewhat surprising conclusion; from the purely historical point of view, the problem has disappeared. At best, the whole investigation can only be concerned with the question as to how many people were either suffering from an illusion or had adopted an attitude of faith towards certain violent deaths. And at worst, it turned out that there is very little reason for believing that the people in question were in fact doing either of these things. Historical research, however, has been quite unable to throw any light on the question as to whether these deaths were, if considered from the standpoint of faith, fertility rites or moral atonements or expiation cults or perhaps mere murders or miscarriages of justice. Historical research could prove or disprove that some people looked upon these events from the standpoint of faith; but only theological speculation can decide which of the quoted possibilities was in fact the case. The point which emerges is that historical research is quite incapable of deciding whether these deaths were ritual sacrifices of some kind or not. Dr Murray's contention could therefore well be right, in spite of the fact that one could convincingly show that nobody, not even the closest participants, ever knew that she is right.

I have said that this conclusion is surprising. It is indeed surprising in view of the fact that it is a very widely held belief that historical investigation can decide not only the question as to who believed that a certain sacrifice was "effective" but also the question

as to whether it was in fact "effective". As a piece of historical research Dr Murray's story cannot be given very much credence; but a refusal to believe her does not bring us one step nearer to an answer to the question as to whether these deaths were "effective" ritual sacrifices or just simply plain murders and executions.

## 2

The preceding arguments can, of course, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to the quest for the historical Jesus. When it had become apparent that the search for historical Jesus was likely to remain disappointing, Professor Manson once remarked that this was a matter for commiseration. But if my arguments are correct, it would be difficult to see in what, as far as religion is concerned, the importance of the historical Jesus lies. No amount of historical research—whether it leads to the more sober and orthodox results of traditional scholarship or to the meagre facts presented by Loisy or to the somewhat extravagant story to which Graves and Podro have recently treated us—could ever establish whether Jesus was the Word Incarnate and whether his death on the Cross was a sacrifice that redeemed mankind or not. All historical research could ever hope to establish is whether anyone believed that he was the Son of God and that his sacrifice redeemed.

The scholars who expected decisive results from the quest for the historical Jesus were under a misapprehension as to the nature of historical enquiry. They argued, on the face of it quite convincingly, that, if anything was revealed during the first thirty-five years of our era, it is up to historical scholarship to find out exactly what it was. In other words, they wanted to put Ranke's conception of historical research ("to find out what really happened") at the service of their religious piety. This programme was hailed by Albert Schweitzer as "a uniquely great expression of sincerity, one of the most significant events in the whole mental and spiritual life of humanity". What indeed was likely to yield firmer and more vital results than scientific method applied to the question of what God had revealed?

If our preceding argument is correct, we must conclude, however, that the quest for the historical Jesus will not yield anything of importance that might help us to decide whether he was the Son of God or not. Even if it were ideally possible to find

out what actually happened, we should conceivably still be confronted by two different classes of contemporary accounts. There would be firstly the more or less disinterested accounts of scientifically minded observers and secondly the reports of eyewitnesses who observed from the attitude of faith. The modern historian, after having made sure of the general trustworthiness and reliability of the authors of these accounts, could not cull any further conclusion from them. He has to face the fact that one author saw this and the other author, that. It is clearly impossible for him to give more credence to one account than to the other. The evidence itself varies according to the standpoint of the observer and it is therefore naïve to expect that the evidence itself can help us to decide whether our belief in Jesus' divinity is justified or not. The evidence speaks with two minds—with the mind of faith and with the mind of factual reporting. Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument that we have found a contemporary account of Jesus' life which would entitle us to believe that it was written from the standpoint of scientific curiosity. If we found, in that account, the statement that Jesus rose from the grave and behaved, on the whole, as we should only expect the Son of God to behave, we should be justified in treating this account as pure historical evidence for the divinity of Jesus.

But who can conceivably have been the author of such an account? Would it not have been necessary for this author to have confused the two standpoints? If he wrote for the sake of scientific curiosity, he ought, in order to be consistent, not to have given the impression that there was anything extraordinary in Jesus' behaviour. That is, nothing extraordinary in the sense in which it might lead readers to infer that he was the Son of God. Whatever extraordinary behaviour there was, ought to have been the result of an initial intellectual confusion. Its author, though allegedly writing for the sake of scientific curiosity, must have adopted, at a certain point in his narrative, the unscientific attitude that a certain form of behaviour, instead of throwing doubt upon all received notions of ordinary behaviour, was extraordinary behaviour.

There is one good reason why our author could have adopted such an attitude. He may have felt the unique impact of Jesus' behaviour and have therefore regarded it as "miraculous". Thus,

the question of whether or not it should be allowed to alter our conception of what one might have expected, did not arise. If this is so, our author was not guilty of an intellectual confusion, as we have surmised; but he must be convicted of abandoning his initial scientific standpoint at the most crucial moment. Just where we would need his scientific, disinterested, testimony most, he lets us down and presents us instead with an account of what he has seen from the standpoint of faith.

Now, whether our author is guilty of an intellectual confusion or whether he merely changed his standpoint at a crucial moment, the account cannot provide evidence for or against Jesus' divinity. All those parts of the account which inform us of Jesus' extraordinary behaviour are clearly due to a departure from the initial, scientific standpoint. If our author had remained true to that standpoint, then there could have been nothing in his account that would look like behaviour described from the standpoint of faith. There would, in this case, only have been plenty of evidence to make us revise our notions of ordinary behaviour. In short, all the parts about Jesus' extraordinary behaviour are in the account *because* of the author's faith. If, however, these parts were to be of any use to us in deciding whether Jesus was the Son of God or not, they would have to be proved to be there *not* because of our author's faith. But such proof is, by the nature of the case, impossible. As soon as we scrutinize the account, we find that, if it is scientific, it cannot contain an event that could usefully be described as a miracle; and that, if it is due to faith, it cannot be taken as a ground for faith.

I am fully aware of the fact that this view destroys one of the basic differences between Christianity and other religions. Many readers will readily grant that my arguments about miracles apply to stories of miracles other than the Incarnation and the Resurrection. But it has always been believed that the fact that the Incarnation and Resurrection are historical facts puts them in a class apart from all other miraculous events. It is in fact widely believed that the historicity of the Incarnation lends an objective ground to all Christian faith and enables Christians, at least, to argue that *their* faith is the child of a miracle, not its father.

To any objections, I can only reply that this belief was based upon a very superficial analysis of the meaning of historicity. The

whole question of historical fact is very complex and as soon as one realizes that every "fact" we know of is always a reported fact (reported by myself or by someone else) one must see that the basic datum is not a fact; but a reported fact. And as soon as that is realized, it must follow that everything depends upon the attitude and aim of the reporter. If he is merely scientifically curious, he cannot tell us stories that are likely to become the fathers of our faith. If he has, on the other hand, adopted the attitude of faith he is himself in a state of faith when he perceives the events he is about to record. In this case nothing he can say, can be taken as certain evidence that we are justified in our faith. We can do no more than recognize that his faith has produced a child—e.g. the story of the Incarnation. In other words, historical research cannot, by its very nature, yield any evidence for or against the belief that Jesus was the Son of God.

It is often maintained that the arguments of R. Bultmann amount to the proposition that the Easter faith is not the knowledge that Christ is risen, but the knowledge that the Apostles had faith that he had risen. I am not sure that this is exactly what Bultmann's arguments amount to; but I think that the proposition is wrong. It is true that historical knowledge cannot lead to anything but the conclusion that the Apostles did or did not have faith that he had risen. But it is wrong to identify this historical knowledge with the Easter faith. Although it is clear that historical knowledge is incapable of providing evidence for or against that faith, it is also clear that the Easter faith entails a complete lack of interest in scientific curiosity in regard to the disappearance of Jesus' body from the tomb and a contemplation of that event in the light of faith. There is therefore no reason why one should argue that the Easter faith can be identified with the belief in the historically verifiable fact that the Apostles thought he had risen from the grave. On the contrary, I would maintain that the Easter faith has little to do with the historically verifiable fact that the Apostles believed that he had risen.

In a way this case bears a certain resemblance to a well known problem of historical research. We know of many cases where we have historical, i.e. good documentary, evidence that a certain event took place. The historian is therefore entitled to infer that the event did actually take place. A critic might therefore object, at this point, to our argument and demand to know why we take

a chronicler's word for it that Charles the Great was crowned at Christmas 800 and why we do not take the evangelist's word for it that Jesus had risen from the tomb.

The objection must be answered in the following way. The coronation of Charles is a fact seen from the standpoint of scientific curiosity. In accepting the chronicler's word I am doing no more than continuing in the attitude of scientific curiosity which I adopted when I began my historical inquiry into the credibility of the chronicler's account. The case is different with the evangelist. Historical enquiry may well lead me to believe that the body of Jesus was not found in the tomb. But if I am then invited to accept the Evangelist's explanation of this fact, I cannot continue in my attitude of scientific curiosity, but am suddenly invited to share the Evangelist's attitude of faith to a certain historical fact. For it is only from the attitude of contemplation in faith that the evangelist could be prompted to explain the disappearance as a miracle. If he had been moved by scientific curiosity it could never have occurred to him to look for any explanation other than one in terms of his previous knowledge; that is, he would have been obliged to admit either that Jesus had not been wholly dead when put into the tomb and had therefore removed himself; or that some other person must have removed Jesus' body; or, providing the happening had occurred more than once, that our knowledge of dead bodies is incomplete and they must be able, for some reason or other, to do something which we did not think they could do. As is well known, the Evangelist said none of these things. These reflections show that it is not permissible for the historian, *qua* historian, to change horses in mid-stream by starting an historical investigation of the evangelist's credibility and then adopt an attitude of faith and follow him by believing that Jesus had in fact risen from the tomb because he was the Son of God. The inference that Charles was in fact crowned is, from an historical point of view, a warranted inference once the credibility of the witness had been proven. But the inference that Jesus was resurrected is not from the point of view of scientific curiosity a warranted inference, although it may be possible to prove that the evangelist was a credible witness. It all turns on what historical method can, and what it cannot, prove. Thus historical research can prove the body's disappearance from the tomb as well as the evangelist's attitude of faith towards this fact.

It can, however, make no pronouncement upon the adequacy of the explanation offered in terms of that faith. Whether the Apostles' faith was objectively justified depends entirely upon the attitude which the Apostles adopted. If they were prompted by scientific curiosity, we must conclude that they jumped to an unwarranted conclusion; if they were prompted by faith, then the question arises as to whether their belief that Jesus had risen from the grave because he was the Son of God was a correct attempt to recognize the proper significance of the fact or not. But this last question is clearly a matter for theology. No amount of historical evidence can help us to decide it. It is the business of theological speculation to decide whether the resurrection, the event seen from the standpoint of faith, signifies the divinity of Jesus; and if so, what the relation between this divinity and his human nature is, etc.

## 3

There still remains, however, the fact that in some sense or other Christianity is said to be an historical religion. It must be clear by now that if this statement is true, it cannot be taken to mean that Christianity is a religion the truth of which can be proved from historical evidence. If the statement is true, it must be true in some other sense.

Christianity is an historical religion in a sense in which other religions are not historical. Christian teaching involves the notion that there is a long, unilinear, and irreversible progress from the creation of mankind to the redemption of mankind. The coming of Christ (the contemplation of Jesus' life in the attitude of faith) was the chief, but by no means only, manifestation of God's love that is guiding mankind along that path. And in the Christian conception there is a definite moment which divides history into two: mankind before the knowledge that absolute love is absolutely redeeming and mankind after the knowledge that absolute love is absolutely redeeming. The recognition of this moment confirms the unilinear conception of history which was inherited by the Church from the ancient Hebrews and which stands in marked contrast to the Gentiles' conception of cyclical historical development. In this sense Christian teaching implies a whole philosophy of History: the progress of the ancient Jewish nation, the expansion of the Church, and the fate of the Church provide a theme

which gives a meaning to the history of mankind. There are, of course, innumerable ways in which this conception can be understood and it is not part of my argument to explore these ways. I merely wish to stress the senses in which Christianity can and cannot be said to be an historical religion. Christianity is an historical religion in the sense that anything that happened after mankind had obtained the knowledge about absolute love has an essentially different meaning from anything that happened before mankind had obtained that knowledge—no matter how great the similarities between any of these happenings. But Christianity is not an historical religion in the sense that it can be proved by historical evidence that knowledge came to mankind through the Son of God who “was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate”. The assertion that the Apostles owed this knowledge to the Son of God is a theological explanation of the historical fact that the Apostles looked upon the life of Jesus from the standpoint of faith. That this explanation was advanced at a very early date is part of history; it is also part of history that this explanation, and the knowledge that went with it, made a decisive change in the life of mankind; but it is not possible to tell from *historical* evidence whether that explanation was a good one or not.

# GEORGE CRABBE'S THEOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

By ARTHUR POLLARD

GEORGE CRABBE is now chiefly remembered as a late eighteenth-century realistic poet, a "Pope in worsted stockings", as he has been described. He is the poet of *The Village* (1783). By this poem and its immediate precursor, *The Library* (1781), Crabbe founded not only a literary reputation, but also a lifelong profession. He submitted drafts of these two poems to Edmund Burke, who was so impressed by them that he bestowed his patronage on the young poet, and by his aid Crabbe was soon accepted for the Church. From such a bald statement it might appear that Grierson and Smith were right in their allegation that Crabbe merely "floated into the haven of the Anglican ministry" (*A Critical History of English Poetry*, 1944, p. 246).

It will be my endeavour to prove that this is far from the truth.<sup>2</sup> In the first place I do not believe that Crabbe entered the Church in the casual fashion that the word "floated" suggests; of his early piety there is plenty of evidence in the *Life* by his son. Secondly, Crabbe did not regard the priesthood as a comfortable retreat,

<sup>1</sup> This article is based mainly upon material contained in *Posthumous Sermons* by the Rev. George Crabbe, ed. J. D. Hastings, London, 1850, and some fifty sermons in manuscript in Sir John Murray's collection. I desire to express my thanks to him for the generous access which he allowed me to have to these and other Crabbe manuscripts. I am also indebted to the Librarian of Cambridge University Library for access to some of Crabbe's note-books which are in his keeping. The sermons in the Murray collection are referred to below by the place and date of their first being preached. Crabbe was in the habit of repeating the same sermon at intervals, usually without alteration. One of those in the Murray collection was preached first at Evershot in 1784 and finally at Trowbridge in 1831.

<sup>2</sup> This allegation was, in fact, refuted by A. C. Ainger as long ago as 1903. Writing to Lathbury, editor of the *Pilot*, he commented about that journal's review of his book on Crabbe in Macmillan's English Men of Letters series: "Your reviewer of my *Crabbe* is handsome enough towards me. But why does he have his knife into the poor poet, and insinuate that he took Orders simply and solely for a livelihood? There is no foundation for such a statement." (27 November 1903). Quoted by Edith Sichel: *The Life and Letters of Alfred Ainger*, London, n.d., p. 371.

a "haven", from the cares and difficulties of life. His pastoral activity, already well described (e.g. in the *Life* by George Crabbe the son, and René Huchon's *George Crabbe and his Times*, 1907), is sufficient proof of that. His sermons also, as I believe and hope to demonstrate, reveal that he was diligently concerned for the spiritual well-being of the people in his care.

Commentators on Crabbe's poetry invariably emphasize its prevailing pessimism. His belief that the prospects which this world affords are the gloomiest possible provides also the most appropriate point from which to embark on a study of his theology. The present life is beset by poverty, sickness, and sorrow, by pain, care, and anguish (Hastings, pp. 157, 162). These are the realities of man's existence here—"Pleasure may be thus far imaginary that it flies away when we attempt to analyse and grasp it, but pain and sorrow is real, and will not vanish at the allurements of fancy or the dictates of reason" (*ibid.*, p. 174). Nor is the suffering which arises from these afflictions the full extent of the evil which they produce, for they also combine with man's pleasures to distract his attention from spiritual concerns, "the pleasure of Life to seduce and the Cares to demand our Attention" (Trowbridge, 1 May 1825).

These difficulties are part of the trial, which this life represents, of man's fitness for a future existence, the joys of which Crabbe vividly anticipates and powerfully contrasts with the depressing conditions of life on earth. Indeed, it is in one statement of this contrast that he comes as near impassioned utterance as ever he does in his sermons: "After these few years of probation in this unequal and (as it appears to some) *confused* scene of existence, there will be another state, another life, one of perfect peace, where goodness is not left struggling with adversity, and where wickedness is not suffered to exist" (Hastings, p. 81). Crabbe, however, is not the man to allow anyone to gain mistaken impressions of a future state of universal and unclouded bliss. His awareness of the dark side of things leads him to emphasize the doctrine of eternal punishment. He preaches his sermon on the text, "The wicked shall be turned into hell" (Hastings, No. VI), and in other sermons he reminds his congregations of this threat. In the accent which he placed on the sufferings of this life and the possible punishments of the next is to be discovered the seminal principle of all Crabbe's theology. As R. H. Hutton put it, "he was a man . . . with the fear of God ever before his eyes" ("Crabbe as a Parish

Priest", *The Guardian*, No. 2957, p. 1129, 6th August 1902).

Indeed, this fear seems to have prevented him from apprehending, in any measure, God's love. The best possible opportunity for a discourse on this latter aspect of the Divine character, the festival of our Lord's birth, is used merely for a sketch of early Christian history (Hastings, No. XI); and the most detailed statement of God's provision for man's needs comes briefly and, as it were, obliquely in Crabbe's account of the various types of the wicked, one of which comprises "those who ungratefully forget his mercies, our very birth and being, our food and sustenance, our preservation from evil, our deliverance from danger; all our hopes, our comforts, our present good and our future expectations" (*ibid.*, p. 65).

It is not surprising to find that in his soteriology Crabbe dwells more upon justice, payment, and sacrifice than upon love. Though he acknowledges God's mercy, that he "willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live. He hath given His Son for us", he is quick to emphasize that Christ is "the sacrifice for sins" (*ibid.*, p. 66). Another sermon was entitled by Hastings "The Worth of the Soul", and rightly, for the vocabulary is throughout in strong accord with a strictly redemptorial view of the Passion, as, for example, the following: "Man's account with his soul is very great, how shall he settle it? Let him plead the redemption of our Lord, and the price paid for man—the precious blood of Jesus!" (*ibid.*, p. 30). Christ is the ransom, the sacrifice, made to placate the offended justice of God.

"All who truly believe in this Sacrafice (*sic*) . . . shall live" (Great Glemham, 8 January 1804). Crabbe is at pains to demonstrate what he considers to be the nature of true faith. It is "an operative or saving belief, not a mere consent with or without reflection" (Muston, 6 June 1790). The final words of this sentence seem to have a pointed reference. They surely indicate that, for Crabbe, faith was not, as it frequently became in the eighteenth century, just an act of the intellect, that is, "consent with . . . reflection"; and the next phrase "[consent] without reflection" is almost certainly an indirect reference to the attempts by enthusiasts of all sects to bring about instantaneous conversions. Crabbe believed that saving faith rarely came so suddenly. Nor was it ever of such quality as to justify the enthusiasts in their doctrine of complete assurance. At best he could say: "Faith is not absolute Certainty,

but Faith exercised approaches very near to it" (Sedgbrook, 30 May 1813); more often he was content to say: "Hope we may, and fear we must, but certainly as respects these things, we cannot know, till the things of the world shall pass away, and time and trial shall be no more" (Hastings, p. 85).

Belief in the possibility of instantaneous conversion, Crabbe considered, proceeded from excessive reliance upon the emotions, but "we are much prone to Deception that is, I mean, to deceive ourselves in religious Feelings" (Addendum to sermon first preached at Sweffling, 6 September 1795). "Fanatics . . . are all life and spirit, and seem to possess feelings which they may suppose to be the love or grace of God; they encourage and call up, and believe as divine gifts the feelings of their spirit" (Hastings, pp. 9-10). The feelings certainly operate in the process of conversion, which Crabbe described as "exceeding alarm and agitation of mind; enquiry; obedience to the answer; and rejoicing in the obedience" (Sweffling, 6 September 1795), but they must not be allowed to usurp an undue influence. The task of reaching religious decisions involves the "devotedness . . . of the whole mind, the Will, the Understanding, the Passions & all the acquirements of the Mind to that one great end" (Allington, 10 September 1809).

Crabbe deplored not only the excessive importance which fanatics attached to the emotions, but also their inclination to maintain some private view of Scripture, to substitute "the fanciful interpretations of men for the revelation and commandments of God" (Hastings, p. 87). These enthusiastic tendencies may help to account for Crabbe's failure to stress the work of the Holy Spirit. He refers to this work (e.g. Hastings, p. 30), but always unobtrusively. Indeed, such was his fear of demonstrativeness in religion that he not only condemned the fervour of enthusiasts, but even warned against "an outward piety [because it] disgusts the light mind and sometimes if too much out of place, offends the serious" (Muston, 22 August 1790).

The contrast between Crabbe's idea of conversion and that of the enthusiastic sects is brought out in a letter to a friend of his in later life, Miss Hoare. He refers specifically to the Calvinistic evangelicals when he writes: "The great points to be gained are the terrors of conviction, and the joys which result from a full sense of the justification . . . . The conversions which they try for and pray for are conversions of the *heart*--that is, of the feel-

ings . . . . Our ministers do not succeed in this manner . . . . We ask no questions respecting the feelings, but as well as we can we speak to the understanding . . . . We tell men that repentance is necessary and a virtuous and religious life for the future, and for this we inform them that grace will be given if faithfully asked and the life regulated by the rules and precepts of the gospel" (3 December 1825. Quoted by Broadley and Jerrold: *The Romance of an Elderly Poet*, 1913, pp. 284-5).

To be effective, faith must produce repentance and holiness; or, as Crabbe puts it in another place, "I do not say—Trust to the Goodness of your life, for that would be presumptuous, but I do say, trust to nothing that doth not produce a good life in you" (Trowbridge, 9 January 1825). Repentance is no mere verbal confession; "it is attended by the Stings of Self-Accusation, the Appeals of a wounded Conscience & the Awful fears of a Soul made Acquainted with its own Defilements" (Trowbridge, 17 June 1827). Holiness is no mere conventional goodness; it is the strenuous imitation of Christ "in the virtues of humility and meekness, with patience, temperance, and charity; but it is not these virtues, considered in themselves only, which we contemplate, but the practice of them under the most trying circumstances, the hardest temptations" (Hastings, p. 127).

In this quotation we see something of Crabbe's ability to recognize and interpret the interplay of character and situation. This quality, which must have been extremely useful to him as a clergyman, especially in that his theology laid great emphasis on man's moral responsibilities, is again evident, indeed most clearly evident, in his portrayal of the progress and effects of sin. Here is his account of the futile, yet persistent, cravings of satiated debauchery: "Eagerness and longing for the Pleasures will increase and the Pleasures themselves will diminish and become Pleasures no more: then he will seek for an increase of them and that also, if he finds it, will become of no Value and he will soon long for more variety and of more sinful Gratifications, till at last there will be no bounds to his Wishes and no End to his Disappointment" (Trowbridge, 26 August 1827).

Numerous passages testify to Crabbe's delicate appreciation of changes in moral character, and he is especially sensitive to the subtle and gradual penetration of evil. Because of this, he has much to say about the nature and activity of conscience. In a quotation

given above, Crabbe speaks of "the Stings of a wounded Conscience" as one of the phenomena of repentance. Conscience witnesses against the sinner of the broken law of God; and it also guards the Christian in temptation. "There is a divine Preceptor within our Conscience" (Goadby, January 1784). The status which by this sentence Crabbe ascribed to conscience is similar to that given to it by Butler. Both of them appear to deify the conscience as the supreme judge of the rightness, or otherwise, of actions. The criterion of virtue is internal and authoritarian, not as with Paley who, in his statement that "the method of coming at the will of God, concerning any action, by the light of nature, is to inquire into the tendency of the action to promote or diminish the general happiness" (*Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, 1785, II.v.), makes it external and utilitarian. I make this distinction to show that in one important instance at least Huchon is wrong in claiming that Crabbe's "theology is only a colourless reproduction of that of his contemporary Paley" (*George Crabbe and his Times*, 1907, p. 211). But, though Crabbe is not Paleyan, neither is he completely Butlerian. If conscience is omnipotent, yet not infallible, it may lead to misconduct, and become unworthy of implicit obedience. As Professor Duncan-Jones has commented, "the authority of conscience, in Butler's full sense, will only belong to an enlightened conscience" (*Butler's Moral Philosophy*, 1952, p. 94). Crabbe realized, as Butlerians often failed to do, that all consciences are not uniform, in that they are not all enlightened. Many are "assailed by and yield . . . to the indulgence of some passion or [are] persuaded by some false argument" (Hastings, p. 47).

Nevertheless, for Crabbe, conscience constituted one of the three agents of authority in religion: "In all our Difficulties we have Guides, the Light of Reason, the Holy Scriptures, & our Conscientious and Inward Monitors" (Swefling, 14 July 1805). Conscience is not infallible, but the other two are. The fundamental authority is this: "The literal Words of the Gospel cannot deceive you" (Swefling, 11 September 1803). Like most of his contemporaries, Crabbe believed in the doctrine of unerring literal inspiration. To reason he repeatedly appeals, yet not so much to it as the capacity for formal reasoning (for the "vain speculation" (Hastings, p. 138) of the Greeks was surely reason of this kind), but rather as to reasonableness or common sense. Even in the scraps of apologetic writing which he has left, Crabbe did not indulge, to any great degree,

in ratiocination, but preferred to rely upon inference from the customary behaviour of men. The appeal, that is, is to the argument from psychology. In the voluminous, and often tedious, eighteenth-century controversy about miracles, Crabbe's comment is concise. To him it was a matter of common sense that history would long ago have rejected not only the miracles but Christianity itself, if they had been a fraud; "it is utterly impossible to account for the very being of Christianity upon any principle which does not admit the truth of the facts recorded concerning Christ and the divine authority of his mission" (Hastings, p. 163). In one of his notebooks (Cambridge University Library, Add. 4422, fol. 84v-100) Crabbe refutes the sceptical argument of Gibbon, that enthusiasm and hypocrisy had inspired the apostles. He appeals to their firm endurance in the face of continued persecution, a quality which mere enthusiasm and hypocrisy could never have produced. Only the Christian faith was capable of so inspiring them. (Cf. the use of the same argument in Hastings, No. XI, especially pp. 119, 120.) Crabbe left only one other piece of apologetic writing, his *Opinions in Religion and Morality*, written before his ordination, in 1779. It is a mere outline, with some arguments against Deism, and a brief attempt at a system of natural theology, with examples designed to advance the teleological proof of the existence of God. These form an interesting anticipation of Paley's elaborate work on the subject twenty years later.

A word must be said about Crabbe's churchmanship. He valued the Book of Common Prayer next only to the Bible, for in it he found those services by which man might discharge "his Duties of praise, Confession and prayer to Almighty God" (Muston, 13 March 1791). By his insistence upon the frequent performances of these duties Crabbe clearly implies a standard of devotion (yet, as we have seen, free from any suspicion of enthusiasm) not often ascribed to the Church of England in the years before the Oxford Movement. But he never approaches the mystical. This can be seen in his attitude towards the Communion office (Hastings, No. XVII). The doctrine of the Real Presence is dismissed as utterly incompatible with the circumstances in which the sacrament was instituted; our Lord's physical presence then forbids any such inference now (*ibid.*, p. 193). The service is an act of fellowship, commemoration, obedience, and gratitude. The benefit it imparts consists in "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls [by which]

is meant the establishing them in all virtue and godliness of living and the enlivening and comforting them in all trials and afflictions" (*ibid.*). Here, as with conversion, Crabbe prefers a "reasonable" interpretation, and is chiefly interested in the practical consequence of the act.

"Crabbe was not a High Churchman" (Ainger, quoted by Siche, p. 371—see Note 2 above). Both in his view of Holy Communion and elsewhere this is abundantly clear. His conception of Church establishment was frankly Erastian: "Places of worship must be appointed, and who so proper to appoint them as the lawful governors of a christian land?" (Hastings, p. 2.) He did not observe any but the major feasts of the Church, contending that "the devout and reasonable Christian . . . submits to forms, but he rests not in them; to times and manners, but he does so because they are decent and becoming" (*ibid.*, p. 10). To do more than this would have been to fall into superstition, a vagary to which enthusiasm alone was comparable.

For Crabbe, the *ecclesia Anglicana* represented a middle way. His was an enlightened theological liberalism, which sought the best in all the schools. This is nowhere better illustrated than in one of the first sermons which he preached at Trowbridge (5 June 1814). He considered that there were no "rational and justifiable Causes" for such distinctions as those made between moral and evangelical preachers. "The most evangelical among teachers cannot neglect the pure and beautiful morality of the Gospel, or the most moral of the Advocates for Good Living surely cannot forget the Atonement of the Death of Christ and the Benefits we receive thereby . . . . The higher our Notions of Morality and Good Works, the more we are led to see our Deficiencies and flee to the Cross and the greater our Veneration for the Cross of Christ, the stronger will be our Endeavours to avoid the Sins for which Christ suffered." Crabbe's theology was, in fact, the doctrinal statement of a type of piety, sincere, devout, and reasonable (his own words), which the eighteenth century often produced, but which also because of its undemonstrativeness is not always recognized at its true worth.

# THE ABBÉ HENRI BREMOND AS AN HISTORIAN

By HENRY HOGARTH

WHEN the Abbé Henri Bremond died in 1933 he had gained a high reputation as a religious historian and biographer. He has less prestige to-day. It is true that some voices are still raised in his praise. A French writer, M. Albert Autun, in a brochure (*Henri Bremond*, 1945) has asserted his title to immortality, and Monsignor Ronald Knox in his book *Enthusiasm* referred to "the eleven precious volumes" of the *Histoire Littéraire* which the Abbé has left us. But in general Roman Catholic writers are silent or critical of this member of their Church. Recent volumes of literary criticism contain only passing references to Bremond's work; and in the latest history of French literature his name is not even mentioned.

Various causes may be assigned for this partial eclipse of Bremond. For one thing he is no longer before the eyes of the world as when he published his *Apology pour Fénelon*, "the best romance of the year 1910", or when his views on the relation of prayer and poetry aroused a lively discussion in the press. Again, the first six volumes of the *Histoire Littéraire*, his chief work, contain some long discussions of theology, and the last five are almost entirely devoted to the teaching of the French mystics; so the work is not likely to become popular in its present form. But the principal reason for the neglect of Bremond is that criticisms of his work as an historian have become more pronounced. The researches of such scholars as Dr Jean Orcibal have tended to lessen reliance on his judgements.

Two principal charges have been made against Bremond. In the first place it is said that he wrote according to the mood of the moment and therefore is not to be taken seriously. As evidence for this it is stated that he attacks Bossuet in the *Apologie pour Fénelon*, and praises him in *Bossuet, Maître d'Oraison*; and that he describes St Cyran as a "saint manqué" in the fourth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire*, and in the eleventh volume vindicates his spiritual teaching. There is not much substance in this objection.

The *Apologie pour Fénelon* was published in 1910, and *Bossuet, Maître d'Oraison* in 1932. The fourth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire* was published in 1920 and the eleventh in 1933. During the intervening years Bremond had thought and read a great deal on these subjects; and the passages in the later volumes express his more mature opinion. Moreover Bremond would have maintained that human nature is so many-sided that no biographer can give a final judgement on the person he is studying. "Our inward life," he said, "is a flux and reflux, an inextricable network of which we know so little, and in face of which the most assured spirit can easily see that only God is able to judge the secret desires of the heart." If Bremond had been taxed with being an impressionist he would have replied that he only tried to record what he saw at the moment.

There is more substance in the charge that Bremond was partial in his judgements. He had his likes and dislikes; and these sometimes made him blind to the faults of his heroes, and prone to ignore or explain away the qualities of those to whom he was antipathetic. Fénelon is always the "master of the eye and ear of those who listen", while Bossuet "had more piety than intelligence, little doctrine, and that not very sound; he was an outstanding director but a mediocre thinker". Binet is "one of the spiritual masters of his time", while "anyone with a word to say against de Rancé is accepted as a qualified witness, but if the testimony tends in the opposite direction he is dismissed as a mere apologist".<sup>1</sup> Nor does Bremond always estimate justly the religious movements and tendencies of the age with which he is dealing. Dr Orcibal has pointed out that he strained historical data in making St Francis de Sales the hero of his volume on Devout Humanism.<sup>2</sup> St Francis had another and sterner side to his spiritual direction, and this became more marked as he grew older. In fact the teaching of St Francis, taken as a whole, is in line with that of the austere Cardinal Bérulle; and St Cyran, whom Bremond deprecates, was the pupil and friend of Bérulle. Mother Angélique said that St Cyran's spiritual direction was more like that of St Francis de Sales than any other she had known.

<sup>1</sup> G. K. Chesterton described *L'Abbé Tempête* as "a brilliant squib". The Cistercian Fr A. L. Luddy gave a reply to it in his *The Real de Rancé*.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Origines du Jansénisme*, vol. ii, p. 41, n.1 (1947).

In fairness to Bremond it must be stated that he avows his partiality. In his article on Mme de Maintenon in *Autour de l'humanisme* he admits that he is revealing only one side of her nature. Other sides—the more excellent—had been described by a number of eloquent writers. He fastens on “the insincerities, perhaps sub-conscious, which she shared with the rest of mankind”. Again, in the fourth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire* he admits that he may be mistaken in his view of St Cyran. And with all his detraction of de Rancé he confesses that he cannot understand the affection which the founder of La Trappe inspired in those who knew him best, or the esteem felt for him by some of the most eminent religious leaders of the time. The devotion of de Rancé's valet is a mystery to Bremond, as is the fact that “recruits flocked to La Trappe from all parts of the world, and after the first flush of enthusiasm was over, allowed themselves to be moulded by his terrible hands”.

These avowals suggest the real significance of Bremond as a writer. He was essentially a devout humanist, a successor of Erasmus and St Thomas More and the Cambridge Platonists. Henri Bremond was born in an environment of Devout Humanism; for the home of his boyhood at Aix-en-Provence was a centre of liberal culture; and the tendency was strengthened by the love of literature instilled into him by his Jesuit masters, by his reading of the novels of Sir Walter Scott and the leaders of the English Romantic movement, by his friendship with Maurice Barrès, and his contacts with literary circles in Paris. Bremond became the advocate of Devout Humanism. Indeed this is the account he gives of himself. “There have been”, he wrote, “two schools of thought within the Church; those who adhered to the stricter side of the teachings of St Augustine, and those who looked upon man as having the divine impress engraved in his very being. We unhesitatingly avow ourselves to be of the milder and more humane school”. This optimism was founded upon “a clearly defined theology”, the theology of Trent and the great doctors of the sixteenth century, “which humanists had the mission of illustrating for the use of simple souls and of applying to the devotional order. So they recurred with particular gusto to the doctrine of preventient grace . . . . The divine Providence never ceases trying to draw us from the evil and lead us to the good”. Take, for instance, the following passage:

The humanists wanted to annex the world itself to the kingdom of heaven. In the *Théopneste* of Fr Alexis, Grace shows him a palace set on a rock all sparkling with diamonds, and having 354 pavilions and various other mansions corresponding to those in the Empyrean. Was it heaven or the cloister? It was neither, but a picture of the life of the world, where many exercise themselves in various virtues such as mercy, justice, nobility, literature, and manly affairs, all under the sway of devotion, with angel faces and heavenly conversation. They are loved and esteemed by heaven and earth, content and happy in a paradise of all the good things of this life while expecting a better life to come.

Such passages enable us to understand Bremond's championship of the humane and generous Fénelon, and his love for the milder side of the teaching of St Francis de Sales. On the other hand it inspired his depreciation of Mme de Maintenon, the presiding genius of the "puritan" Court of the later days of Louis XIV, and his irritation at Bossuet's tremendous denunciations of the theatre, and his reaction against the severity of de Rancé's direction of La Trappe. Above all it inspired his antipathy to Jansenism, which he conceived as the spirit of pessimism in religion, rigorism in morals, and the separation of the devout life from the everyday interests and activities of mankind.

The Jansenist, he wrote, would have us spend all our time in prayer and devotion because all our natural inclinations are profane and pagan. The Jesuit replies, "Though such words seem to favour devotion they really discredit it to the world by presenting that holy virtue as harsh and undesirable, whereas it accords with everything that is not unreasonable . . . ." The Jansenists wanted Christians to be a race of supermen like the heroes of the first age of the Church . . . . Nothing is tolerable which is not miraculous . . . . To this religion of romance the Jesuit opposed the conception of normal human nature vivified and refined through the grace of God. "The spirit of Christianity", wrote Fr François Bonal, "is not always occupied in making prophets, martyrs, and anchorites; it is busy fashioning good fathers, good children, good masters, and good lackeys . . . . In our times it is easy to see that the true mortification of the spirit is often more efficacious and fitting than excessive laceration of the body, that God sanctifies more souls in these latter days of the Church by the ordinary life of Moses and Jesus Christ than by the austerities of Elijah and St John the Baptist".

Bremond's representation of Jansenism fails to do justice to it.

The schools of Port Royal gave much attention to the humanities, and Port Royal was the leading Jansenist institution. Racine,

whose plays were so much appreciated at Court, was a pupil at Port Royal and was very much influenced by it; and the fact that Pascal formed a company to run omnibuses on the streets of Paris shows that prominent Jansenists took an interest in the practical pursuits and business of mankind. There is even an account of M. Arnauld and his friend M. Angran laughing heartily at a farce played in the Jansenist convent at Angers, in which M. Arnauld was represented as borne in triumph in a carriage to which Jesuits were harnessed; and the pupils at Port Royal once made a Jesuit doll which was put in a boat on a pond, and "the young boarders had great fun in drowning it".

Yet with all his partiality Bremond's work as an historian has considerable value. His discoveries of old documents hidden in the libraries of religious houses brought to light new data which have had to be taken into account by later writers. But more than this, his gifted pen made the devotees of that time live before us. Religious biographies had been written in an insipid and rather childish manner, and fear of diminishing the dignity of the saints had made writers suppress their more human and homely characteristics. Bremond had no such false modesty. Instead of filling his narrative with pious details and edifying conjectures he sought to produce a less ecclesiastical atmosphere "so as to adapt the narrative to the peaceful insinuations of grace". Take for instance his account of Marie de l'Incarnation in the sixth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire*. This intense devotee was in turn wife and mother, a director of big business, nun, missionary to Canada, and head of a religious community. Her letters as given by Bremond have a vitality, a freedom and ease which belongs to the world rather than to the cloister. When she went to Canada everything interested, amused, and enchanted her. The manners and customs of the Hurons and their sign language, the mixed breed of colonists, the successive governors discouraged by the inertia of the motherland, the royal decrees regulating commerce ("this is a great country and will make traders rich"). She looked out on all this tragi-comedy from behind her grille in the convent at Quebec, and in spite of the weight of years and her sharp afflictions she kept her youthful high spirits. And Marie is but one of many such who pass before us in Bremond's pages—Mme de Chantal riding through the forest with a psalter at her saddle-bow, or rousing her lazy husband for early morning mass

by waving a lighted candle before his eyes; or Margaret d'Arbouse, one of the great Abbesses, refusing to allow the singing of a Gradual which represented the Blessed Virgin tearing her face at the sight of her Son crucified. Nor are the foibles and peculiarities of these good people omitted—the pulpit mannerisms and ridiculous stories of Fr Honore which made Parisians laugh; de Noblitz's novel methods of popular evangelism; the eccentric Dom Claude stripping himself when he thought no-one was looking and rolling in a gooseberry bush to quench the fires of concupiscence. And Bremond has a strange tenderness and sympathy for neurasthenics and unstable types such as Desmarests and Ulric Guttinguer. Another element in Bremond's conception of history is seen in his copious use of legends. Some of them contain miraculous elements which are duly recorded. But one can read between the lines that Bremond takes them with a grain of salt. And the wonders he recounts are unconventional and unfamiliar. All this adds picquancy to the narrative. Moreover Bremond believed that legends have their value as revealing the spirit of an epoch and the soul of those who wrote them.

Writers on history may be divided into two classes. There are the analytical historians. They patiently gather all available evidence, and study it in order to discover the profound causes of the movements of the past and the institutions of the present. Such were the Count Alex. de Toqueville in France and Bishop William Stubbs in England. Their attitude is judicial; their style sober; they eschew lyricism, for their object is to instruct rather than to entertain. But there are historians of a different order—Michelet, J. A. Froude, Shakespeare in his historical plays, and Hilaire Belloc. They have their predilections; but their powers of imagination and gifts of expression charm those who love the music of words; and they have flashes of insight which reveal the inner meaning of the events and movements with which they deal. Bremond was one of these. His subtlety combined with his immense learning unfolded so many and such varied aspects of Catholic life and thought and with such originality that he aroused a new interest in the study of French religion. "More than any other he contributed to the defence of his country's spiritual patrimony, and he made many love it".

## CLOSE AND COLLEGE: PREMATURE REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES IN ENGLAND, 1154-1334 \*

THE monastic organization of cathedral chapters had begun to give way before the Norman Conquest. Canons were exempted from two vows, poverty and obedience, and allowed to be non-resident on condition that they were employed in scholarship or administration. These secular cathedrals can be seen emerging in the time of Canute, and owed much to Lotharingian influence. Two Lotharingians, Duduc and Hermann, were appointed by him to the sees of Somerset and Ramsay, while Leofric, who had been educated in Lotharingia, became Bishop of Crediton, and transferred his see to Exeter. King Harold, who had travelled extensively and admired the Lotharingian system, appointed Athelard of Liége as head of a college of canons which he established at Waltham, and two other Lotharingians, Walter and Gisa, were appointed to the sees of Hereford and Wells respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The Norman Conquest accelerated this trend. Sees hitherto sited in small places were transferred to large centres of population: Dorchester to Lincoln, Selsey to Chichester, Elmham to Thetford, Lichfield to Chester, and Wells to Bath. Moreover, three Norman bishops, Osmund of Salisbury (nephew of the Conqueror), Remigius of Lincoln, and Thomas of York allowed prebendal incomes to individual canons who wished to travel abroad and study, and after joint consultation introduced a further refinement whereby the duties of cathedral officers like the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer were specifically outlined.

Further impetus to these developments derived from the surges of monastic reform which all flowed to wild and unpopulated places: the Cistercians, for instance, established their new foundations at Waverley (1128), Rievaulx (1131), and Fountains (1132).

\* The manuscript of this article was among those handed over to the present publisher by the representatives of the late Editor. In spite of inquiries, its authorship remains unknown, but it is published here because it seemed wrong that a circumstance unconnected with its merits should prevent the publication of a useful contribution to the history of the period it covers.

With secular cathedrals offering every inducement to ambition and talent, it was not surprising that they attracted a diversity of scholastic, legal, and administrative talent. Six of these secular cathedrals were especially notable in this respect: Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, York, London, and Salisbury.

The supersession of the cloister by the close was also indirectly assisted by canon law. As early as 826 a synodal decree had stated that bishops should establish schools in order to make the divine commands more manifest. In 1138 the Council of Westminster decreed that masters letting their schools to others for hire should be subject to episcopal censure. This episcopal control took two forms; the giving of instruction in the cathedral school and the issue of licences. The Lateran Council of 1179 ordered that every cathedral church should institute such a master, endowed with a benefice, to teach clerks and poor scholars, a decree adopted by the Council of London in 1200, and further elaborated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which required every cathedral to support a master of arts.

## 1

Contemporary with these decrees, the secular cathedrals had been developing schools. Two of them, Lincoln and Exeter, have been recently described as being "on the verge of universities, for which they prepared the way".<sup>2</sup>

Lincoln had, as we have seen, under its first Norman bishop Remigius organized the distribution of canonries to scholars: one of his acts was to invite Albinus of Angers to teach in his school. Bishop Robert Bloet (1093-1122/3) sent two of his clerks to Bishop Ivo of Chartres and corresponded with Theobald of Etampes, and so eminent did the Lincoln school become under him that Henry I sent one of his natural sons there to be trained. By 1160 it had such a reputation that Thorlak, the first saint of the Icelandic Church, spent some time there. By 1176 there is evidence of a law school, one of the teachers having formerly been at Bologna, Oxford, and Paris. In 1192 Giraldus Cambrensis studied under the famous William de Monte (Chancellor of Lincoln 1192-1200)—so-called because he had previously lectured on the Mont Ste Genéviève in Paris.

Exeter, established as one of the first of the secular cathedrals by Leofric, claimed Robert Pullen as a lecturer in theology in 1132,

and in the latter years of the twelfth century Alexander of Essebi could refer to the existing teachers of theology in England as "master Philip of Oxford", a master at Northampton, and "master John at Exeter". It also nourished three of the most popular writers of the twelfth century, Bartholomew, whose taste for stinging remarks was most unepiscopal, Baldwin, and John of Salisbury. Baldwin in fact was born and received his early education in Exeter, and after a period abroad became an archdeacon at Exeter. In 1184 when he became Archbishop of Canterbury, he aroused the anger of the monks there because he wished to build a college for secular canons at Hackington and he proposed to endow it with part of the property belonging to the archbishopric, previously alienated in the monk's favour. He also proposed to include on this foundation such men as Hubert Walter, William of Ste Mère l'Eglise, and Henry of Northampton. So great a threat did the monks construe this college of secular canons to be that they fought to secure papal sanction for its suppression.

At Hereford there is not so much evidence of an active school as of an active interest in study of the natural sciences. This was probably due to the influence of the Lotharingian Bishop Robert Losinga, who, as a civil servant, was an active promoter of the use of the abacus in the English Exchequer. As a bishop he continued to foster the study of calculation from the year 1079, and his successors Gilbert Foliot (1147-1163), Robert of Melun (1163-1157), and Robert Foliot (1174-1186) continued the practice. Robert of Melun had in fact taught at the Monte Ste Genéviève in Paris as Abelard's successor and opened a school of theology of his own at Melun before his consecration. His *Sentences* contained a plea for a critical outlook to the problems of faith. From Hereford therefore issued some remarkable works on mathematics, astronomy, and astrology, together with a tract on metals (*De rebus metallis*), all the work of Roger of Hereford.<sup>4</sup>

Three more cathedral schools deserve mention. York attracted Vacarius, the first teacher of civil law in England; St Paul's could display a constellation of legal talent which included Ralph de Diceto, Richard FitzNigel, Peter of Blois, Roger Niger, and of course Gilbert Foliot himself;<sup>5</sup> while Salisbury, as we shall see, was to house the first university college in England.

Yet all these schools, whether in secular or monastic cathedrals, depended on the charity of the bishop and the personality of the

master. There was no incorporated guild of students or of masters to perpetuate the disciplines, for since bishops seem to have the determining influence over their own households it is hard to see how it could be otherwise.

Perhaps the most glittering episcopal entourage was that of monastic Canterbury, compared by Stubbs to a nineteenth century university.<sup>6</sup> Archbishop Theobald (1138-1161, who had been trained at *Bec*) gathered around himself men of distinction like John of Salisbury (who had been trained at Paris) and Vacarius. His successor, Thomas Beckett, filled his household with scholarly men and "every form of learning". Thomas Beckett did more than provide a haven for the scholars of his own time however; for by his courageous stand for benefit of clergy, he endowed the tonsure with a *sacrosanctity* which materially helped the clerks to obtain their professional independence. Maitland might call benefit of clergy "one of the worst evils of the later Middle Ages", but it certainly assisted professional men to escape the courts for a first offence, and it played a great part in the establishment of university privileges in England.

## 2

Beckett's stand on privilege of clergy precipitated the recall of English clerks from Paris. "Paris", rhapsodized a contemporary, "was the mill where the world's corn was ground, and the oven where its bread was baked." "Let us suppose", wrote another, "that all the sky is parchment, all the sea is ink, and all the stars are Paris masters."<sup>7</sup> No star glittered so brightly, and certainly none had such a dramatic eclipse as Peter Abelard. He had occupied chairs in the cathedral school of *Notre Dame* and at *Monte Ste Genéviève*, and attracted a large number of students by his exposition of the dialectical method, i.e. by collecting a number of scriptural and patristic extracts to illustrate the pros and cons of certain disputed theological questions. Universals, he declared, exist only in the minds of men, and previous to that, in the mind of God. Castrated by the uncle of his mistress, condemned by the Church, he died in 1142 at a *Cluniac* priory. His influence was transmitted to England by his pupil, John of Salisbury.

Other Englishmen of the twelfth century found in Paris the stimulus which their eleventh-century forebears had found in *Lotharingia*. Adelard of Bath and Adam du Petit Pont remained

to teach in French cathedral schools; Richard of St Victor and Isaac of Stella to teach in monastic schools; Alexander Neckham and Walter Map to return to England and diffuse the Paris techniques. Neckham became an Augustinian Canon and Abbot of Cirencester from 1213-1217; Map a civil servant and a canon of Lincoln, Hereford, and St Paul's.<sup>8</sup>

The system established by the cathedral school of Notre Dame of issuing licences to masters stimulated yet another development; that of a guild of masters for mutual protection and regulation. This guild, in the sense that any corporation was a guild, was called a *universitas*, and it emancipated the masters from the fickle patronage of a bishop. As the masters increased in power and number, they overflowed the cloister and migrated to the Mount, where John of Salisbury described how they clustered. In their guild, or *universitas*, it was inevitable that they should demand certain ceremonial requirements of incepting masters, and it was from this incepting 'ceremonial' that the university, as opposed to the cathedral school, was to take strength.<sup>9</sup> Those who were admitted to the degree of Master of Arts were allowed the right to teach—the *jus ubique docendi*.

## 3

Gilson has indicated the intimate connection between the centralization of Royal power and the canalization of learning and culture. Henry II, as one of his measures against Thomas Beckett, recalled English clerks from Paris in 1167. These scholars made for one of Henry's favourite spots, a centre which was easy of access, the first place on the Thames West of London, an administrative centre with a royal castle and two big monasteries, where a number of scholars had already gathered to hear the lectures of Theobald of Etampes (who described a monastery as "a place and prison of the damned"), Robert Pullen (whom we have met lecturing at Exeter), and Vacarius (whom we have already met at York). This centre was Oxford, and its Augustinian priory, St Frideswide's, had at its head Robert of Cricklade from 1141 until 1171. Robert of Cricklade had visited Italy and Sicily, and compiled a collection of extracts from Pliny's *Natural History*. St Frideswide's also housed the chest of this nucleus of scholars.<sup>10</sup>

From the middle of the twelfth century onwards, Oxford developed rapidly as a *studium generale*. Giraldus Cambrensis

(whom we have found at Lincoln c. 1092) read his recently composed *Topographia Hibernice* to the masters and scholars there assembled in 1184-5, and eight years later we are told that the clerks there were so numerous that the city could hardly feed them. This assembly of clerks was not regarded as very significant by the prior of the neighbouring monastery of Osney, who, when puzzled about a point of canon law, consulted his brother prior of Worcester about it. The prior of Worcester was surprised that he should do so, since at Oxford advice could be obtained from clerks "skilled in mystic eloquence, weighing the words of the law, and bringing forth from their treasures things new and old".<sup>11</sup>

## 4

*Ubi stabilitas, ibi religio.* That the masters were not secure at Oxford might be seen from their migrations in the thirteenth century. These flights, as bright and transitory as shooting stars, illuminate the embryonic universities existing in the cathedral towns and elsewhere.

The first migration from Oxford took place in 1209. A scholar killed a woman, and the town authorities raided a students' hostel, arresting several members. The King gave permission for the execution of some of the scholars arrested and the rest, together with the masters, dispersed after the fashion of those times. Some went to Reading (where a semi-Cluniac foundation had existed since 1121 as an autonomous abbey), a town on the navigable Thames and at the division of the great western road along which travellers passed to Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Bath, and Bristol. Its abbey possessed at this time some 230 books, and its spirit may be gauged from the fact that the earliest of English rounds, *Sumer is icumen in*, is held to have been composed within its walls soon after this time.<sup>12</sup> Other migrants fled to Paris, and others again to Cambridge, where a community of regular canons had long existed. Cambridge in fact proved an ideal retreat, for in 1229 further refugees from Paris were offered asylum there.

Another migration took place in 1238. The papal legate Otho, lodging in Osney monastery near Oxford, was waited upon by a body of clerks. His brother, who happened to be in the kitchen at the time, threw a cauldron of hot water in the face of a poor Irish chaplain begging at the door, and other servants treated the Oxford clerks rather roughly. Outraged, the clerks set about the legate

and his brother, killing the brother and driving the legate to take refuge for his life in the abbey tower. The legate protested, the university was suspended, and the scholars migrated. Some went to Northampton, others to Salisbury.

Northampton was also an ideal refuge. Situated in the middle of the kingdom, it was, with Oxford and Exeter, one of the three theological schools mentioned by Alexander of Essebi, and was sufficiently important for King John to have visited it fifteen times and for him to have held his famous debate with Pandulf there in 1211. It was also recognized as a convenient place of assembly: forty-six Benedictine chapters and twenty chapters of Augustinian canons were later held here, and in the very year after the secession the Dominicans held their first chapter here. Its castle was one of the four most important in the kingdom. Its fair was one of the four or five from which purchases were systematically made for the royal household. There was a Franciscan house (founded in 1224) and a Dominican (founded in 1230). It was also a flourishing industrial town—especially for smiths.<sup>13</sup> With the arrival of the migrant scholars in 1238 (reinforced by others from Cambridge) Northampton seems to have begun to develop as an embryonic university. For twenty-three years this development continued, Henry III encouraging the clerks in February 1261 to persist in their *scholastica disciplina*. But four years later, however, on 1 February 1265, the baronial council, victorious over the King at Lewes, consulted with the bishops and decided that the “new university” should be removed because it might seriously affect the interests of the borough of Oxford, now generally regarded as the home of learning. Their solicitude for the town was touching: and prompted Sir Maurice Powicke to write “even as late as 1265 a ‘university of scholars’ had no abiding city; the interests of the householders and shopkeepers counted more than academic prestige.”<sup>14</sup> Yet the baronial solicitude for the town of Oxford did not prevent more scholars, from Cambridge this time, migrating to Northampton in 1268.

Salisbury had an even more tangible attraction for seceding scholars than Northampton, for it possessed at this time one of the most famous theological schools of the English secular cathedrals.<sup>15</sup> Richard le Poore, Dean and later Bishop from 1198 to 1228, was the benignant spiritual influence, Master Henry of Bishopstone, who had previously lectured in canon law at Oxford, the intel-

lectual. So when the secession from Oxford took place in 1238, the students found a school with some tradition, and there is evidence that the tradition lasted for yet another forty-one years, till 1279. In that year, both the Chancellor and Sub-Dean of the cathedral claimed to control the scholars, and the award made shows that Salisbury possessed all the characteristics of a *studium generale*: masters, faculties, and scholars. At least two university colleges existed there: De Vaux College, or the House of the Valley Scholars, founded by Bishop Bridport in 1261, adjoining the southern boundary of the cathedral close; and St Edmund's College, founded in 1269 by Bishop Wyville for students of theology only. There was a tradition, retailed by Wood, that the scholars of Salisbury could take their degrees at Oxford without further examination. Certainly students lingered at Salisbury even as late as 1540-2, for Leland, visiting Salisbury in those years, wrote, "part of these scholars (de Vaulx) remaine yn the college at Saresbyri, and have two chapelyns to serve the church there . . . The residew studie at Oxford".<sup>16</sup>

The fear of migration certainly had its effect on the ecclesiastical, as well as the town's authorities. For we find Archbishop Peckham writing to Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, advising him to walk delicately when dealing with university privileges. "Do not pull up the tares in such a way as you destroy the wheat", he wrote in November 1284. "This your special flock will rather expose itself dispersed to the beasts of the field, than submit to the unaccustomed servitude of this your austerity".<sup>17</sup>

## 5

Meanwhile an intellectual tradition in Oxford itself was being built up by the Friars. To galvanize the teaching of the Oxford schools came members of the mendicant order founded by St Francis of Assisi in 1209. These mendicants exhaled a new doctrine which rightly earns for them a leading rôle in the rise of modern science.<sup>18</sup> The founder of their order judged knowledge by its results. His manifest apostolate of nature as the open work of God, and his communion with all living creatures, worked directly against the verbal subtleties distilled by the scholastic philosophers. In accordance with his mandate, the Franciscans ministered to men's bodies as well as their souls. As the Platonists of their time, they were natural opponents of the Aristotelian-

ism of their contemporary order, the Dominicans, who never wielded anything like their influence.

The Franciscans established themselves at Oxford in 1224, three years after the Dominicans.<sup>19</sup> They captured the main channel of English philosophic thought. Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), the first *magister regens* to hold the chair of theology conceded by the University of Paris to the Franciscans, assumed the brown habit in 1222. Adam Marsh (d. 1258), the real founder of the great Franciscan school at Oxford, was the friend and counsellor of Grossteste and Simon de Montfort. Robert Grossteste, first Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was also the first lecturer to the Oxford Franciscans from 1229 until his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. His literary activity and influence were tremendous. The reform of the calendar, the magnifying properties of lenses, the teachings of the Salernitan school of medicine, and the first complete Latin translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* were only fragments of his mathematical, physical, astronomical, and philosophical interests.<sup>20</sup> He was the first man in Western Europe to invite the Greeks to come from the east, and he imported numerous Greek books. These were carried even further by his pupil Roger Bacon, the *Doctor Mirabilis*. Of Bacon's span, range, and foresight, much has been written, but nothing apter than Dean Rashdall's remark that in him, "all the characteristic ideas of the sixteenth century were held in solution".

The Dean added

it is probable that he was nearer not merely to the physical conception of measurable force but to the wider conception of general laws harmoniously combining to form a general system, than any thinker who lived before the seventeenth century, and this is a greater intellectual achievement than any real or supposed "anticipations".<sup>21</sup>

Bartholomew the Englishman, who spent most of his life on the continent writing an encyclopaedia for plain people (*simplices et crudus*) entitled *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, was another Franciscan, as were Duns Scotus (d. 1308), whose name now immortalizes a dullard or a fool, and William of Ockham.

Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the Franciscan order was the rapidity with which it spread throughout England.<sup>22</sup> With their Oxford convent at the head, they established an educational organization throughout the country. In 1255-6 there were forty-

nine convents with 242 friars. By 1334 they had been divided into the custodies of London (nine convents), Oxford (eight convents), Cambridge (nine convents), York (seven convents), Bristol (nine convents), Worcester (nine convents), and Newcastle (nine convents).

In addition to their Oxford teachers, the Franciscans had (c 1237-8) established lecturers at London, Canterbury, Hereford, Leicester, Bristol, and Cambridge, and thus "the gift of wisdom flowed out over the English province". By 1336 Benedict XI ordered that no friar should become a bachelor unless "he had first lectured on the four books of the sentences with writings of the approved doctors in other *studia* which are in the same order called *Generalia*, or in one of the following convents in England London, York, Newcastle, Exeter, or *Stramforicensis*". So great indeed became the reputation of the English province for learning that when a decree of 1411 forbade a friar from proceeding to the degree of master unless he had attended classes at Paris, the English province was especially exempted.

The Dominican system of schools "was a kind of distributed university", <sup>23</sup> yet never threw up in England any scholars who even compared with continental members of the order like Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, the great reconcilers of Averroistic doctrines with Christianity. Their greatest English representative was Robert Kilwardby, who taught at Paris and Oxford from 1248 to 1261. Kilwardby was English Provincial of his Order from 1261 to 1272 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1272 to 1278. Though a Dominican, he was anti-Thomist. His *De ortu et divisione philosophiae* has been described by Dr Sarton as "perhaps the most important work of its kind in mediaeval Christendom", <sup>24</sup> for it provides for a complete division of the mechanical arts into seven divisions: a *trivium* (agriculture, dietetics, and medicine) and a *quadrivium* (costuming, armour-making, architecture, and commerce).

## 6

Yet how feebly established the university was at Oxford in 1264 may be seen in the statutes of Walter de Merton for the college which was to bear his name. As Rashdall pointed out, "the foundation clause contemplates not merely the possibility of a temporary removal of the *studium* from Oxford, but of a state of

things in which it might be expedient for his scholars to settle elsewhere".<sup>25</sup> Five years later, in fact, he acquired a house at Cambridge for his foundation to provide against such contingencies.

Before Merton's foundation, the students lived in hostels. Such hostels were often kept by a tutor. Oliver Sutton for instance, whom we have already met in the previous section as Bishop of Lincoln, actually rented a lodging house and lecture hall from Osney Abbey on the present site of University College, which he kept before his elevation to the episcopacy. Then again, William of Durham, a former rector of Wearmouth, left in 1249 the sum of 310 marks to support ten or more masters of arts studying theology, which the university used to buy houses. In 1260, four years before Merton's foundation, Sir John de Balliol was publicly scourged by the Bishop of Durham, and as a penance promised to provide for poor scholars at the university. But neither of these foundations, nor any of the monastic hostels, developed until after Merton's foundation their distinctive character as colleges.

Merton's regulations provided for virtual autonomy, maintained by an adequate endowment. Freedom from financial control enabled the beneficiaries of his foundation to enjoy relative independence. Merton's idea was to train for *all* the professions: the civil service, the Church, and medicine.

The college system which sprang from Merton's example owed much to the times. It was, in the completeness of its domestic arrangements, part manor house, part monastery. And, as Sir Charles Mallet truly said, "Walter de Merton not only founded a community. He gave shape and purpose to a new ideal".<sup>26</sup> Members of his foundation were to take no vows and enter no cloister. Altar duties were performed for them by chaplains. Under statutes of 1274 the majority of them were to study the Liberal Arts and Philosophy before passing to theology.

From the first Merton College became a pioneer in scientific thought, and its walls housed some of the leading mathematicians of the fourteenth century: Bradwardine, Rede, Simon Bredon, John Maudith, and others.<sup>27</sup> In spite of prohibition of the study of medicine, it flourished too in the persons of John Gaddesden and John Ashenden. Merton's influence on other founders was great for, sixteen years after his foundation charter, Hugo de Balsham, the Bishop of Ely, after trying to unite regulars and seculars on the same foundation, founded the college of Peterhouse which later

benefactors, notably Simon de Montacute in 1338, remodelled on Mertonian lines.

From the date of its first statutes in 1274, Merton College became the dominant community in the intellectual life of Oxford, and in the following century, of Europe. Within two years of its foundation, Archbishop Kilwardby (whom we have already met as the leading Dominican scholar in England) was regulating its administration, appointing teachers, and regulating their payments. Within ten years of its foundation, Archbishop Peckham was stressing the necessity of controlling "garrulous tongues" and cutting off "rotten limbs", and indicating abuses like the non-attendance at services, the speaking of the vernacular, and neglect of grammar.<sup>28</sup>

But the "garrulous tongues" were wagging to some purpose. Some fellows of Merton were developing the technique of scientific research, and elaborating instruments more powerful than words to investigate the secrets of nature.<sup>29</sup> William Grizaunte, a physician, wrote four works on astronomy, none of which now exists. John Mauduit drew up astronomical tables and did much to advance trigonometrical studies. Richard of Wallingford, whom we have already met in a preceding section, was their contemporary. These three contemporaries with Simon Islip (later Archbishop of Canterbury) were precursors of many others like Simon Bredon, who migrated from Balliol to enjoy "the severe discipline" found at Merton, and took the degree of M.D. in 1330. The greatest mathematician of them all was John Eastwood, whose partner was William Rede. By the time Chaucer was sending his son Lewis to Oxford, the typical student

Had learned art, but all his fantasy  
Was turned for to learn astrology

and enjoyed

a chamber . . . in that hostelry  
Alone withouten any company  
Full fetishly y-dight with herbs swoot,  
And he himself was sweet as is the root  
of liquorice or any setewale.  
His Almagest, and books great and small,  
His astrolabe belonging to his art,  
His augrim stones layed fair apart,  
On shelves couched at his beddes head.<sup>30</sup>

Merton's influence was infectious<sup>33</sup>. So satisfied was Simon Islip (a Fellow in 1307 and Archbishop of Canterbury 1349-66) with the beneficial effect of the "secular" education it afforded that he founded a college of mixed monks and seculars, and left 1,000 ewes to improve the breed of the Canterbury monks' sheep.<sup>31</sup> His college at Oxford was, unfortunately, monasticized four years after his death.

## 7

The northern scholars at Oxford, unofficially organized as a "nation", were in continual conflict with those of the south—also a "nation". One of their great fights in 1274 led to fifty persons being accused of homicide and sent up to London for trial. As a result of this, the Chancellor of the university was invested with a control over scholars, whose halls and hostels were freed from civic and fiscal liabilities and placed under his rule. This right, taken in 1275, was a prelude to many others which elevated the university above the normal jurisdiction of the Oxford civic courts and give it a set of rules and a jurisdiction of its own. In 1288, on a further threat of migration, the university secured more privileges, and in 1290 the Chancellor's jurisdiction was defined for the first time. These latter privileges, the result of Town being pitted against Gown rather than the antipathies of the two nations, all tended to mitigate the tendency to migrate.

The last of the migrations took place in 1334—this time to Stamford. Whether or not the seceders were northerners, the fact remains that the seventeen masters who began to teach there were all northerners. This university at Stamford undoubtedly disturbed the University of Oxford, which, with consummate tact, seized the occasion of St Valentine's Day (1334) to petition Queen Philippa. She was a consort of spirit and at that very time was interceding her husband, Edward III, on behalf of the burghers of Calais. After devoutly thanking her "for the great good and honour that she had so often done to her little university of Oxford", the petitioners went on that

certain persons, who have received all their honours among us, in destruction as far as in them lies, of our university have gone to Stamford, and daily attract others there by their false pretences.

They urged her "not to allow the town of Oxford be disinherited in this behalf for the honour of another". They sent another letter

to the Bishop of Lincoln (in whose diocese both Oxford and Stamford were situated) and a third to the King:

The new assembly of scholars at the town of Stamford for university indwellers, which as it is certain to result in the loss of our school and in being a general seminary of discord for the whole kingdom, we beseech and beg you to extirpate by your royal power, so that what was begun as improvident rashness may be quickly put an end to by the royal wisdom, and be a warning to evil doers.

The seceding masters, for their part, petitioned the King himself, pointing out

the great and grievous discords have been for a long time and still are in the University of Oxford, by reason of the great multitude there of different people, and many homicides, crimes, robberies and other evils without number have been done there, and happen from one day to another, which neither the Chancellor nor the force of the town can punish or appease,

as the reason why they seceded to Stamford, and asked

for safety of themselves and other scholars who dare not approach the said town of Oxford, and to staunch the great evils and assaults aforesaid, to stay and study . . . that it may please him of his good grace to grant them his royal assent to take them under his protection, to stop all the evils aforesaid, for the advancement of holy church and of the clergy of his realm.

Queen Philippa evidently had her way, for six months later the King ordered the Sheriff of Lincolnshire to go to Stamford and issue a proclamation that no universities were to be allowed except at Oxford and Cambridge: and furthermore instructing him that he should "without delay certify clearly and openly to us in our Chancery under your seal the names of those whom after such proclamation and inhibition you shall find disobedient".<sup>32</sup>

But the seventeen masters, all northerners, refused to obey, and three months later, in November, the King once more sent an order to the Sheriff to go to Stamford and seize the books and goods of the seceders. By January the following year, Stamford University was still in existence, for the King sent another order, this time to William Trussell, escheator this side Trent, to go with the Sheriff and execute judgement on the disobedient scholars. The Sheriff still did not go. The scholars themselves addressed a further petition to the King saying that they were living under the protection of John Earl of Warren. But the King was adamant. On 28 March he wrote again to the escheator to go down to Stam-

ford and take the names of the disobedient. This was done in July 1335, when 17 masters, 5 Stamford clergy, 1 bachelor, and 14 scholars, together with the manciple of Brasenose were found there. The jury must have sympathized with the seceders, for they professed to find no goods.

The University of Oxford had been thoroughly frightened. For not only did they write to Cambridge asking them not to admit the head of the Stamford institution, William of Barnby, but they also imposed an oath, which remained obligatory on all incepting masters of the university for the next 492 years, not to lecture *tanquam in universitate* outside the two universities.

So the door was finally closed on any further foundations of a university character outside Oxford and Cambridge. Thus, by the concentration of academic energies, England avoided the dilution which characterized other countries, and as a result Oxford and Cambridge established a tradition for national as opposed to regional scholarship which has only recently been challenged.

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Welborn, "Lotharingia as a Centre of Arabic and Scientific Influence in the Eleventh Century" *Isis* XVI (1931), pp. 188-95. A Lotharingian scholar, Ralph, invited his friend Ragibold, master of the schools of Cologne, to come to the Festival of St Lambert to see his latest scientific instrument.

<sup>2</sup> K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals of the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), pp. 188-95. Lincoln came nearest to developing into a University.

<sup>3</sup> For much of the detail in this see E. Rathbone, "The Intellectual Influence of Bishops and Cathedral Chapters, 1066-1216" (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1926).

<sup>4</sup> G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1931), vol. ii, pt. 2, p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1907), pp. 8-9.

See also Charles Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1924) vol. i, p. 19: "A College was planned at Lambeth which might have made London the first of English Universities".

<sup>6</sup> W. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on Medieval and Modern History* (1900), p. 164.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> For a good bibliography and discussion of the European setting of these men, see M. de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy* (6th ed. trans. E. C. Messenger, 1951), pp. 23-41.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (London, 1950), p. 224, saw in the university movement a reaction against the patient scholarship and strict discipline of the cathedral schools: "it was an intellectual proletariat of needy and ambitious students, contemptuous of the past, impatient of restraint, and following the fashionable teacher and doctrine of the moment".

H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford, 1936) vol. i, p. 15, writes: "They were spontaneous products of that great instinct of association which swept like a great wave over the towns of Europe in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries".

<sup>10</sup> See J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (1950), pp. 113-15, and 118-19, and Sarton, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 1-47.

<sup>12</sup> Knowles, *Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 559.

<sup>13</sup> V. C. H. Northants, vol. ii (1906), pp. 144-6; vol. iii (1930), pp. 1-28.

<sup>14</sup> F. M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947) vol. ii, p. 786; *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought* (London, 1949) p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> Dora H. Robertson, *Sarum Close* (1938), p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1009* (Cambridge, 1908) 4th Ser., xxxi.

<sup>17</sup> R. M. T. Hill, "Oliver Sutton and the University of Oxford" *T. R. Hist. Soc.* (1949), p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* (London 1927), p. 310. "To Francis Europe owes, to some extent, the rise of science. He really taught men, though he knew it not, to turn from verbal quibblings to the study of nature".

<sup>19</sup> A. G. Little, "The first hundred years of the Franciscan School at Oxford" in *St. Francis of Assisi: 1226-1926. Essays in Commemoration* (1926).

<sup>20</sup> Sir Maurice Powicke, *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought* (1949), p. 223, calls him "the greatest Oxford man in this age, probably the greatest in any age" but points out that "his work was done and his reputation made as much after as while he was at Oxford".

<sup>21</sup> Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 246.

<sup>22</sup> A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), p. 62 shows that nearly 30 teachers were distributed throughout the English provinces of the order.

<sup>23</sup> F. M. Powicke, "Some Problems in the History of the Medieval University" in *Christian Life in the Middle Ages* (1935), p. 97.

<sup>24</sup> G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1931), vol. ii, p. 950. For Kilwardby's fusion of Latin and Islamic scientific thought see Marshall Clagett, "Some General Aspects of Physics in the Middle Ages" *Isis* (1948), vol. xxxix, p. 35. The intellectual authority of Kilwardby was such that when the Master-General of the order wanted philosophic advice, he went to Kilwardby and Thomas Aquinas, *Mélanges Mandonnet*, (Paris, 1930), vol. i, p. 126. For the view that Kilwardby insisted that human knowledge depended upon divine illumination, see E. M. F. Sommer-Seckendorff, *Studies in the Life of Robert Kilwardby* (Rome, 1937), p. 152.

<sup>25</sup> Rashdall, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 194 adding "it is worth mentioning that the founder in 1269-70 acquired a house at Cambridge for his college, no doubt in view of the possibility of a migration to that University".

<sup>26</sup> C. Mallet, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 115.

<sup>27</sup> R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford, 1923), vol. ii, pp. 22-68.

<sup>28</sup> C. Mallet, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 118.

<sup>29</sup> William Merle, one fellow of Merton, was also the most important meteorologist of the first half of the fourteenth century, his weather predictions being least affected by superstitious and occult method. E. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (Columbia, 1934), vol. iii, pp. 141-5.

<sup>30</sup> It is now asserted that Chaucer wrote the *Equatoris of the Planetis* hitherto ascribed to Bredon. See *Times Literary Supplement* (29 Feb., 26 March 1952).

<sup>31</sup> Richard Kilmington, Thomas Bradwardine, William of Heytesbury (Tisberus), and Roger of Swineshead (Suisset) were active agents in preparing men's minds for the advent of modern science—Powicke, *Ways of Med. Life*, pp. 224-5.

<sup>32</sup> V. C. H. Lincs. (1906), vol. ii, pp. 468-474; Leach, *Educational Charters*, pp. 283-9.

## OUR DAILY BREAD

By R. F. WRIGHT

ONE of the greatest problems of the New Testament which have perplexed the Christian Church from, at least, the second century to the present day is that contained in the fourth clause of the Lord's Prayer :

“Give us this day our daily bread.”

Briefly stated it is this: the word *ἐπιούσιος* translated “daily” in the A.V. is found nowhere else in “the 1,200 works of Greek literature which remain to us”. It occurs nowhere in the N.T. except in the Lord's Prayer; and here it is used both by Matthew and Luke. Therefore, our only method of translation must be by seeking its derivation and its context.

Origen, in the third century, one who had a profound knowledge of Greek literature, knew of no instance of its use apart from the Lord's Prayer, and asserted that it must have been a neologism to express a new truth.<sup>1</sup> But Dr Deissmann doubted this statement because he could see no need to coin a new word; although, of course, new words do occur in the N.T. Furthermore, he supported his argument by reference to the more recently discovered papyrus containing a house-keeper's account, and the mural inscription, by which he sought to identify this word with *diaria* as having the same meaning of “a slave's daily portion of food”, which he regarded as “convincing information”.<sup>2</sup> This has been accepted by so many as amounting to proof that it is essential to test the strength of this evidence.

In 1889 Professor Flinders Petrie published the results of an expedition to Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Chapter 5, which is the only part that concerns us, was written by Professor Sayce, who says: “The floating sand of the desert was found to be full of shreds of papyrus inscribed in Greek characters, which have been carefully preserved, unfolded and pieced together. They seem to have formed the contents of the office of some public scribe, which had been dispersed and scattered by the wind over the adjoining desert. They are lists of taxpayers, of private accounts and copies of deeds, etc., dating from the later Ptolemaic age to that which preceded the Arab invasion”. No. 245

of this collection is a household account, which Sayce dates at about the end of the fifth century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

It covers the expenditure of 13 days and gives the following items with cost—many occurring several times: beans 4 ob., chickpeas 2 ob., oil 3 ob., lentils 3 ob., bread 1 ob., salt  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob., etc.

Bread is mentioned six times but always as *ἀρτίδ*; case endings are omitted from most entries.

Now amongst these entries occurs the item *ιε ἐπιονσί*  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. Sayce in editing this document passes over this item without comment or translation.

In 1928 Professor Stiebitz, the Brunn philologist, contributed an article to the *Philologische Wochenschrift*,<sup>5</sup> in which he sought to identify this item in the household account with the clause in the Lord's Prayer. He writes: "This entry is rather surprising among the other concrete household requirements . . . and appears to be something more general than the other specified stock such as peas, etc. Now in a Pompeian Latin mural inscription, in which similar household requisites have been entered, we read the item, 'diaria'." He continues by quoting from various Latin authors, what has never been disputed, that "diaria" may be translated as "daily food destined for slaves, soldiers, and workmen, or even animals". It conveys the idea of a limited quantity and of inferior quality. He concludes: "I do not think we shall go far wrong if we identify the two expressions as meaning the same thing—food or wages destined for the day." Needless to say, he discredits Origen's statement about the coining of a new word.

Stiebitz did not claim that this new discovery amounted to proof, although he did write of it as "new and very important", but adds: "if this supposition is correct". Later writers have, however, tended to accept it without question as "proof". It is necessary, therefore, to examine the evidence closely.

The papyrus in question formed part of the collection housed in the Library at University College, London; but unfortunately it has been lost and the authorities have no knowledge as to its whereabouts. We cannot, therefore, examine the original document. Our only information comes from the published volume which has already been quoted. The question arises, was the word definitely *ἐπιονσί*? This is a pertinent question as we are told by Sayce that "it need hardly be said that the handwriting is as hasty and bad as that of the most careless calligraphist at the present day." Those of us

who have suffered from hasty, careless, and bad writing will know what this means! In view of this expert judgement, it seems very difficult to escape the conviction that this incomplete word may well have been something other than the word in the Lord's Prayer. It is not without significance that Sayce made no comment upon it. Was the reading of this badly written incomplete word merely a guess or a shot in the dark?

Stiebitz wrote that "we trust that our papyrus instance is not the only one or the last one, and that new discoveries will still further illuminate the much disputed petition in the Lord's Prayer". I am informed, however, on good authority, that so far no other instance has come to light since the discovery of the house-keeper's account some seventy years ago.

Now if this word was in common use in the fifth century is it not strange that every kind of Greek writing to hand up to this time is absolutely silent? The Early Fathers had no knowledge of it except in the Lord's Prayer. Moreover, there was a common word *δωριόν* for the rations of a soldier or slave, used in Luke 3. 14 which is the equivalent of the Latin *diaria*<sup>6</sup>. It seems difficult to understand why there should be also an unknown, mysterious word for an ordinary household commodity.

What support then can we find from the other household account contained in the Latin mural inscription? That *diaria* means a slave's portion has never been doubted, but what proof is there that a Greek unknown word of the fifth century signifies the same item in an account as the known word in a first-century Latin account? In the multitude of household needs, there is no evidence to show that the two words are identical.

In 1941 Chr. Blinkenberg published his researches into the Lindos inscriptions which had been unearthed at the Acropolis.<sup>7</sup> He claimed that inscription No. 419, a decree dated A.D. 22 relating to the formation of a sacred fund for public worship, "is destined to settle definitely an age-long dispute" regarding this clause in the Lord's Prayer.

In this inscription, the letters with two blank spaces occur as follows: *ἐν[.]νοτίῳ*. It concerns the office of treasurer and his successors in that office. Blinkenberg restored the word by adding *ια* to the two blank spaces; but Klaffenbach rejects both the restoration and the meaning. He maintains that "Blinkenberg has mistaken *ν* and *π* which alone appear in harmony with the remaining letters",

signifying “the coming or the next”. He adds: “This question in the Lord’s Prayer which has never previously been settled is now finally decided in the sense of which Athanasius was the champion and is correctly interpreted as ‘bread for the coming day.’” To this he adds: “What Stiebitz founded on an hypothesis of an entirely unelucidated context in the papyrus, the Lindos inscription first places on a firm footing, the most correct etymology of the word *ἐπιούσιος*”.

But is this really final? Did Blinkenberg misread the text? In any case the word was incomplete in the original, and his emendation *ἐπιαύσιος* meaning “yearly” would seem to fit in well with the Lindos inscription, but not at all with the Lord’s Prayer. Why should a unique word for “coming” be used here and nowhere else throughout the centuries?

It is submitted, therefore, that the problem is not solved by these modern discoveries; and we are thrown back to the position of the Early Fathers. The word can only be explained with reference to its derivation and context.

The question of derivation offers two possibilities: the verb *εἰναι* to be; and *ιέναι* to go. To this must be added the preposition *ἐπί*. Briefly stated, the first may well refer to substance. *οὐσίος* and *substantia* will readily recall the controversy of Nicea concerning the Nature of God. This was the interpretation of Jerome in the first gospel in the Vulgate, for he used the word *supersubstantialis* to qualify “bread” in the Lord’s Prayer. Strangely enough he used *quotidianum* in Luke’s account, although the Greek is the same in both gospels. This derivation from *οὐσίος* or substance was accepted by Origen, no mean philologist, and the Greek Fathers and in the Peshitta.

The second possibility is that the word is derived from the verb “to come or go”, and would signify “the coming day” or “tomorrow”; referring to time as opposed to substance.

To return to the first alternative: What does super-substance imply? Spiritual Bread or food, was the answer given by Origen and the Greek Fathers. Some limited it to the Eucharist; others, to Christ as the Bread of Life in Christian experience and not limited to the Sacrament. Augustine was against the sacramental interpretation because he maintained that the Eucharist would rule out the use of the Lord’s Prayer in the evening; but this interpretation has

also been denied on the grounds of a false derivation. It is pointed out that compound words with this preposition lose the *i* and it should read *ἐπούσιος*. This, however, is not always the case, and instances are quoted by Dr Thorluck<sup>8</sup>, who has given much valuable matter, with quotations from the Fathers, Reformers, and other writers up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. He concludes his exhaustive investigation with these words: "Great as are the difficulties in the way of deriving this word from the verb 'to be', even were they greater, we must still give the preference to that derivation." From the derivation we turn to the context for explanation.

The Lord's Prayer in both gospels is enshrined in what may be termed Sermon on the Mount teaching. Our Lord had warned his disciples against anxiety for material needs. Birds, flowers, and even grass are fed by a loving Father who knows our needs but bids us seek first his kingdom and righteousness and all needful things will be added unto us. "The morrow", said Christ, "will take thought for the things of itself." But if this mysterious word in question refers to time, as "the coming day", then our Lord, in spite of his teaching, commanded us, almost in the same breath, to pray that to-morrow's loaf might be given us to-day! Not only so, but the prayer for material bread takes precedence over forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Could anything be more out of harmony with the context?

To sum up then: What is the problem? What solutions have been put forward? How do they stand the test of Christ's own teaching?

A unique word occurs in the Lord's Prayer. Its meaning cannot be checked by comparison in any other context except that it has been claimed that the word has been found in a house-keeper's account of the fifth century, and later in a Lindos inscription. The first contains a very hastily scrawled and incomplete word in a papyrus which is now lost and cannot be examined. The second contains a more incomplete word about which scholars are not agreed; and if the word is the same as that in the Prayer, then it would seem to be inappropriate having regard to the context of that Prayer.

From the time of Origen there has grown a considerable body of theological opinion in the Church in favour of Jerome's translation—*supersubstantiale* or spiritual food. The fact that Origen was the father of the allegorical school of interpretation need not discredit

his authority as a Greek philologist. And although this view is far from proved, that is equally true of the other interpretation; and some may feel that the spiritual interpretation is much nearer to our Lord's teaching.

<sup>1</sup> *De Oratione* 27, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Adolf Deissmann, *The N.T. in the Light of Modern Research*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Hawara, *Biahmu and Arsenoe*. (Field and Truer, 1889.)

<sup>4</sup> Sayce says: "English house-keepers may be interested to know what was the daily expenditure of an Egyptian official some 1,400 years ago."

<sup>5</sup> Col. 889, no. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*.

<sup>7</sup> *Museum Helveticum* (1949), VI-VII, p. 216.

<sup>8</sup> *Auslegung der Bergpredigt Christi nach Matthäus*. There is an English translation by R. L. Brown, in Clark's Foreign Library, *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount*.

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## REVIEWS

### UNITAS FRATRUM

**HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.** By EDWARD LANGTON. George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

As we learn from Dr Sykes, the *Unitas Fratrum* described the Church of England in a letter to Archbishop Wake as *sancta ecclesia Anglicana, omnium Protestantium Ecclesiarum praecipua et florentissima*. Such complimentary language merits some attention to its writers, and in this book we have the latest history of the *Unitas Fratrum* or Moravian Church. The thesis of Dr Langton is that the Moravian Church sprang out of the Hussite Movement, that it was founded in 1457, and has led a continued existence ever since, being the "first international Protestant Church" and a pioneer in work for unity and missions.

The presentation of nearly six centuries of history is made in twenty-one short chapters, eleven of them centring on the first sixty-five years of the eighteenth century. The amount of space devoted to different epochs therefore varies immensely, resulting in a lack of balance in the narrative as a whole. Often too many names are introduced in too short a space; in the early days Taborites, Utraquists, Calixtines, and Brethren appear before the reader in a kaleidoscope in which it is difficult to distinguish the different colours.

The introductory chapters about John Hus and events immediately following his death seem to be based on a limited number of sources. For example on Hus's knowledge of Wyclif's work the author writes: "In 1411 Huss speaks of having read these works for twenty years and more"; no reference is made to the five annotated philosophical treatises of Wyclif written in the hand of Hus in 1398, and preserved in the library of Stockholm.

There are several doubtful theories in the attitude taken by the author, but so long as the general development of events is understood there is no point in arguing overlong about details. Dr Langton chooses 1457 as the date of the founding of the Church under "Gregory the Patriarch"; 1467 has been named by others, for it was in this year that the Brethren in Synod at Lhota split from the main body of the Utraquists (which itself became a fully Protestant Church). Yet another view, recently put forward by a correspondent in *Theology*, is that the original Moravian Church came to an end in 1670 and that the present Church is something quite different which started at Herrnhut under Count Zinzendorf in 1727.

No conclusive result will come from discussion as to the exact date of foundation. In the various streams of religious revival beginning with Hus in the fourteenth century and going on through the Reformation

tion into succeeding centuries there was an intertwining of the different strands of religious life, so that the question whether the present Moravian Church is identical with the Utraquists of 1457 has no significance. It is certain, however, that there is a continuity of life and religious practice linking the two together. During its course there have been persecutions and renewals: of the latter Herrnhut was the outstanding example. But Herrnhut had among its first inhabitants Brethren who had escaped from persecution in their native land, and this link was important in its own subsequent religious development.

Zinzendorf himself (1700-60) derived his religion from Lutheran sources, and he considered the Augsburg Confession to be the best. The temper of Herrnhut was that of Lutheran Pietism, and whatever the character of the Church of the Brethren before the establishment of this community, there is no doubt that its subsequent life was stamped with Herrnhut and all that was meant by that word. From this time dates the specific missionary work of the Moravians, Zinzendorf himself being a strong influence. The Zinzendorf era deservedly takes the greatest part of the book before us: it might almost be said that it ends Dr Langton's history, for his tale really concludes with the second half of the eighteenth century. In the last chapter he adds a few facts of subsequent date and some notes on the present organization of the Church, but these do not pretend to be a continuous account of events.

In Czechoslovakia, its homeland, the Moravian Church does not to-day count 10,000 members and it is not even a self-governing Moravian Province. The biggest Protestant Church of Bohemia is the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren, numbering more than 300,000 members, and claiming to be the spiritual descendant of the original Brethren Church of the early days. For this claim they would seem to have good reason, and it is difficult to see what distinctive part the small Moravian Church is called upon to play in Bohemia now. Its claim to a particular interest in unity does not seem to justify its separate existence.

The Moravian Church is of particular interest to Anglicans because of its claim to possess bishops in the apostolic succession. The Church early sought consecration of its bishops by the Waldenses in the fifteenth century and the succession was continued. Zinzendorf himself was consecrated a bishop by Daniel Jablonski who had close contacts with England and was involved in a scheme to unite all the Protestant Churches. Bishops have continued in the Moravian Church to the present day, although the government of the Church is in the hands of the General Synod, the Unity Elders Conference being the supreme administrative body.

Since the Lambeth Conference of 1878 there has been an interest among Anglicans as to the possibilities of reunion with the Moravian Church, but recent events have damped earlier enthusiasm. There seem to have been three main obstacles to any advance. First there

is no certainty that the episcopal succession of the Moravian Church has in fact been properly preserved. Secondly the Moravian Church permits the celebration of the Holy Communion by deacons, who also administer Confirmation. And lastly the Moravian Church is in the habit of permitting Free Church Ministers to celebrate the Lord's Supper in its churches. Indeed in recent years the Moravian Church in Britain has tended to approximate more to the Free Churches than to the Church of England. It is a member of the Free Church Federal Council.

It is doubtless due to its refusal to proselytize that the Moravian Church has remained relatively small. But it has had an influence in Christendom far more extensive than its numbers would suggest, and its mission activities have been already mentioned as noteworthy. In the twentieth century it is perhaps less distinctive in its tenets than it has ever been, and with the growth of the Ecumenical movement the Moravian Church will perhaps best fulfil its traditional vocation by merging its own contribution in the general efforts for greater understanding and solidarity in Christendom.

HERBERT WADDAMS

## THE AIM OF LAW

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF JUSTICE AND LAW. By HEINZ-HORST SCHREY, HANS HERMANN WALZ, and W. A. WHITEHOUSE. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

THE findings of the conference of the World Council of Churches Study Department held in Treysa in Germany in 1950 are here elaborated into a discussion of the relationship in human society between biblical authority and law. The book, which forms No. 3 in the series of Ecumenical Biblical Studies, now being issued by the World Council of Churches, is in three parts. The first part expounds the end of human society as the achievement of God's righteousness in human relationships. The second discusses the question of human justice and law in the light of this end. The third contains an account of the contribution made to the subject by modern German theology. Far the most satisfactory is the first part. Within a short compass a noble theme is expounded in a clear and ordered manner. Here is a positive contribution to the biblical teaching on the place of the Church and of human society as a whole in the divine purpose. A priest in search of a short course of sermons on the Bible from a new angle will find here much to stimulate his preaching powers.

The second and third parts are not up to the standard of the first. They bear strongly the imprint of Lutheranism; and it should be remembered that in Lutheranism the law-making side of the Church's life has not in the past received the attention it deserves. The authors have obviously not had to deal practically with the business of law-making. Those, for instance, who in the Church of England to-day

are concerned with drafting new canons or propelling them through the convocations, will not find much in these pages to help them set their labours in the context of the divine purpose. The Church, if it is to make the biblical conception of law count in modern society, must not only expound it academically, but also show that in its light the tough problems that arise in the making and administration of law are capable of being resolved. The Church of England to-day in the revision of its canons is facing such problems: the balancing of different interests, the preservation of the Church's tradition on the particular subject with which a canon deals, the extent to which law should give a new direction to such a tradition, how to ensure that the law is a real support to the Church in its mission on earth. By facing these problems so resolutely, the Church of England is in a far better position to help the secular legislator or judge approach his practical problems in the light of the biblical doctrine of law. For the Church's exposition of the doctrine will be something more than academic; it will be coloured throughout by practical experience gained in its application.

The authors would have written a better book had they shown greater awareness of the practical difficulties of the law-maker and given some consideration to the revision of canon law now being undertaken in the Church of England. Particularly useful would have been a discussion of the theological implications which the revision raises in regard to the relationship between the law and the Gospel and to the doctrine of the Church as the body of Christ. The World Council of Churches needs to re-orientate its thinking about the biblical doctrine of law if it is to help that doctrine prevail in parliaments and convocations and in temporal and ecclesiastical courts.

G. W. O. ADDLESHAW

## DUTIES OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

CALL OF DUTY. BY JOOST DE BLANK. Oxford University Press. 5s.

THERE is no "humming" and "hawing" about this book. We are taken on a conducted tour of Church membership, using a short guide to its duties, issued by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York at the request of the Church Assembly. The Bishop of Stepney knows what he wants to show us and why. He writes easily, as one does of familiar and valuable things. He writes clearly, because he loves the Church and feels, in some small measure, responsible for it. (The only point the Bishop does not seem clear about is what difference there is, if any, between the secular and the sacred, see pp 56, 66 and 97.) If the Church has not escaped the self-consciousness of these days, she still knows that she exists for everything which is not herself.

The call of duty, when it is made, must be made with no uncertain sound, if men are to prepare themselves. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his foreword sounds the note of authority, when with the

approval of the Convocations and Church Assembly, he calls upon us to fulfil the duties which fall within the terms of church membership. The same note is held right through to the end, even if sometimes it is dulled by over-simplification and claims that appear too eager; or if sometimes it misses a beat. What has happened for instance to the duty of fasting? But there is a tremendous sense of obligation and urgency running through every chapter, which forbids any triviality or escape into smartness. If one feels one is being let off too lightly in respect of certain duties, the reason is clear. It is a difference in approach. The end is the same for the modern, as it was for the early Christian, of whom Dom Gregory Dix wrote, "What brought him to the Eucharist was the conviction that there rested on each of the redeemed an absolute necessity so to take his own part in the self-offering of Christ, a necessity more binding even than the instinct of self-preservation". The man who expects to be spoken to in the language of duty, and wants to be, will find a great deal in these pages to which his conscience will respond, and he will benefit as much as the Church. The book should be available on the literature-tables of every parish where the tide is coming in. It should be given to the young, who are learning what duty means. It should be given to those who know the wisdom of Pascal's words: "It is superstitious to put our trust in rules, but it is pride to be unwilling to submit to them".

There is a welcome economizing in commas, and there are misprints on pages 74 and 100.

✠ E. B. TEWKESBURY

## LITURGICAL INTERCESSIONS

THE INTERCESSIONS OF THE PRAYER BOOK. By E. C. WHITAKER. S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d. (paper 3s. 6d.).

THIS valuable little book might properly have a sub-title in some such form as "A Tract for Prayer Book Revision", because its author has been moved to write out of a desire for a more satisfying provision for intercession than that contained in the English Prayer Book.

In three condensed but admirable essays, Mr. Whitaker examines the prayers after the Third Collect at Mattins and Evensong, the Litany, and the prayer for "the whole state of Christ's Church" in the Communion Service. In each case, the immediate history of the prayers is set out, and is related to the earlier and wider history of the type of intercession which the English prayers represent. Suggestions for improvement are offered. A final brief essay is devoted to a consideration of certain general principles which emerge from the study, and of certain conclusions indicated by it. The argument is illustrated by well-chosen examples of Greek and Latin liturgical intercessions in English renderings, the longer and more important of which are gathered into an Appendix.

Mr. Whitaker's method cannot be too highly commended. It is the right method and should be noted by all would-be revisers and tinkers of the Prayer Book. One cannot know how to improve a feature of a liturgy, until one has learned, through examination of its history, what function that feature was intended to perform. In regard to liturgical intercession, examination of its history reveals two important facts, which Mr. Whitaker takes as his fundamental principles. In the early days of the Church, corporate intercession was never casual: it was regarded as a primary duty and privilege. Also, it was intercession for *all* men, not for the Church and its members alone. In the light of these facts or principles, we may subscribe to Mr. Whitaker's doubt "whether the intercessions of the Prayer Book sufficiently supply the needs of an interceding Church". Even the Litany, our one act of general intercession, has acquired the character of a special penitential exercise, because of its preoccupation, so Mr. Whitaker believes, with a particular idea concerning sin. How he would remedy these defects must be learned from a reading of his book. In a short review it can only be said that he is no champion of unrestricted "private enterprise" on the part of the clergy; and that he disapproves of that kind of modernizing which would replace the classical intercessions for persons and groups of persons by prayer for abstract ends, such as "The Right Use of Possessions".

There are several faults of commission and omission. Justin Martyr's description of the post-baptismal intercession in *I Apology* 65 cannot be interpreted as including non-Christians. "About A.D. 450" is too late a date for *Apostolic Constitutions*: A.D. 375-80 is the most likely. The Litany, in English, was not necessarily "a penitential rite" for medieval churchmen; it was their prayer of intercession, contained in the *Prymer* and generally following, not the Seven Penitential Psalms, but the Fifteen Psalms. The historical account of the General Prayer in the Communion Service would have benefited from a fuller consideration of the intercessory paragraphs of the Latin *Canon Missae* and of the interpretation put upon them in Cranmer's time. Such faults, however, do not diminish the value of Mr. Whitaker's book. Everyone interested in, and concerned with the conduct of, English worship should possess and study it. The publishers are to be congratulated on its format and modest price.

E. C. RATCLIFF

## THE PRAYER OF WISDOM

**BUDDHIST MEDITATION.** By EDWARD CONZE. George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a collection of extracts from Buddhist Scriptures dealing with the Buddhist technique of meditation, prefaced by an essay in which Dr Conze deals with the meaning and purpose of Buddhist meditation, its range and principal divisions, the literary sources and the relation

of its methods to modern psychology. Most of the extracts are taken from the *Path of Purity*, a commentary written by Buddhaghosa in the 5th century A.D. Dr Conze's estimate of this great textbook is measured by his remark that if he had to choose just one book to take with him on a desert island, it would be this work of Buddhaghosa.

Dr Conze begins by pointing out that to a European "meditation" covers three things clearly distinguished by Buddhists — mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom. The early Buddhists thought of two levels of the mind — a surface layer of constant agitation due to the senses, the desires, and discursive thinking, and a deeper, which is quiet and calm, with a centre which is quite still. Concentration is a narrowing of the field of attention down to one point, which held quietly and persistently finally merges into a trance of tranquil passivity, bestowing a certainty greater than anything the senses can teach.

Wisdom, according to Buddhist conception, meditates about three things — true reality, the meaning of life, the conduct of life. To the Buddhist, ignorance is the root evil and therefore wisdom is the highest virtue. Through the practice of wisdom the Buddhist goes below the deceptive appearance of all things, penetrating into what they really are, and gaining insight for the good life.

Mindfulness like concentration provides calm and like wisdom develops insight, but both to a lesser degree. It is concerned with the initial stages, begins with discipline of the body posture which leads to poise and pays attention to breathing exercises which lead to calm. Some of the meditations deal with the repulsiveness of the body in its physical functions while living or in its decay when dead. The senses have to be withdrawn from everything and the mind directed towards the great peace of Nirvana. These three inter-related exercises of meditation — mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom — if persistently followed will lead into this final emancipation.

Dr Conze is not optimistic about the likelihood of the Buddhist methods of meditation being followed by people in the West, partly because of the dislike for the mental discipline involved, partly because of the noise of the modern world, but more seriously because most of the exercises need the whole-time discipline of the monastic life. He quotes a passage from Dionysius Areopagita which shows that the Christian mystic has much in common with the Buddhist. Perhaps one day a Christian community strong in theocentric faith and worship, will try to enter into this Buddhist discipline of meditation. The missionary who has gone through this discipline should come out with the peace and calm that one sees in the devout Buddhist monk; he might also achieve something new in communication and be able to preach the gospel in Buddhist terms which could be recognized as good news by men who, like himself, are seeking a peace which passes all understanding.

For the less advanced student of meditation there is one most appealing exercise — that of narrowing the attention until it is one-pointed on unlimited friendliness toward all beings, or unlimited compassion, or

unlimited sympathetic joy, or unlimited evenmindedness, so that one radiates these virtues in turn to all living beings, friends and enemies alike. Buddhists claim that the exercise of this fourfold meditation by monks taking part in the Great Sixth Buddhist Council, which has met for the last two years in Rangoon, is responsible for the improved hopes of world peace seen in recent relations between Russia and the West.

G. APPLETON

## FRENCH DEVOTION

**APPROACHES TO GOD.** By JACQUES MARITAIN, translated by Peter O'Reilly. George Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.

**HOW TO PRAY.** By JEAN-NICOLAS GROU, translated by Joseph Dalby. James Clarke. 7s. 6d.

JACQUES MARITAIN is a philosopher whom many, especially outside his own communion, value more for his incursions into the realms of aesthetics, sociology, or spirituality than for his philosophical studies proper. There are those to whom the title *Approaches to God* will suggest the delightful prospect of a further study on the lines of *Prayer and Intelligence*. They will be disappointed. It is actually yet another essay in the traditional arguments for the existence of God, based on the Five Ways of St. Thomas with the addition of a sixth by the author himself. (The relevant texts from St. Thomas are conveniently assembled in an appendix.) A further chapter on "The Ways of the Practical Intellect" shows him, as befits the author of *Art and Scholasticism*, on much firmer ground. It is not easy to see what class of reader the book has in view; the series in which it appears is apparently aimed at that wider public which is concerned for the defence of "spiritual values", but its arguments will not make easy reading for those to whom scholastic language is a closed book.

It is commonly agreed that the schoolmen poured new wine into the old bottles of Greek philosophical discussion of "being", but there appears to be no such agreement about what wine it was. Professor Gilson assures us that it was the SUM QUI SUM of Hebraic theism, and other writers still closer to the Augustinian tradition have not hesitated to draw the conclusion that all argument for the existence of God is philosophical clarification of what is already the object of faith. "Toute speculation sur Dieu, et pour commencer toute preuve de son existence est-elle nécessairement, au sens anselmien du mot, une intelligence de la foi" (H. de Lubac, *De la connaissance de Dieu*, p. 80). M. Maritain, hard pressed, it would seem, by the existentialists on the one hand and by the revived interest in oriental philosophy (well represented in the series in which his book appears) on the other, sees the new wine as a "natural intuition of being" available to all men. He nowhere faces the possibility that scholastic philosophy as traditionally expounded rests not on this but on a concealed premiss derived from revealed

theology; still less the suspicion that the new wine has in fact burst its bottles. It is one thing to find words to express "existential" experience of this kind; it is quite another to attempt scientific precision of language where its objects are not scientifically investigable, and the charge of modern linguistic analysis that to use language in this manner is to reduce it to a game with counters must be taken seriously. It is from this quarter, not from modern physics, to which the author throws a few sops, that the real challenge to neo-scholasticism comes, and a philosophy which takes no account of it inevitably remains a philosophy in blinkers.

*How to Pray* is a new translation of a book which has been well-known in England, especially to those who came within the orbit of von Hügel. Its author, who died, a refugee from the Revolution, in England in 1803, was, like de Caussade (to whom, especially in his chapter on "Continual Prayer", his debt is evident), a product of that French school which married the Ignatian rule with Salesian spirituality. It is not, emphatically, just one more book about the technique of prayer. It is a rigorous and deeply scriptural account of its essential nature. More than a third of it is devoted to the proposition "God alone teaches us to pray", which he develops in the light of St. Paul's teaching on the intercession of the Spirit in Romans 8. It is not until he has made luminously clear what prayer really is that he is ready to show how to go about it; and then his aim is to lead his readers, who he assumes will mostly still be confined to vocal prayers, to affective prayer and ultimately to the prayer of quiet, with little reference to meditation and no detailed instruction in it at all. The exposition is entirely untechnical, appeals to no master of the spiritual life except St Francis de Sales, and aims throughout at the simplification, not the elaboration of method. But if he shows clearly that prayer is, in itself, simple, he is far from giving the impression that it is, for us, easy. He makes no concessions to self-esteem, self-will, or softness, and few will be able to read his account of the matter for the first time without a growing dissatisfaction with their own practice of the life of prayer.

This is just the book to put into the hands both of those emerging for the first time from bondage to the devotional manual, and of those who have become over-preoccupied with methods of meditation; while to re-read the whole book, and particularly the long exposition of the Lord's Prayer with which it concludes, would be a salutary annual exercise in self-examination for souls more advanced.

Dr Dalby's new translation reads easily, and reproduces the eighteenth century gravity of the original, without blunting its impact by making it a period piece. Minor spelling errors, apparently the result of dictation, have crept in on pp. 28 and 46.

HUMPHREY GREEN

## NOTES OF A POET

THOMAS HARDY'S NOTEBOOKS. Edited with notes by EVELYN HARDY. Hogarth Press. 10s. 6d.

If there are some writers who live and write, and others who live only in their writings, Thomas Hardy was clearly in the second of these classes. That he had weathered turbulence and agonies and *Sturm und Drang*, that he knew the poignancy of rural tragedy, the vast indifference of capricious gods and malignity of Fate, we can only infer from his novels and poems. Otherwise we know nothing. In conversation he was notably reticent and as modest as (reputedly) immodest in his fiction; he could not express himself in his letters; and his autobiographies (of which *The Later Years* he arranged to be written under his wife's name) give the game away not at all. And even his hitherto unpublished *Notebooks*, now lovingly edited by Miss Evelyn Hardy, have clearly passed under the blue pencil of censorship. They tell us nothing of the inner man.

This is far from denying that they are of interest. "Hardy was first and foremost a poet", writes the editor, truly enough. These are the notes of a poet. Flat and everyday as they appear, they show on every page the quick observation of the poet's eye, the raw matter of his poems. Sometimes it is a piece of curious local history; sometimes description of Church music. There is much splendid description of nature, particularly the effects of light as: "A sunset: a brazen sun, bristling with a thousand spines", or: "It is raining in torrents; the light is greenish and unnatural . . . a silver finger hangs from the eaves of the house." Occasionally it is pure poetry as: "A sweet face is a page of sadness to a man over thirty—the raw material of a corpse", or: "Lonely places in the country have each their own particular silences." There is plenty of genealogy and family lore, and throughout one can trace the looming figure of his mother. Thus: "Mother's notion (and also mine)—that a figure stands in our van with arms uplifted to mock us."

The early notes are the more interesting. As he grew older they became more perfunctory, more correct. But in addition to his *Notebooks* Miss Hardy has edited five letters from his childhood Madonna, Mrs Martin, the Lady of the Manor of Kingston Maureward, who took up young Tommy and taught him to read at her knee, and later, when he was famous, tried, with less success, to take him up again.

Miss Hardy's admirable notes are more than thorough. Not a place visited, not a personality mentioned, but she has indefatigably tracked down all that is to be known, however little relevant to the matter in hand.

The one disappointing feature of a pleasantly set-up and attractive book is the jejune choice of illustrations.

GERARD IRVINE

## THE RABBI IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND RABBINIC JUDAISM. By DAVID DAUBE. University of London: The Athlone Press. 45s.

THE first part of this book consists of the Jordan Lectures delivered in 1952; the rest is a collection of essays already published in various periodicals. The work therefore does not attempt to prove a thesis but deals with a wide selection of subjects relating to rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament. The author shows by many ingenious ways the close connection between the two. His intention is to recover something of the rabbinic background of the New Testament.

The present reviewer hesitates to accept rabbinic Judaism as a sufficient source for the re-construction of the New Testament background. After all, the written sources of Judaism represent a much later period and though some of the traditions go back to pre-Christian times, the general atmosphere belongs to an entirely different age. But Professor Daube's book is yet another example how much valuable information can be gleaned from a careful study of rabbinic sources, though much that he says belongs to the realm of hypothesis.

Professor Daube is uniquely equipped to deal with this intricate subject. He brings to it not only a remarkable grasp of rabbinic lore and classical learning but also a fertile mind and great powers of observation. His detailed knowledge of the New Testament is very impressive. The dialectic skill of the lawyer is evident on every page. Occasionally the author is carried away by speculative reasoning but he always finds his way back to the subject in hand.

The book raises a wealth of problems and we can here only pick out a few items of special importance. We will begin with a criticism of some of the more controversial aspects.

Scholars will find Professor Daube's hints as to the growth of the Gospel tradition of special interest. He places the Gospel in this sequence: Luke represents the oldest tradition, John comes between Luke and Mark, while in many instances Matthew takes the last place. At any rate, this is the result of the author's special investigation of one particular aspect of the Crucifixion. His starting point is the concept of *niwwul* (disgrace) which we are told played a great rôle in Jewish convention. Professor Daube explains that "perhaps the gravest kind of *niwwul* is that of disfigurement of a person, alive or dead, which may have an adverse effect on resurrection". Having established this fact, the author proceeds to show how it affected the Gospel tradition regarding the burial of Jesus. He suggests that the original tradition was that Jesus was buried like a common criminal, by night, dis honourably and unanointed. But this was an unbearable thought to believers and was felt a *niwwul* to the person of the Messiah. It also proved an obstacle to the propagation of the Gospel. The Gospels, therefore, but especially Mark and John, are out to prove that there was no *niwwul* at all, though they both prove it in a different way: "According to Mark who has a burial ceremony by way of anticipation

(the reference is to the anointing at Bethany), Joseph of Arimathaea did not anoint the body, and the women who intended to do so came too late. According to John, who has no burial ceremony by way of anticipation, Joseph and Nicodemus anointed the body with a hundred pounds of spices." Both Gospels therefore make the same affirmation, only that Mark presents the anointing before the death and John after the Crucifixion. The author refuses to see in this mere coincidence; but he still has to answer the question: Whence Mark's strange idea of anointing in anticipation of burial? The answer is that Luke's more original version of the anointing of the feet of Jesus by a penitent woman was gradually assimilated to mean an anointment for burial.

It is John who is specially concerned with the question of *niwwul*. For this reason the Fourth Gospel insists that the bones of the Messiah were never broken. The association with the Paschal lamb, the author holds, was only of secondary importance and was "added by way of interpretation." It is for a similar reason that John omits the Institution of the Eucharist in case hostile readers assumed that there was *niwwul* to the broken body of the Messiah. The same applies to the question of the grave and to the burial clothes: both Luke and John insist that the "sepulchre" was not a common grave for criminals and that the burial clothes were not just rags but of quality.

We leave it to the reader to decide whether the question of *niwwul* is really obviated in view of the supreme fact that Jesus died upon a Cross in the company of two criminals. From John 19. 31 it is obvious that the Evangelist was writing with a view to the Mosaic law: a hanged one is the curse of God (Deut. 21. 23). In this connection the Pauline interpretation is revealing: Christ became a curse for us (Gal. 3.13); for this reason the Apostle is not ashamed to preach Christ crucified. Was John ashamed of the Master's shameful death?

Another controversial subject is raised with reference to the Passover Haggadah. Professor Daube is undoubtedly right in assuming that the Passover service played an important part in early Christian tradition. By connecting the Last Supper with the Paschal meal the author reasserts a long-established tradition. His defence of St. Paul against Professor Dodd is specially heartening (p.283!); his definition of the Christian concept of redemption not as "escape from service", but as "a change of Master" is a delightful piece of exegesis. But to introduce the four questions of the Haggadah into the Gospel narrative requires an unusual stretch of imagination. The reviewer finds it difficult to see how the questions about tribute to Caesar, about the Messiah, about the Ressurrection, about the chief commandment, have anything to do with the haggadic tradition of the four sons, beyond the similarity of the number. We are told that the Markan sentence: "And no man after dare ask him; and Jesus answered and said while he taught in the temple . . ." is "an unmistakable reference to the Passover Haggadah which says: "And he who does not know how to ask, thou open (the instruction) for him"—but is it?

There are a number of similar affirmations of an equally controversial nature. There are also contradictory statements. We are told, for example, that "Matthew's is a Rabbinic Gospel" (p. 60), but in a later article the author explains that Matthew was unable to understand "the exact, original sense of the expression" I AM in reference to God (p. 325). How is this possible?

But our criticism must in no way obscure the obvious merits of Professor Daube's work. He has made an important contribution towards solving some N.T. problems. His observations on the question of the Laying on of Hands, and specially his interpretation of *semikat zeqenim* in connection with 1 Tim. 4. 14; 5. 22; 2 Tim. 1. 11, are most helpful. The article dealing with Baptism is a real contribution to a better understanding of the connection between Christian and Jewish Baptism and throws light upon the theological definition of the Sacrament as understood by the Church. Professor Daube's philological investigation into the meaning of the Greek verb *στύχραομαι* is a fine example of his scholarship. The article dealing with the peculiar phenomenon of Rabbinic participles throws new light upon the later books of the N.T. and the early theology of the Apostolic Fathers. There are many similar contributions which will prove of real aid to N.T. scholars.

Professor Daube's insistence that underlying the N.T. there are many thought-forms which are related to Rabbinic tradition is of great importance. It is not usual for a Jewish writer to make such admissions. Professor Klausner went out of his way to show the extent of St. Paul's departure from Jewish thinking. It is refreshing to see St. Paul vindicated, at least in some measure, by a fellow-Jew.

Last, but not least, we mention with gratification the author's ready appreciation of the finer points in the N.T. Professor Daube writes not only with scholarly impartiality, but with fine spiritual insight.

JAKOB JOCZ

## A MODERATE FAITH

FAITH AND WORK. By F. A. COCKIN. A. R. Mowbray & Co. 8s. 6d.

THE best thing in Dr Cockin's latest book is a collection of three talks on "The Layman's Job in the Church". The work of the Church would be very different if all Christians could recognize that the pressing necessity of the present age is to bring combined theological acumen and practical experience to bear on the decisions we have to make in modern society. We think we understand, after centuries of Christian discipleship, what we mean by Christian ethics at the personal level. Our problem indeed is that those ethics have been absorbed in dilute solution by many who have rejected the faith from which they developed. But we seem to be nearly bankrupt of ethical standards for solving the problems of a technological society. And we need all the possible co-operation of well-trained clergy and well-informed laity in intensive thought, or else

the ethics of the age of automation will be about as Christian as those of the age of unmodified capitalism. If this book directs attention towards this necessity, it will have justified itself by that alone.

The title *Faith and Work* has the merit, not universal in collections of sermons, of explaining the contents of the book. For it has two parts, the first containing short treatments of the major articles of Christian belief, and the second a number of talks about the Christian's duty in society. The approach throughout is, as we should expect, of reasoned sanity. This has advantages—and serious defects. Its value is seen, for example, in the appraisal of the scientific temper of mind, and in the recognition that Christians must both imitate it and challenge its assumptions.

So far, so good. But in the part of the book concerned with doctrine the limitations of the author's method are evident. He quotes with approval Archbishop William Temple's dictum that belief in God does not mean, "I incline to the hypothesis that a being exists who is not inappropriately called God." Yet some such affirmation is the terminus of all Dr Cockin's persuasiveness. He cannot carry his hearers beyond this point. His total effect is to establish (in one of his own phrases from another context) that "on the whole, when we consider the alternatives, we feel that there is a good deal to be said" for the Christian Faith. No doubt this must be made clear. But is this to preach the Gospel? Is it not to confuse the pulpit with an S.C.M. discussion group?

Further, the centrality of Christ, of the Word authoritatively spoken in the incarnate life, does not dominate these sermons. Indeed, apart from a number of orthodox phrases about the perfect Godhead of Christ, there is little said about him, which could not with equal truth be said of a purely human Jesus. In short, though there are a number of good things in this book, it is in danger of misrepresenting man's situation. Men are not to be cajoled into Christianity with the bland assurance that it really will not tax their credulity overmuch. The preacher's task is to present Christ's demands not his excuses.

GRAHAM NEVILLE

## POTTED BIOGRAPHIES

CHRISTIANITY IN ACTION. By F. ADDINGTON SYMONDS. The World's Work (1913) Ltd. 12s. 6d.

"THAT the Christian way of life is not just a theological system or an idealist's dream, but a dynamic reality", Mr Addington Symonds sets out to prove in his most recent book. He demonstrates it by means of short and well-told biographies of fifteen men and women, all of whose careers fall within the last two hundred years, and some of whom are still alive and actively employed. The author has chosen his characters from various nations and classes of society, as well as from different religious denominations.

Whilst in these pages we meet with names such as William Wilberforce,

Elizabeth Fry, and Albert Schweitzer, which have become household words, others will be less familiar, and some may perhaps be totally unknown to us. Here one reads of the establishment of hospitals and charitable institutions in China, of a community for the starving and homeless of Paris, and of a self-contained city for epileptics in Germany. Indeed, we owe Mr Symonds a debt for making available considerable biographical material which would not otherwise be readily accessible in English.

It would be interesting to probe further into the question as to how often it has been the sufferings of children that have stirred Christians to action. At least five of those who appear here, George Müller, Harry Eva, Mary Slessor, Lord Shaftesbury, and Dr Barnardo were moved by reason of necessitous children or infants.

Although the object of the book is entirely praiseworthy, the actual method of presentation calls for some criticism. In the first place, there is a lack of balance, as witness, for example, the fact that as much space is devoted to Chaplain Kapaun's four years in Korea, as to the whole of the lengthy and remarkable career of William Booth.

Again, the author has often had to condense his material to such an extent as not only to cause him to omit important details, but also to sacrifice something of the original vividness in his re-telling of it. Thus, where, in his account of Barnardo's discovery of the seventy-three homeless, hungry and ragged boys, he states simply that "all were given food and money" (p. 207), the reader can have no conception of the scene, when the great doctor took those excited lads to an "open-all-night" coffee-shop, which, as A. E. Williams records in his *Barnardo of Stepney*, they carried by storm, filling it right out, twice over.

Finally, Anglicans will feel some disappointment in noting that only three out of the fifteen characters selected by Mr Symonds have claimed membership of the Church of England, and even more, that while four Roman Catholic priests are included in the book, not a single Anglican clergyman is thought worthy of a place. Surely, John Coleridge Patteson in Melanesia, or William Jackson, the blind priest of Burma, or Basil Jellicoe with his amazing housing scheme at St Pancras in London, afford stories of faith and resourcefulness equal to any here described, and at least one of such men might have been used as an heroic example of "Christianity in Action"?

GORDON HUELIN

## CHRISTIAN DISCIPLESHIP

IN SEARCH OF QUIET. By SYBIL HARTON. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 3s.

THE MARKS OF THE BLESSED. By H. P. GReAVES. Faith Press. 4s.  
ON JESUS AT TWELVE YEARS OLD. By ST AELRED OF RIEVAULX, translated by G. Webb and A. Walker. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 3s. 6d.

THE DIVINE LOVE. By HUGH OF ST VICTOR, translated by A Religious of C.S.M.V. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 2s. 6d.

THE SCHOOL OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE. Translated by G. Webb and A. Walker. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 3s.

THE FAITH IN PLAIN TERMS. By A. W. G. DUFFIELD. Faith Press. 4s.

HELP FOR THE ASKING. By EDWARD VILLIERS. Faith Press. 5s.

ALSO THE HOLY GHOST. By A RELIGIOUS OF C. S. M. V. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 4s.

THE DIVINE PRAYER. By KENNETH MACKENZIE. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 3s. 6d.

THESE nine small books, all published since the New Year, would make a kind of library of Christian doctrine and discipleship. *The Faith in Plain Terms*, by A. W. G. Duffield, is a book written to present the Catholic faith in language of the present day. It may be read by any adult of goodwill and would convey a general idea of the scope and interconnection of doctrine. Its manner is easy and, after the first three chapters, didactic rather than apologetic. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with Revelation and the Nature of God. Thereafter they show the normal sequence—the Holy Trinity, the Nature of Man, Sin, the Incarnation, the Atonement. Two more chapters give clear and definite teaching on the Church and the Sacraments, and are followed by a chapter on the Eternal Destiny of Man. The last three chapters are in the nature of riders to the main exposition—God and Human Suffering, God and the Individual, and The Meaning of Life.

If the book is given into the hands of the uninitiated, certain qualifications will probably have to be made. On pp. 30, 31, statements that the creation is part of God, and a similar statement on p. 122 that one's life is "a fragment broken off from the life of God" are insufficiently guarded. And pp. 102, 103 are marred by an apparent confusion of the distinction, matter—spirit, with that of natural—supernatural, which issues in a conception of the body as a prison-house of the soul, and this in turn breeds a Christian stoicism in face of suffering. There are also minor errors, such as the attribution to Jesus of one of the Baptist's remarks, the linking of the ether with aural sensation, p. 87, and the use of "deny" for "allow" on p. 121. But the book as a whole will both stimulate and inform discussion.

Pascal said, You must wager. What Sir Edward Villiers does in his little book, *Help for the Asking*, is to show that the odds are not hopeless, that the throw is worth while. All he asks of his reader is goodwill, and in return he gives him grounds for conviction and a purpose in life through a direct relationship of prayer with God. His book is strictly limited to this aim, so that what may appear to be errors and omissions can perhaps be accepted as inherent in this very simplified approach towards satisfying a fundamental need. But whoever puts this book into the hands of one for whom it is written will soon have to widen and complete the teaching given by it on the nature of sin, and also will want to explain in more detail the place of our Lord in the economy.

Mrs Harton, in the valuable sixty pages of *In Search of Quiet*, has pro-

vided those thinking of making their first retreat with a mass of useful information, advice, and example. In the first twenty pages she describes the reason for retreat, the history of the development, and the purpose of both conducted and private retreats. In the rest of the book she enlarges on the practical details. She makes suggestions for preparation before the retreat, and sketches out the day's programme, giving ideas for the use of time and various warnings against the mistaken use of it. A scheme of general intention together with two quite different and flexible exercises in prayer precede a useful and often necessary piece of instruction on the use and understanding of the Divine Office by those who make their retreat in a religious house. There is a section on the choice and method of spiritual reading during retreat, a section on choice of time for confession—whether before, after, or in the middle of the retreat, a third on fasting, and a fourth which does as much as practical hints can do towards relieving any unnecessary tensions at the start or during the retreat. Finally she offers some help in facing the return to ordinary life. The book is completed by two appendices—one of recommended books, of which she lists some forty titles, and the other setting forth the addresses of the chief houses for private retreat, for men, and for women.

It is a book that anyone contemplating retreat for the first time would be grateful for, but it is one, too, to which the owner will return again and again, and which might help many others already accustomed to making retreat.

The three translations—*On Jesus at Twelve Years Old*, *The Divine Love*, and *The School of Self-knowledge*—are all in Mowbrays' Fleur-de-Lys series of shorter spiritual classics. The first is the Cistercian St Aelred's exposition of the Gospel account of our Lord's childhood, and recalls the gentle intimacy of his better known *On Spiritual Friendship*. The second contains two small treatises from the more speculative and systematic mind of the Augustinian Hugh of St. Victor. The third groups together three small writings—two of them anonymous—of the many once attributed to St Bernard but now known for the work of disciples of his, who faithfully reflect their master but mix in with his thought much from Hugh of St Victor. All these little works from the twelfth century, Cistercian or Augustinian, are filled with the same delicate courtesy towards both the subject itself and the disciples for whom they are written. In his epilogue St Aelred writes to his spiritual son Ivo: "You asked me, dearest son, not only to explain and interpret this lesson from St Luke's gospel, but also to make it bear some seeds of meditation and love, and this I have tried to do." Exposition, exhortation, and a kind of delight in the riches of the Gospel are properly and inextricably intertwined, so as to move the soul of the reader—even to-day. For although the exposition is altogether a child of its time, the use to which it is put makes these meditations timeless.

In *The Marks of the Blessed* the vicar of St John's, Walham Green, has written a small treatise on Christian discipleship, based on the eight Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount. He makes a clear distinction between the aims of a Christian and those of the world, though the

particular examples he gives sometimes lack force by lying outside lay experience. Each chapter concludes with some sound advice which rounds off and makes concrete the preceding exposition and shows the place where the effort of the Christian disciple must be applied. But, in use, the book would need to be balanced by some scheme of meditations designed to move the will of the reader towards that effort. If these took the form of readings from Scripture, then *Also the Holy Ghost* might have been written to prepare such a reader's way. This Essay on the Bible, or more exactly on the Christian disciple's use of the Bible, is by the author of *The Wood: an outline of Christianity*. She begins with four chapters showing how the Word of God enscriptured answers to the Word of God made flesh, and how both reveal and are made manifest by the Holy Spirit; and this, not alone nor first in our century. Three more chapters show the underlying pattern, the Maker's mark, remove those eventually groundless objections which have prevented men from seeing it, and direct the reader again into the proper approach towards that true appropriation of what he reads which is Christian wisdom. These seven chapters therefore are a preface to the last, "On Getting Down to it," which is a practical guide to that practical problem, but yet conveys some of the delight which lies before anyone who will make the effort and indeed "get down to it". It is a book for all who want to discover or perhaps rediscover the Word of God as it has been transmitted through time to all who can hear or read.

Bishop Mackenzie's book, *The Divine Prayer*, is written to help all those for whom the Lord's Prayer has become a thing dulled to mind and heart through constant use. He takes and unfolds each petition in turn so that a reader may have food for thought and meditation and may find the value that lies in spending some time upon one phrase at a time. He shows that the Prayer is not only an all-inclusive form but was also meant to teach us how other prayers of ours should be framed. To do these two things his chapters show first the root meaning of each petition and its history, and then go on to extend that meaning into our present-day lives, but in a way that rather coaxes the reader to think than does his thinking for him. It is a book that can well be read and re-read at intervals.

HUGH, S. S. F.

## HOW TO BE GOOD

TRUE REPENTANCE. By JAMES WAREHAM. A. R. Mowbray and Co.  
4s. 6d.

"MANY of us share the belief of the little girl, who when asked whether she would sooner be pretty or good, replied that she would sooner be pretty because she could be good whenever she wanted to be." This is one of the many stories and illustrations Canon Wareham uses to drive home the truth that it is *not* easy to be good. His aim is to tell us that the path to goodness must pass through the gateway of repentance.

The book is written within the framework of the General Confession. The writer takes its sequence of thought and draws from it his chapter headings—chapters such as “The Sinned Against”, “The Sinner”, “Sin Discovered”, “Sin Confessed”, and “Sin Forsaken”.

The author would be the first to admit that there is nothing new in this book. It can all be found in a host of devotional manuals. But it has the merit of starting the ordinary churchman from where he is—showing him that the Confession he murmurs often so superficially at the beginning of Morning or Evening Prayer should lead him on to self-examination, to true repentance, and to amendment of life. The parish priest who is convinced that some of his “cagey” and cautious flock would benefit from the use of the Sacrament of Penance might well pass on this book to them to read. Their suspicion of “High Churchianity” and many of their unformulated, but none the less real, scruples would be overcome by the “sweet reasonableness” of Canon Wareham’s pen.

He has no party axe to grind. His concern is with an all-loving and all-holy God, who in Christ is reconciling a lost world to himself. “It is God alone who can make us truly sorry for our sins, but our spiritual guides tell us that it is by the prayerful consideration and contemplation of our Lord upon the Cross that we can gain it.” To this end all lawful means employed by the Church down the centuries are called to our aid.

It is often unfair to criticize a book for the things it does not contain, but I think it possible that the reader having come to the closing pages may be tempted to ask: “What’s it all in aid of?” The writer helps us to realize the necessity of living “a godly, righteous and sober life”, but these adjectives describe for us a rather dreary and drab existence—negative rather than positive—unless the whole can be seen in the shining context of God’s glory.

The last sentence in the book runs: “Finally, let us remember that we are to live a godly, righteous, and sober life *to the glory of God’s Holy Name.*” It is the “finally” I regret. Useful and valuable as the book is, I wish it had found room to tell us more of the joy of sins forgiven, more of the wonder of being joint-heirs and fellow-workers with Christ, more of the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

✠ JOOST STEPNEY

## THE SCHEME OF SALVATION

**THE PATTERN OF CHRISTIAN BELIEF.** By J. W. D. SMITH. Nelson. 12s. 6d. This beautifully produced book is addressed to thoughtful people, teachers and students, whose belief is disturbed by the conclusions and suggestions of modern science and theories. Dr Smith agrees that the “old pattern” of belief is now lost. All denominations used to present the Bible within a doctrinal framework. Even when the Bible was given to the people to read there went with it a pattern of interpret-

ation. The Scriptures were read with the implicit conviction that God made the world as a home for man, that man rebelled against his Maker who in turn prepared his redemption in Israel and accomplished it in the Christian dispensation. Not only the new world-view but also Biblical scholarship itself has dissolved the traditional pattern. The unity of the Bible is lost, the allegorical method discredited. And yet the human situation cries out for a real God, not within the spurious unity of the Bible, but out of all the encounters in their diversity which the Bible records and which give meaning to human life. Thus "the old pattern needs to be restated in terms appropriate to the modern mind" (p. 10).

Dr Smith's present interpretation of the unity of the Bible follows somewhat surprisingly the conventional pattern, which recalls the formal sermons of Acts 2 and 7. Man's Fall through pride gives the Prelude and is stated in Genesis 1—11. Thereafter God takes the initiative, first in the well-documented call and migration of Abraham, the man of Faith, then in Moses, who leads the people from oppression to freedom and gives them the basis of the Law. But Israel's settlement as God's people terminates with their breaking of the covenant and loss of status. The Messianic expectation, however, runs like a thread through the later history and prepares the remnant for Christ. "The Jews among whom Jesus was born were thus representative of common humanity in all ages" (p. 81), and they reacted in their several ways to his Coming. Jesus rejects the false claims of kingship and fulfils the authentic Messianic hope. Therefore he is himself rejected. Despite the absence of a reliable chronological narrative it is clear that this rejection is the climax not only of the life of Jesus but of the Gospel and the whole drama of redemption. The death of Christ was subsequently seen in the light of the Resurrection and celebrated in the experience of loving communion. The community knew Jesus to be alive, and the disciples entered upon a new life "in him" with its new relationships and offered it to the world.

The pattern may be reduced to its bare bones: Fall — Election — Obedience — Rebellion — Remnant — Preparation — Coming — Death — Resurrection — Communion — Sanctification — Service. No doubt it is sound and Biblical. Indeed, it is remarkably similar to the old pattern, now buttressed by some modern evidence and an existentialist slant. Historical evidence and personal encounter are the two ingredients alleged to make contact with and to satisfy the modern critical mind.

Within the short compass of a book of this kind the author may be said to be successful. Nevertheless, it may be legitimate to ask whether these methods do not in the end raise more problems than they solve. It seems to me that the historical evidence in its present state cannot favour any simplification. The important Biblical events — from the Exodus and before, right down to St Paul's fate in Rome — remain obscure and controversial, and a note of unreality is unavoidable when probability is accepted as a sufficient guide. The trouble with all

patterns is that they encourage false historicity. Would not the modern mind profit more if it faced the lack of pattern in Biblical history? Generalisations about "the Jews", for example, are almost always wrong and the complex truth is often far more interesting.

The historical nut is a hard one to crack, as every teacher knows only too well. But the theologian, however radical his historical judgments, fights his way through towards some dogmatic stand-point which commends Christianity as the truth. The pattern under review is in that respect no exception, and it has the advantage of being strictly Biblical. Further scrutiny of the pattern reveals that it omits a great deal of material which is no grist to the author's mill. Cultus, law, myth, ritual, social ranks, institutions, apocalypses, eschatologies, etc., have no place in this drama of five acts with a prologue and epilogue. This tacit suppression of the apparently unacceptable is very common. Yet, if "the immensity of the universe seems to shatter all man's complacent certainties" (to quote from the blurb) is it not perhaps fair to observe that it is precisely the immensity of Biblical material which will ultimately satisfy more fully than extracts from the whole? I cannot help feeling that all "patterns of belief" would do even better to contain a large dose of such elements as transcend their own order.

ULRICH SIMON

## MORAL WELFARE

THE STORY OF A BEGINNING. By JESSIE E. HIGSON. S.P.C.K. 15s. (paper 7s. 6d.).

THE award of the C.B.E. to Miss Higson in the Coronation Honours of 1953 was not merely a personal tribute to one who, with unsparing devotion and outstanding success, had given her life to the service of the Church. It was also, in some sense an official recognition of the value and importance of what is known (not, perhaps, altogether happily) as moral welfare work. At the end of 1942 Miss Higson resigned from her position as Lecturer for the Church of England Moral Welfare Council, after thirty-five years of service to a cause with which her name will always be identified. During that time she had been Organizing Secretary for Moral Welfare in the diocese of Liverpool (1907-18), Central Organizing Secretary for the Archbishops' Advisory Board for Spiritual and Moral Work (1918-20), Founder and first Warden of the Josephine Butler Memorial Training House (1920-29), and finally, Lecturer in Moral Welfare, first for the Archbishops' Advisory Board, and then for the Moral Welfare Council (1929-42). In each of these varied appointments she was a pioneer, and her book describes the inception of these enterprises and her association with them.

Miss Higson's book is in no sense a history of the development of moral welfare work in the Church, but only, to quote her own words, "a simple, very personal, story", written at the request of importunate friends who believed that it would be valuable both as a record and

as an inspiration, and for whose persistence Church people will be grateful. It is only to be regretted that they could not prevail upon her to describe more largely the events and persons connected with her work; those who have had the privilege of talking with Miss Higson about the "early days" know that she has much more to tell than this, and will appreciate the charitable discrimination which she has shown in the selection and presentation of her material.

Since her account is largely autobiographical, it naturally does not deal with the pioneer labours of Mrs. Josephine Butler, nor does it touch upon the less well-known, but in some respects equally important, history of the White Cross League, with the founding of which Miss Ellice Hopkins and Bishop Lightfoot of Durham were intimately associated. When the background to her story comes to be written, it will describe the remarkable record of the League's work and achievements, and the complicated negotiations which eventually led to its amalgamation with the Archbishops' Advisory Board, and finally to the emergence of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council. It will also take up the annals of moral welfare from the point at which Miss Higson lays down her pen. It is only now that the fruit of her labours is to be discerned in a new conception of work which was once identified almost exclusively with the words "rescue" and "prevention", and which was thought to concern none but the unmarried mother and her child. As her memoirs show, it is with education that Miss Higson was most closely concerned, and it is in that part of the Moral Welfare Council's work which is broadly termed "educational" that the abiding results of her pioneer efforts may perhaps be best described. Those ordinands and members of the clergy who know the extensive teaching commitments now undertaken by the Council in the theological colleges and the dioceses will read with particular interest the chapter which recounts the beginning of this work, and all who are responsible in any way for the training of the clergy might well ponder with profit upon Appendix A, which contains a paper read in 1924 to the Conference of College Principals by Canon T. W. Pym.

In the last fifty years "moral welfare" has gradually taken on a new and larger meaning, and many of the old suspicions and prejudices have disappeared. For this, and for all the promise which the future holds, the Church is deeply indebted to Miss Higson, and it is fitting that she should have left an account of her work in this "story of a beginning".

SHERWIN BAILEY

### THE LAST WORDS

LOVE SPEAKS FROM THE CROSS. By LESLIE BADHAM. Windmill Press.  
7s. 6d.

It is not easy to write about the Seven Last Words in such a way as to stimulate fresh thought and devotion. I doubt if it can be done except in two possible ways. One is by suggesting some new application of

the Words to situations or conditions of modern life: the other is by using such distinctive metaphors or such vividly descriptive verbal images as will re-create the scene, out of which the words originated, for the modern reader.

I regret to say that I cannot feel that Mr Badham has succeeded in either of these ways. His sincerity and devotional spirit are evident in every part of the book, and many helpful comments are made on the significance of the Words for the spiritual life of the reader. If given as meditations in a Three Hours' Service the impact may well have been considerable. But it is questionable whether from the point of view either of form or of content this book can qualify to take its place amongst the more distinguished treatments of this exhaustless theme.

F. W. DILLISTONE

## THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

DOCUMENTS ON CHRISTIAN UNITY: A Selection from the First and Second Series, 1920-30. Edited by G. K. A. BELL. Oxford University Press. 16s.

A NUMBER of recent events suggest that a new stage in the twentieth century unity movement is beginning and that what some have been pleased to call the "honeymoon period" has ended. The World Council of Churches and its national counterparts are now generally accepted features of the ecclesiastical scene, the Church of South India is fast taking its own rightful place in Christendom and arouses less passion among both its supporters and its critics than it did but a short while back, and new series of talks have opened between the Church of England and some of her neighbours both North and South of the Tweed. It is the more important, therefore, that the events and pronouncements of the formative decade which followed the "Appeal to all Christian people", issued by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, should not be forgotten. Nor must the pioneering zeal of the fathers of the modern ecumenical movement be lost altogether and the pilgrimage towards the recovery of Christian unity become the preserve of professional theologians and ecclesiastical bureaucrats.

The reprinting of all the more important documents from the first two volumes of the Bishop of Chichester's *Documents on Christian Unity* fills a much needed gap and provides in a handy form some quite essential background information for all those who are either students or supporters of the unity movement. The volume contains over fifty documents selected from the first volume published in 1924 and from the second volume which appeared six years later. It is a companion to the third volume published in 1948 which covers the years from the Lambeth Conference of 1930 until the inauguration of the World Council of Churches in 1948. (The present reviewer cannot refrain from expressing the hope that Dr Bell will publish a fourth volume in the near future so that the next selection does not have to cover too long a period.)

Among the important documents included in this new selection are the 1920 Lambeth Appeal, excerpts from the reports of the 1927 Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, and memoranda issued in connection with the talks between the Church of England and the Free Churches which terminated in 1925. The Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI issued in 1928 has been echoed more than once in the last quarter of a century, whilst a very meagre memorandum issued in 1925 on "the relation of the Free Churches to Communions with which they are in Fellowship in other parts of the World" made clear, before the World Confessional Alliances assumed their present formidable proportions, that this would prove to be a problem with far-reaching consequences and one which would raise its head in other spheres of inter-church relations.

This volume is not only important for students of Church history and for those concerned with questions of Christian unity; it includes information that every working minister should have access to when required. It is much to be hoped that it will find a place in many public reference libraries as well as in every theological college library that does not already possess the original volumes.

R. D. SAY

## SONGS OF PRAISE

CHRISTIAN HYMNS. By K. L. PARRY. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

THE writer of this book was chairman of the committee responsible for the new hymnal, *Congregational Praise*; and he is, therefore, well-qualified to discourse on Christian hymnody. Reference is made throughout the book to hymns found in *The English Hymnal* (1906) or *Congregational Praise* (1951). Hymns play an important part in our modern forms of worship; and there is a vast literature on the subject. Much of this is written for the expert, and deals with the historical origins and development of hymnody.

Mr. Parry modestly disclaims any such intention for his little book. Nevertheless, his work is not one of the several books which have appeared in recent years in which anecdotes about popular hymns and their writers form the chief topic. Rather does our writer set out to deal with hymns on the great themes of the Christian religion, namely, the Eternal Father; Jesus Christ, his Advent, Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection; the Holy Spirit and the Church; the Blessed Trinity. We are reminded that there is common ground on these themes; and that "every church has provided itself with an ecumenical hymn-book" in which the compositions of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and others bear witness to our unity across the Christian centuries.

The author does, however, draw attention to the fact that there is a shifting of emphasis when we come to consider the hymns which deal with certain themes across the ages. Thus in considering the

hymns on the resurrection he remarks: "The early writers call on the voice of spring to join in the praise of our great Redeemer . . . later writers seem to see new glory in the spring in the light of the resurrection" (p. 60).

It is only when we come to hymns on the Holy Eucharist that Mr. Parry appears to be on less certain ground; and that because he does not appear to be abreast of the theological trends within the Roman Catholic Church, and the Anglo-Catholic movement within the Church of England, in regard to the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. He does, indeed, find five beliefs about the Holy Communion on which there is widespread agreement; and this he illustrates by hymns on the Eucharist by Watts and Wesley on the one hand, and on the other by those in the Roman Mass and the Eastern liturgies.

Although this is not primarily a work on the historical origins of hymns, yet there is a great deal of information of this nature interwoven with the discussion on certain hymns. It is quite evident too that this information is up to date in regard to historical research. Thus we are told that the celebrated *Dulcis Jesu memoria* is not by St Bernard of Clairvaux, but "is the work of an Englishman and was written about the end of the twelfth century" (p. 66). It is matter for regret, however, that the writer does not bring to our notice Neale's beautiful translation of this poem, "Jesu, the very thought is sweet" (E.H. 238) but refers only to the less successful translation, "Jesu, the very thought of thee" (E.H. 419).

The general reader who wishes to deepen his knowledge and appreciation of Christian hymnody will profit much from Mr Parry's book; and it may well lead to his exploration of larger works such as C. S. Phillip's *Hymnody, Past and Present* and Erik Routley's *Hymns and Human Life*.

There is a misprint on page 118 where Canon Ainger's name is spelt "Anger".

C. E. POCKNEE

## AN ACT OF GOD

THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE. By T. D. KENDRICK. Methuen. 21s. On All Saints' day 1755, at about 9.30 a.m., Lisbon was partially destroyed by earthquake and a large number of the inhabitants perished. The terror of this event was enhanced by the fact that the three large shocks, which occurred within the space of ten minutes, were succeeded by several smaller ones and also by the rising of the Tagus, which poured into the city in three enormous waves. It seems that between 10,000 and 15,000 persons were killed and the city was ruined, though not completely obliterated. The Lisbon earthquake was not the most terrible in its effects of those recorded. It is, for example, far surpassed by the earthquake in Japan of 1923, which devastated Tokyo and Yokohama and killed 100,000 persons. But the Lisbon disaster was of great historical importance, and Sir Thomas

Kendrick's book, completed in the bicentenary year, is a timely study of its effects on the mind of the eighteenth century. For its historical importance does not lie chiefly in its consequence for Portugal and the balance of power in Europe, though of course these were considerable, but in its impact upon the minds of thoughtful people. Sir Thomas has given us a careful statement of the objective facts, of the extent of the damage, and of the measures taken by the dictator Pombal to deal with the appalling situation, but he devotes most of his attention to the less tangible aspects of the event—its influence on the religious and philosophical opinions of the age. One might say that the year 1755 marks the beginning of the break-up of the theological and philosophical peace of the eighteenth century. Earthquakes were quite a common topic of discussion even before 1755 both among theologians and men of science; among the former, because they regarded earthquakes as peculiarly emphatic expressions of the wrath of God against sinners and also as a problem to be considered when the rational argument for the existence of a benevolent Creator is under discussion, among the later, because they had no idea what caused earthquakes and were by no means certain that they were not supernatural. The diligence with which Sir Thomas has read innumerable sermons commands one's respectful admiration, and we profit by it because he has provided us not only with a conspectus of the theology of the time with regard to physical evil, but also with some eloquent specimens of pulpit oratory. Perhaps the principal victim, however, of the revulsion of feeling caused by the earthquake was the philosophical optimism of the Deists and of that far greater thinker Leibniz. It seemed hard indeed, in view of the sufferings of Lisbon, to be very sure that this was indeed the "best of all possible worlds". To Voltaire it appeared not only impossible, but ludicrous, and not the least interesting of Sir Thomas's chapters is that in which he deals with Voltaire's poem on the earthquake and Rousseau's reply, and sets "Candide" in the context of the contemporary reaction to the Lisbon disaster. Logically, of course, no particular disaster could disprove the metaphysics of Leibniz, because no one could demonstrate that any world in which there was no earthquake in the year 1755 would have been better than that which actually exists, but there were many who, in their inner thoughts, reflected that, after all, Voltaire might be right when he described the human situation as "*atomes tourmentés sur cet amas de boue*".

This book deserves to be pondered by all who are concerned about religion and reason, for it raises many questions which still remain unanswered. Were the preachers wrong when they proclaimed that the earthquake was a judgement of God? And if they were, would not the Hebrew prophets have done the same? Was there really any contradiction between the message of the preachers that the first duty was to repent and the direction of Pombal that it was "to bury the dead and feed the living"? What precisely should we have to say about God's action, if a similar catastrophe were to lay London low?

Should we be able to declare that it was, in any sense, an act of God? The preachers of the eighteenth century, such as John Wesley, had something to say. We are aware that their message was, at least in part, mistaken and tended to spread unreasoning panic, but should we have anything coherent to say at all?

This is not only a most enlightening book: properly considered, it gives rise to disturbing and salutary reflections.

W. R. MATTHEWS

### MR FAITHFUL IN SOCIETY

CHRISTIAN BELIEF AND THIS WORLD. By ALEC R. VIDLER. S.C.M. Press. 12s. 6d.

In his Firth Memorial Lectures the editor of *Theology* has applied himself to the practical question of the Christian's attitude to life and work in this present world. As one would have expected, the enquiry is informed by massive scholarship as well as firm faith. Neither quality is allowed to make the book heavy reading. The atmosphere of the popular lecture is well maintained. Indeed the style becomes on occasion almost jocose. "Why do I say 'What does Z do?', because I am partial to the letter Z. Whenever I have to name a cat or a dog I always choose a name with a Z in it". There are also some good stories to help the less expert reader on his way. No one, however, should be blind to the seriousness of both the academic and the practical sides of the message.

For message it is indeed, a true prophetic message for to-day. It starts from a good Biblical foundation, stressing the need to recognize that the Christian is a denizen of two worlds, a being who lives in two ages, that of this world and that of the world to come. The problem how to deal with the opposing claims of the two worlds and to live a truly Christian life in a semi-pagan, semi-Christian society is, as each of us knows, by no means easy to solve. Dr Vidler gives sound help and advice, insisting on the relevance of the Ten Commandments and discussing the relation of Christianity to politics. He draws widely, not only on his scholarship and general reading, but also on the experience gained through his long connection with the Christian Frontier Council.

He insists that God is interested not only in our prayers but in our careers and our daily work. He holds that Christianity is neither a world-renouncing nor a world-accepting but a world-transforming religion. The agent in this transformation is the Church. Dr Vidler does not identify the Church with the Kingdom of God, as some do, but quotes with approval Brunner's statement that the Church is "a visible adumbration of the Kingdom of God". The Kingdom is apparently the wider sphere in which Christ's influence reigns even over the secular affairs of men, whether overtly acknowledged or not. This is most refreshing teaching and gives plenty of opportunity for

encouraging Christians to carry their religion into every department of life.

One or two queries are raised in one's mind by the form in which statements are cast. Does for instance the assertion on p. 21 that whatever authority attaches to Holy Scripture attaches to the Old Testament as well as the New, imply that both testaments are on the same level of authority? Again would not the reference to Moses' Seat on p. 63 and the succession of recognized teachers have received added force if it had been noticed that Moses' Seat was an actual chair in the synagogue and that specimens of it have been unearthed by modern archaeologists? Also on p. 78 does the prophecy that God would send his Spirit on all flesh apply to every person in the world, or, as some expositors believe, of all Israel, that is to say the rank and file of the chosen people as distinct from its leaders?

Altogether a most stimulating, practical, and readable volume.

W. W.

## THE ANGLICAN VIEW OF THE MINISTRY

**OLD PRIEST AND NEW PRESBYTER.** By NORMAN SYKES. Cambridge University Press. 27s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Sykes ends his book with a quotation on the episcopate from Samuel Johnson: "Why, Sir, as it was an apostolical institution, I think it dangerous to be without it". Most readers would agree that this is a typically Anglican judgement, and it is to be assumed that that is the Professor's opinion also. Unfortunately readers who are more interested in controversy than in history may try to use the book to show that the amount of danger incurred by dispensing with episcopacy is only very slight. That is the disadvantage of producing an historical treatise on a point of current theological discussion.

If the author has himself a controversial intention, it is to refute those who think that the Anglican Church has always asserted a firm belief in the indispensability of bishops and has always unchurched those Christian bodies that do not possess them. Here he has an easy task and he makes the most of it. His immense knowledge of the post-reformation period is used to full advantage, and he gives a really masterly survey of authorities on the point. He has no difficulty in showing that the Church of England steadily refused to unchurch the continental protestants.

There were two main reasons for this attitude: because it was held first that through no fault of their own the reformed Churches could not get bishops even if they wanted them, and second, that faith was more important than order and that if the protestants had to choose between holding the right faith and keeping the right ministers they were correct in letting the ministers go and keeping the pure faith of the gospel. In short it was the doctrine rather than the ministry that made the Church.

Even within this general agreement there was room for some difference of opinion. Some held that bishops were necessary where they could be had, and where they could not, Anglicans should leave the matter to the judgement of God without exercising their own. Others went further and held that because they could not pronounce the foreign ministries "invalid" they must therefore hold them to be "valid". It is probable that at bottom this is the real bone of contention still to-day.

It is of course quite evident that Anglican opinion on the subject has hardened in modern times. For one thing we are not bothered by the question whether the various Christian bodies on the continent or elsewhere can get episcopacy. There is no physical reason why they should not all get it if they want it. More important, the climate of opinion has changed, and as a whole we are more definitely convinced that bishops are of the *esse* of Church government. How did the change come about?

Professor Sykes thinks it was due to the Tractarians. One need not quarrel with that judgement. It was certainly the leaders of the Oxford Movement who re-aroused the English clergy to a full sense of their apostolic commission. But we wonder whether this view was quite so new as the Professor appears to think. Certainly the Tractarians themselves did not think it new. Their whole argument was that it was part of the original gospel. Keble especially always said that he derived his own teaching from his father. Essentially the same views were held by individuals in Cambridge and in Ireland. One cannot help feeling that it might be possible to trace a succession in this type of thought in orthodox circles, even without having to draw upon the non-Jurors. How good it would be if the Professor would do this for us.

W. W.

## TOPOGRAPHY OF MONASTICISM

MAP OF MONASTIC BRITAIN (NORTH SHEET). Second Edition. Ordnance Survey Office. 9s.

It must give the liveliest satisfaction to Dr Crawford in his retirement to see the historical maps which he fathered growing into such flourishing and honoured children. This map shows that they are indeed growing; and anyone who has valued the first edition will find the second so great an improvement that he will soon recover his nine shillings in time saved. The most obvious change is the introduction of a red printing, which gives jurisdictional boundaries greatly improved clarity and makes possible a clear differentiation between houses of some importance and minor or dubious foundations. This map should be a best-seller. It should be added that, while the Ordnance Survey has generously sent us a mounted copy of the map at the price indicated above, it can be had "Paper flat" at the absurd price of 3s.

BERNARD WIGAN

## BAPTISM IN N.T.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION ON BAPTISM [of the Church of Scotland]. Church of Scotland Offices, 121 George Street, Edinburgh 2. 2s.

THIS Report has been received by the General Assembly and sent out for study by the Presbyteries. It is not an "interim report" in the sense of making provisional suggestions or suggestions for practical action over part of the field covered by the terms of reference; rather is it a first instalment of the preliminary study needed before any action can be taken. It deals fully, though necessarily in a rather compressed manner, with the New Testament doctrine of Baptism. And it appears to be envisaged that the Commission will seek assurance that its understanding of the N.T. doctrine is correct before going further. Such a seeking after agreement of fundamental issues before proceeding to practical action is much to be commended and might with advantage be imitated south of the Tweed. The Anglican reader, conditioned by recent Anglican writings on the subject, will hope to discover what learned Reformed divines think about the controversies of the day, and in particular what they have to say about the references to the laying-on of hands in Acts. He will be disappointed, for the subject is not mentioned. But, even though it may appear surprising that "confirmation" can be passed over without so much as a reference, there is much that is gained from what in Anglican eyes is an incomplete treatment of the subject. We are in danger of becoming so absorbed by the problem of the relation of Confirmation to Baptism that we devote too little thought to the vastly more important subject of the meaning of the whole act of Baptism, whatever ceremonies may or may not be included within that term. This essay should not, therefore, be neglected. In spite of being very closely printed, the effort of reading is well worth while; for it is clearly and attractively written, and illuminates as well when it provokes disagreement as when it reflects the views of the reader.

BERNARD WIGAN

## DEVOTIONAL BOOKS

In 1955 the Society of St Margaret at East Grinstead became one hundred years old. To mark this centenary the present sisters have compiled, from the sermons of John Mason Neale their founder, *Some Principles of the Religious Life* (S.P.C.K., 6s. 6d.). The first members were fortunate to enjoy for eleven years the guidance of so brilliant and so holy a priest, whose vigilance was never relaxed. They had everything to learn, and much also to suffer from hostility and misunderstanding.

"Success in work", the sisters are told more than once, "is a thing to be grateful for when it comes; yes, and when it does not come we must be grateful for that too; for it is a proof of love, and we shall

some day know it to be so" (pp. 58-9). Again he asks, "The light which a candle gives, how is it brought to pass? By the destruction of the candle itself. It must perish if it is to enlighten" (p. 98).

Like St Bernard before and Father Benson after him, Dr Neale advocated a mystical interpretation of the Psalms (p. 67). His essays in typology have quite a modern ring about them: "Let us thank God that there is the impress of the King in all these histories; that it is Christ everywhere, first, last and midst; Christ in Abraham, Christ in Isaac, in Jacob, in Moses, in Joshua, in David, in Solomon, in whom not?" (p. 66).

The increasing number of people who desire to make private retreats will welcome *St Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre* by the author of *The Way* (Mowbray, 2s. 6d.). This consists of seven addresses based on John 20. 11-16, and designed to be read together with Juliana's *Revelations of Divine Love*. It is rich in quotation from St Catherine of Genoa. Occasionally the language becomes extravagant; Mary's cry "Rabboni!" is hailed as "a miracle of grace which at that moment transformed St Mary Magdalene from an ordinary woman into a saint" (p. 44); and not everyone will accept the author's reading of Mark 9. 17-27 (pp. 37-8).

William of St Thiry, the little-known contemporary of St Bernard, was abbot of a Benedictine house near Rheims. His treatise *On the Nature and Dignity of Love* has been done into translation-English by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker (Mowbray, 3s. 6d.). Just as St Aelred developed Cicero's thought in a Christian context, so William takes Ovid's *Art of Loving* and gently points the difference between sacred and profane love. To the perfect soul, he says, charity has become second nature, and this fundamental disposition can never be disturbed (pp. 24-9); so much so that St Peter did not lose charity when he sinned. As the author expresses it elsewhere in his ninth meditation, "My spirit alway loved Thee, even when my flesh neglected Thee" (p. 8). Notes and biblical references are awkwardly placed at the end of this book. The curious will find an *imprimatur* hidden away on page 64.

A new edition of Brother Lawrence's *Practice of the Presence of God*, coupled with selections from the *Fioretti*, has been published by S.C.M. Press (Treasury of Christian Books, 8s. 6d.). Dr Hugh Martin contributes a foreword.

Manuals of devotion based on the Reformed tradition are few, so it is appropriate that William Robinson's *Companion to the Communion Service*, first published O.U.P. in 1942, should be re-issued (Berean Press, Birmingham, 5s.). In a foreword Dr Nathaniel Micklem claims that "frequent communion is traditionally much more typical of the so-called Free Churches than of the Church of England" (p. 6). This can certainly be said of the Glasites, or Churches of Christ, a sect to which Dr Robinson belongs. Deriving their inspiration from Calvin and their teaching from a Presbyterian minister, John Glas (1695-1773), they have always regarded the Lord's Supper as the chief service of

Sunday. It is "the most exalted service we ever perform" (p. 19). The intelligent believer receives the bread and fruit of the vine as such, but at the same time constituted to him the Body and Blood of his now risen Lord, "so associated that to look on them is to re-behold his Saviour's death" (p. 26). And later: "The separate blessing of bread and cup represent the actual immolation of our Lord" (p. 42). There are some good prayers (not all of them acknowledged) for use before and after divine service, and a truly catholic selection of hymns. The manual concludes with extracts from the Eucharistic writings of Calvin, Knox, John Owen, Alexander Campbell, Milligan, and P. T. Forsyth (pp. 45-55).

DAVID C. RUTTER

A BOOK OF DAILY PRAYER. By HAROLD RILEY. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.  
THIS little book is a most excellent attempt to assist the revival of Family Prayers. It has been prepared at the request of the *Daily Prayer Fellowship*. The strictly loyal Anglican family no doubt feels no need for such a book, for it will use the form provided in the Book of Common Prayer—and after all, it is usually claimed as one of the glories of that book that it makes lay participation in the Divine Office possible. But for most families this is neither possible nor desired. Mr Riley therefore provides something much simpler. First, he requires us to pray together only once a day. Secondly, he demands only one short lesson instead of two long ones. Thirdly, the use of the Psalter is optional (a Table enabling the reader to use the Prayer Book Psalter over three months instead of one would be a useful addition). And the common form is sufficiently short to allow room for additions *ad libitum*. But undoubtedly the chief glory of the book is its collects. Days provided for in the Prayer Book are not interfered with; but for every other day Mr Riley gives a succinct collect suited to the reading for the day. Most of these are original; and it is a delight at last to find a writer who can write collects in English which have the virtues of the earlier Latin collects—simplicity, brevity, and clarity. The book may be unreservedly commended both for private and for common prayer; and the attention of schools is particularly drawn to it.

BERNARD WIGAN

## LESSONS FROM THE CALENDAR

RED LETTER DAYS. By H. N. HANCOCK. Longmans, Green and Co. 8s. 6d.

THE problem of "communication" looms large in the mind of the modern teacher. For teaching to be effective, it must be expressed in language which is not only clear in itself, but significant to the hearer. And the hearer may be, and often is, strangely conditioned by the environment in which he lives. It is a great merit of Dr Hancock's *Red Letter Days*, a book of "Meditations on the Holy Days of the Christian Year", that he speaks a language which he who drives

a motor-cycle may read. For each of the Red Letter Days a short exposition of the festival, or of the life of the Saint, is provided, the Collect of the Day being appended to it. In most examples, the final paragraph brings out a distinctive lesson derived from the preceding consideration.

Some at least of the sections began as broadcast talks, and the broadcast style is evident throughout. The result is a little book, orthodox in its teaching, and straightforward and practical in its application, which will appeal to many lay-people for spiritual reading, and will provide many of the clergy with suggestions for devotional addresses. There is nothing startlingly original, but the presentation is fresh, and the treatment correspondingly attractive.

The American author seems to have English readers chiefly in mind, though there are occasional references (such as to Thanksgiving Day, or the "parish-list") of a distinctively American character. There is a constant reference to the conditions of modern life which give point to the lessons drawn, as when Joseph Barsabbas is spoken of as an example of "the people who are always on the short-list but never get the job", or St Andrew as "an expert in playing second-fiddle".

The Transfiguration is included among the feasts, the Collect provided being that of the 1928 Book; the Collect for St Luke is, perhaps by an oversight, that of the American Prayer Book.

H. RILEY

## EDITORIAL

SINCE preparations are under way for the summoning of a new Lambeth Conference it may be worth while asking whether this decennial gathering of bishops from all over the world is not becoming too cumbrous for the effective performance of its proper task. It is obvious that when the membership of a consultative body passes the three hundred mark its detailed work must be left to committees and that it must be exceedingly difficult to get their reports adequately vetted by the main body. It follows that normally only the resolutions will reflect the full authority of the Conference while the reports will not carry much more weight than is provided by the committee responsible. What is needed is much more intimate discussion by the whole assembled body of our fathers-in-God. It is understood that at present the bishops are invited to the conference on the sole invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but that he imposes upon himself a self-denying ordinance and summons only those bishops who are actively engaged in episcopal work. We are sure that the limitation is salutary, but we wonder whether it cannot be carried further.

Of the present arrangement it might be said that it is not only inconvenient but contrary to customary Church order. It is possible for the vote of a diocesan bishop to be neutralized if he brings his suffragan, and if he brings more than one he may be outvoted by his own assistants. This is surely wrong. It would indeed be intolerable if Lambeth were a legislative assembly. It seems time that some thought should be given to the possibility of limiting the votes at Lambeth to one per diocese. If the diocesan bishop cannot attend he could be allowed to appoint a proxy, but other bishops might be admitted merely as assessors without a vote. If some such rule were recognized it would probably increase rather than diminish the authority of the conference, and it would certainly relieve the Archbishop of some difficult decisions as to the eligibility of individual bishops.

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The current issue of the Church of England Year Book has on the whole an encouraging tale to tell. As far as statistics go there is provided solid basis for the general belief that we are witnessing a return to religion throughout the country. At any rate that is the

conclusion to be drawn from the rise in the number of communicants. The returns would be even more encouraging if they could be made to include statistics from the cathedrals and non-parochial chaplaincies. We remember an Easter Day when there were thirteen hundred communicants in one of our Paris churches alone. Tables that leave out such figures cannot be regarded as conclusive. What is worse is that even of the parishes twenty per cent failed to make returns at all. For such a failure it is difficult to see any possible excuse.

On the financial side there has been a very marked increase in voluntary contributions. This is a welcome sign that our people are awakening to their responsibilities. The increase does not of course keep pace with the changing value of money, but there is reason for thankfulness that the gap is not wider than it is. In connection with finance the Church Commissioners have a fine achievement to record. During the last three years their income has increased by well over two million pounds. It is to be hoped that the article by their Chairman will be widely read: it will certainly be a cordial for drooping spirits. And it will be found to give a comprehensive if brief view of the vast range of the Commissioners' activities.

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THE preface to the new edition of *Crockford* has a short but much-needed paragraph on the importance of maintaining adequate support for Church schools. This is emphasized on two grounds: the effect of the schools on the moral tone of the whole population and the fact that they may be found good recruiting grounds for the future ministry. Both are valid. It could, we think, be shown that the present diminution in juvenile delinquency is directly related to the fact that now for ten years all children whose parents do not definitely forbid it have had the opportunity of training in religious doctrine and worship. Of such training the Church schools from their very character should give the finest example. With regard to recruitment for the ministry we think that if the editor of *Crockford* could subject the antecedents of the rank and file of the clergy to the same careful scrutiny as he has accorded to those of the bishops it would be found that a very high proportion of them had received their early training in Church schools of one sort or another.

In this respect one of the most encouraging things that have happened lately is the Church Assembly's decision to authorize the Church Commissioners to make some contribution from their funds to assist Church schools. This quite unprecedented step is a welcome sign of the importance the Church attaches to its schools. The clergy knew quite well that they were diverting this money from their own pockets to the children. What now remains is that we should make the fullest possible use of the schools we manage to keep or to build. The work done by the parson and his helpers in the schools is every bit as important as that which they do in church. In fact it is an extension of what they do in church and demands just as much care and skill. It would be no exaggeration to say that the future of the Church in this country depends to a large extent on the effectiveness of its schools.

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IN the May number of the *Expository Times* Dr Austin Farrer gives an interesting review of his own typological theory. Everyone recognizes the relation of type and antitype between the two Testaments, but the question is raised whether that relation is not to be found within the New Testament itself. It is not only Isaac but John the Baptist who may be recognized as a type of Christ. Further it is suggested that the evangelists were so taken up with discovering examples of typological connection that they wrote their gospels on that kind of scheme. It was in this that their notion of history differed from ours. "It may be that for us one train of events *leads* to another, while for them one series of scenes *prefigures* another". The value for the critic of recognizing this method of writing is that it enables him to see the continuity of his author's thought, and so to escape, as Dr Farrer says, the operations of the "breakdown gang". Whether this *novum organum* can do all that Dr Farrer expects of it still remains to be seen, but it is an interesting instrument with which to experiment. However it will continue to meet with severe criticism. As the author himself says, "That type of source-analysis which has a positive interest in incoherence will not be likely to give typological enquiry a warm welcome".

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*Eglise Vivante* (Louvain) devotes a page of its April number to the views of Dr Visser 't Hooft, Secretary General of the World Council

of Churches, on the deportation of Archbishop Makarios. "Christian opinion throughout the world is greatly disturbed by this event. Christians of other Churches which are members of the Ecumenical Council will wish to express their profound sympathy with their colleagues of the Orthodox Churches and to assure them of their prayers and their intense desire that justice shall be done." We hope that in endeavouring to arrive at a just judgement themselves the members of the World Council will give due weight to the British Government's evidence of the Archbishop's association with Eoka and its terrorists.

# BIBLICAL STUDIES

By S. H. HOOKE

## 1

### NUMERICAL SYMBOLISM AND THE PATTERN OF REVELATION

IN 1951 Dr Farrer published his rather disturbing book entitled *A Study in St Mark*. It was disturbing in the same sense as the angelic troubling of the pool of Bethesda, though some doubts were expressed as to the angelic origin of the disturbance. In 1954 he published, under the title *St Matthew and St Mark*, a revised version of his Marcan patterns, bringing the Matthaean gospel into the picture. On p. 209 of the earlier book Dr Farrer had written, "The general effect of St Matthew's additions and alterations is to blur the movement of the history altogether", and suggests that St Matthew has "swamped" the Marcan narrative with additional teaching. Now in the second book he writes (pp. 38-9), "Any attempt to emphasize the importance of schematic arrangement in St Mark's Gospel has hitherto run against an apparently unanswerable objection. It seemed in vain to contend that the meaning of St Mark was intimately bound up with his arrangement, if his earliest expositor, St Matthew, did not think so, but rearranged quite freely. Could we really suppose that we understood what St Mark was doing better than St Matthew did? The argument appeared unanswerable so long as its factual basis was granted. But now it seems that the factual basis of the argument was false. To all appearance St Matthew was no less interested in St Mark's order than he was in St Mark's matter". Then follows a very interesting and, to me at least, convincing demonstration that the author of the First Gospel both understood the Marcan schematic arrangement and accepted it, making such adaptations as seemed necessary to accommodate it to the pattern of his own gospel. Further, in the second chapter of *St Matthew and St Mark*; Dr Farrer has set out a greatly simplified form of what he has called "The Marcan Pattern of Healing", and this should go far to convince anyone who is not an invincible anti-patternist that St Mark's schematic

arrangement is not merely the invention of Dr Farrer's fertile imagination. The parallel drawn between the schematic arrangement of the book of Daniel and that of St Mark carries great weight, and, incidentally, provides a strong argument in favour of the unity of Daniel. Dr Farrer's restatement of his position has removed much of the ground upon which my hesitant criticism of *A Study of St Mark* rested, but one element in his restatement has increased my disquiet with regard to another matter to which I had already referred in my article "Patterns in the Gospels" in the January-March issue of the *Church Quarterly Review*, 1953.

The matter is this. We have, on the one hand, the extreme scepticism with regard to the historical element in the Synoptic Gospels represented by Professor Bultmann. In his *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. I, p. 35 (Eng. Trans.), Professor Bultmann says, "And so it comes about that the personality of Jesus has no importance for the kerygma either of Paul or of John or for the New Testament in general. Indeed the tradition of the earliest Church did not even unconsciously preserve a picture of his personality. Every attempt to reconstruct one remains a play of subjective imagination." For him the baptism of Jesus, the temptation, the transfiguration, are legend. On the other hand Dr Farrer's exposition of the character of St Mark's Gospel makes it clear that, in his view, the evangelist did not undertake to write a "life of Jesus" after the fashion of Plutarch's Lives, nor to write history in any Thucydidean sense, but, after the fashion of the book of Daniel, to select material from the oral and written traditions concerning the earthly life of Jesus available to him, and arrange it in such a way as to present a symbolic picture of the whole redemptive activity of God carried through to completion in the acts of Jesus. This is not history, though it is something much more important than history. If we turn to Matthew we find that he has accepted the Marcan schematic arrangement with adaptations, the implication being that he also was not writing history. We observe that he has made certain numerical changes in order to keep in step with the Marcan scheme; where St Mark has one demoniac he has two, and where St Mark has one blind man he has two.

What, then, about St Luke? From the opening words of his gospel it would appear that it was his intention to "draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among

us". He claims to be using material which comes from eyewitnesses, and to have himself traced the course of all things accurately from the first; lastly, he says that it is his intention to write *kathexés*, a word which, according to Blass, means "the uninterrupted series of a complex narrative". Surely here, then, we may expect history something after the Thucydidean fashion. No, not a bit of it. St. Luke also accepts the Marcan scheme, but like St Matthew he adapts it to his own scheme of a twofold presentation, to Jewry and to Samaria; he accordingly doubles the Marcan thirteen healings, and gives us thirteen healings in Galilee and Judaea, and thirteen in the Samaritan region. To make up the second thirteen St Luke gives us ten lepers cleansed. So that, in spite of the promise of the prologue, unless we have wrongly understood it, we are not being offered history in the Thucydidean or any other fashion in St Luke's gospel.

But perhaps we are making a mistake in asking for history, written history. In one sense of the term "history" it is always with us in the Scriptures; it is, so to speak, the raw stuff of revelation, and the prophets never allow us to forget it. "Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" When Nebuchadrezzar took Jerusalem in 586 B.C. there was certainly evil in the city, and the Babylonian king thought he was making history, and wrote it down in the Babylonian Chronicles which Mr Wiseman has recently translated for us. But when Jeremiah and Ezekiel wrote about the same piece of history, they did something much more important than simply giving a Hebrew version of Nebuchadrezzar's bit of history. They interpreted the history in terms of the purposes of God, and imposed the pattern of revelation upon the historical material, but what they wrote was not history in the second sense of the term. In the Thucydidean sense of the term, history is "a diligent and meticulous search for truth, conducted with due regard for the most exacting standards of evidence". History of this kind we can hardly expect to find in the Scriptures. St Luke seems to offer something of the kind, but, as we have seen, in his gospel at any rate, he accepts the Marcan pattern, with modifications, as St Matthew has done. So for the Synoptic Gospels it seems that we must admit that, while the raw material of history is there, the evangelists were not engaged in a diligent and meticulous search for truth, admirable as that may be, but were occupied, under the guidance of the Spirit, as Dr Farrer would say (and why

should he not be right?) in discovering the pattern of revelation which gave a meaning beyond and above history to the things which Jesus did. If we might suppose that Mary had kept a diary in which she had set down day by day the things which her Son had said and done up to the time when she saw him die, and that record had been preserved, would it have been a better thing for our souls' health than what we have been given in the gospels? But, even if we accept the patterns and the numerology as a necessary part of the way in which the revelation of God in Christ was to come to us, still the cause of disquiet to which I have referred remains. Is there not a third possible approach, between Bultmann's scepticism and Farrer's patternism? From what source did the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews draw his picture of one who was in all points tempted like as we are? If "it became him for whom are all things and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the *archégo* of their salvation perfect through sufferings", are we permitted to inquire how it was done, and if we are, from what source may we learn it? Can we accept with gratitude Dr Farrer's exposition of the Marcan pattern of healings, and of the numerical symbolism of the loaves and fishes, and at the same time find in the gospels, especially in the synoptic gospels, an account of the way in which the Leader of our salvation was made perfect through suffering? In other words, can we find in the gospels another pattern, the pattern of the experience of the Lord?

## 2

## SACRED KINGSHIP IN ISRAEL

WHEN the book called *The Labyrinth* was published in 1935, it contained an essay by a young scholar of great promise. The essay was entitled "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", and immediately attracted a good deal of attention among Old Testament scholars. The work of the late A. M. Hocart, Professor C. R. North, and essays in *Myth and Ritual* (1933), had already called attention in England to the central place of the king in the civilizations of the ancient Near East, while in Scandinavia Professor Sigmund Mowinckel's *Psalmen Studien* (1922-4) had focused the attention of Old Testament scholars on the evidence for kingship

rituals in Israel to be found in the Psalter. Twenty years have elapsed since the publication of Professor Aubrey Johnson's essay in *The Labyrinth*, and the promise there shown has been amply fulfilled in a series of important monographs intended by the author to clear the ground for a return to the subject of his original essay. Now he has given us a longer monograph on *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, stimulated thereto, as he says in the preface to his book, by the attribution to him of views which he has never held. The monograph in question deals in the main with two groups of psalms: those which celebrate the kingship of Jahveh, and those which have been styled "royal psalms". Before examining the thesis put forward by Professor Johnson, something may be said about the present position of studies on the subject of kingship in the ancient Near East, and in Israel in particular.

Taking the publication of the collection of essays entitled *Myth and Ritual* as a starting-point, it may be said that the main service which that book rendered was to crystallize floating ideas about the place of ritual in the civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, and Canaan into a convenient, if not wholly satisfactory, formula, viz. "the myth and ritual pattern". Evidence was offered by scholars who were authorities in their own fields of study that certain common elements were present in the great seasonal rituals of the religions of the cultural areas referred to above. Although the combination of these elements varied somewhat in the different areas, yet the similarities were sufficiently striking to justify the use of the term "ritual pattern" in describing them. The main features of the "pattern" were a ritual combat in which a god was victorious over an opponent who usually figured in the associated myth as a dragon or other monstrous form, the death and resurrection of the god, a sacred marriage, and some kind of triumphal procession. In this complex of ritual actions the king played a central part, taking the role of the god in the combat, the marriage, the procession, and in some cases in the mimic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.

The ideas thus put forward were taken up and carried to what many scholars regard as an untenable extreme by several Scandinavian scholars, of whom Professor Ivan Engnell of Uppsala is perhaps the best-known representative, although it is not quite correct to speak of an "Uppsala School". Professor Engnell's book *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* was pub-

lished in 1943, and was followed by a number of studies by the same author and by other Scandinavian scholars, developing the divine kingship thesis. A reaction in the opposite direction was led by the late Professor H. Frankfort in his valuable book *Kingship and the Gods*, published in 1948; also, in the previous year, Professor (now Principal) Norman Snaith had published a judicious criticism of *Myth and Ritual* in his book entitled *The Jewish New Year Festival*. But the most devastating attack on the *Myth and Ritual* position was delivered by Professor Frankfort in his Frazer Lecture for 1950. The gravamen of his attack was that "the patternists", which has become the accepted designation for the heretics, had emphasized similarities and ignored the much more important differences between the ritual practices of the cultural areas in question. He claimed, as against logical principles, that differences were generic and similarities specific; he denied that the elements in the rituals discussed in *Myth and Ritual* constituted a "pattern" in the correct anthropological use of the term; and, thirdly, he denied that any trace of such a ritual pattern was to be found in the religion of Israel. In this third denial probably lay the main reason for Professor Frankfort's hostility to *Myth and Ritual*, since in this book the view had been expressed that in the early religion of Israel traces of the main elements of the "ritual pattern" were to be found, probably representing direct or indirect influences from Mesopotamia. The bibliography at the end of Professor Johnson's book will show what a mass of literature has appeared dealing with the subject of kingship during the last quarter of a century. This brief sketch of the position may serve as a background to the work now before us.

Professor Johnson opens his book with a passage which is an almost verbatim transcript of the opening passage of his essay in *The Labyrinth* written twenty years ago, and a comparison between the earlier and the later work shows that in its essential outlines Professor Johnson's view of what he calls "sacral kingship" in Israel remains unchanged. He has indicated the main changes in his position on p.54 of the present book. These consist, in his own words, of (a) "the rejection of the view that the festival under discussion (the New Year Festival) was concerned with the cyclic revival of the social unit, and (b) the recognition that its orientation was not merely towards the following cycle of twelve months but towards a completely new era. That is to say, if ever it had

its roots in a complex of myth and ritual which was primarily concerned with the cycle of the year and an annual attempt to secure a renewal of life for a specific social unit, this had been refashioned in terms of the Hebrew experience of Yahweh's activity on the plane of history, and the thought<sup>2</sup> in question was really the creation of a new world order and the introduction of an age of universal righteousness and peace. In short, while the writer continues to reject the historical interpretation of these psalms, he now holds, not only that they were cultic in intention from the first, but that their orientation was also eschatological from the first".

There are certain limitations imposed by the author himself on his treatment of the two groups of psalms with which the book deals, and it is necessary to keep these in mind, because problems arising from situations outside these limitations are not dealt with here, though Professor Johnson promises a further instalment in the future, and let us hope it may be the near future. The limitations referred to are the following: In the first place, the author's survey is limited to the period of the monarchy; secondly, the ritual of which he finds evidence in the two groups of psalms under discussion belongs only to Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem it is limited to the Temple, of which Professor Johnson says, "the Temple, we must be careful to bear in mind, was first and foremost a royal temple and its cultus primarily a royal cultus" (p.95). Hence we must not complain if we do not find in the present book a discussion of the nature of the cultus practised at Bethel or Samaria.

The main thesis of the book is that during the period of the Davidic monarchy there was celebrated in Jerusalem at the great autumnal festival commonly called the Feast of Tabernacles, a dramatic ritual with its accompanying mythology. It is this ritual and mythology which Professor Johnson sets out to reconstruct with the help of the two groups of psalms already referred to. Not the least valuable part of the book consists of the brilliant translations and exposition of the psalms upon which the author's argument is based. One particularly interesting example of the way in which an original translation is used with telling effect in support of the main thesis is to be found in the rendering of Psalm 48.9; in the R.V. this verse is rendered, "We have thought on thy loving-kindness, O God, in the midst of thy temple". This rendering is characterized by Professor Johnson as "wholly inadequate", and

for it he substitutes, on convincing grounds, a translation which reads, "O God, we have *pictured* Thy devotion in the midst of Thy Temple", and proceeds to argue that we have here "a ritual performance or acted 'picture' of a piece with the prophetic symbolism but on the grand scale—the *mashal par excellence*". Concerning the nature of this ritual drama Professor Johnson says (p.92). "In this ritual drama the worshippers are given (a) an assurance of a final victory over 'Death', i.e., all that obstructs the fulness of life for mankind which was Yahweh's design in the creation of the habitable world; (b) a summons to a renewal of their faith in Yahweh and His plans for them and for the world; and (c) a challenge to a renewed endeavour to be faithful to Him and His demands, so that the day may indeed dawn when this vision of a universal realm of righteousness and peace will be realized, and His Kingdom will be seen in all its power and glory". The author goes on to say that the work of salvation which is depicted in this ritual drama "is portrayed by means of some kind of mime" representing the triumph of the forces of light and "Life" over those of darkness and "Death", secured through the direct intervention of Yahweh. In a further statement, based on the exposition of Psalm 89, we are told that the celebration of Yahweh's Kingship is the background to a ritual drama in which the kings of the earth combine to make an attack upon Yahweh's holy city, and that this attack would also be directed against Yahweh's vicegerent, the Davidic king. The humiliation of the king described in Psalm 89 is interpreted by Professor Johnson, not as some specific historical event, but as an element in the ritual drama. He compares this ritual humiliation to the ritual humiliation suffered by the Babylonian king at the New Year Festival, and points out that on this occasion the Davidic king is a suffering Servant. He goes on to expound Psalm 18 as the portrayal of the place of the king in the triumphant issue of the ritual combat, and says, "He (Yahweh) comes to the aid of His Messiah in His role as the 'Rider of the Clouds', and His theophany is described as taking place in all the terrifying splendour of a thunderstorm". Following the humiliation and the triumph thus depicted in the ritual drama, we have in Psalm 118 a ritual procession in which the victorious king at the head of a righteous people enters the gates of righteousness; the scene ends with a ritual encirclement of the altar. The final stage of the ritual is found in Psalm 2, where the Davidic

king is triumphantly enthroned and publicly acknowledged by Yahweh as his Son. Summing up, the author says, "All in all, therefore, enough has been said to prove the literally vital part played by the Messiah of the House of David in the ritual and mythology of the Jerusalem cultus during the period of the Israelite monarchy".

Professor Johnson thus leaves us in no doubt as to his belief in the existence of a fully developed royal ritual with an accompanying mythology carried out annually at the autumn festival in the Temple at Jerusalem. For him it is a great act of worship in which the eschatological hope centred in the House of David finds vivid expression. The grounds on which his belief is based are to be found in his exposition, at once careful and brilliant, of the kingship and royal psalms. The thesis is impressive and attractive. Professor Johnson, while acknowledging the parallels with the ritual pattern of the Babylonian New Year Festival, is nevertheless careful to point out that the Israelite ritual as he portrays it has nothing of the magical character of the Babylonian ritual. The Israelite ritual has from the first a purely moral and eschatological character, deriving from the character of Yahweh.

Nevertheless, some difficulties arise in the mind. They may, indeed, be removed by the learned author in subsequent publications, but to express them here may be a help towards their removal. In the first place, the evidence is wholly drawn from the Psalter, and while, no doubt rightly, the present tendency is to assign a pre-exilic date to most, if not all, of the kingship and royal psalms, yet this is not a matter on which certainty is possible. Secondly, it is not unreasonable, perhaps, to ask how early did this highly moral and eschatological ritual take shape, and who was responsible for so remarkable an achievement. Thirdly, Professor Johnson agrees (p.60) that the agricultural festivals of Canaan were taken over by the Hebrews and given an historical interpretation, and on p.66 he adds, "we are on the right track in seeing in this celebration of Yahweh as King an adaptation of the earlier worship of this one time Canaanite city" (i.e., Jerusalem). Again it may be asked, When did the process of adaptation begin, how long did it take, and who was responsible? Fourthly, it seems difficult to find support for the thesis either in the historical books or in the writings of the prophets. Indeed, unless the prophets who describe the religious condition of both Israel and Judah are grossly

exaggerating, it is hard to imagine at what period of the history of the Davidic monarchy the religious level of kings and people was such as to permit of the annual performance of so lofty a ritual with any appreciation of all its moral and eschatological implications. These are some of the difficulties which present themselves to the mind of one who is both a whole-hearted admirer of Professor Johnson's work, and a convinced believer in the general myth and ritual position. They in no way detract from the writer's appreciation of the very real merits of this profoundly devout and scholarly exposition of sacral kingship in Israel.

<sup>1</sup> *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel.* By Aubrey R. Johnson. University of Wales Press. 12s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> The "thought" referred to is that of the author of Deutero-Isaiah.

## BAPTISM : THE LITURGICAL PATTERN<sup>1</sup>

By A. H. COURATIN

BAPTISM obviously involved water. But was anything used in the rite except water ?

The New Testament, and indeed nearly all early Christian literature, gives us very little help in this matter. Partly because the writers were unwilling to put very much on paper about Baptism. It was the supreme mystery of the Christian Religion. It was meant for Christians alone; it was most unsuitable that the heathen should know more about it than was absolutely inevitable; and books and papers might fall into the wrong hands. But chiefly, no doubt, because it was quite unnecessary to put anything on paper. Every Christian had been baptized; every Christian therefore knew what Baptism was, and how it was performed; there was therefore no need to describe it. In books intended for Christians it was unnecessary. In books intended for heathen it was unsuitable.

The history of Christian Liturgy really begins in the fourth century. From that time onwards there are liturgical texts which can be studied, and there are catechetical lectures which can be read. The texts give the prayers and often a rubric or two, from which the rite can be reconstructed; and the lectures describe the rite, as they attempt to interpret its meaning to the newly-baptized. It seems odd to us that people should first of all be baptized and confirmed and should receive their first Communion, and should only then be told what it was all about. But that was the form in the early Church. You were told as little as possible about what was going to happen to you on Easter Eve, before you actually came to church. You received the Sacraments, with a certain amount of explanations, during the course of the Paschal Vigil. You then proceeded to come to church during Easter Week, and were given a series of lectures about the rites you had

<sup>1</sup> One of three lectures on Baptism delivered to the Exeter Diocesan Clergy School 1956.

undergone. It seems an odd arrangement to us. But the reason for it is clear. Until you were baptized, you were not really a Christian. Since you were not a Christian, you were not entitled to know about the Christian mysteries. Therefore you must be baptized and become a Christian first, and then you could be told all about them.

But when you look at the lectures and the liturgical texts of the fourth century, you are at once struck with the great discrepancy between them. The rites described in the various extant lectures do not square with one another. The ceremonies presupposed by the different liturgical texts are not the same; nor are the prayers of one text on the same lines as the prayers of another. There is no doubt that at the earliest moment when study is possible, there is wide diversity of use between the various Churches in Christendom. They baptize one way at Rome, another way in Egypt, another way at Antioch, and another way in East Syria. This is not an isolated liturgical problem. It is not peculiar to the administration of Baptism. It is equally true of the celebration of the Eucharist. In this the diversity between the various churches in the fourth century is immense. One is forced to the conclusion that in the second and third centuries there were very great differences of liturgical practice throughout Christendom in the administration of the two Sacraments of the Gospel. This suggests that there may well have been very great differences also between the various churches in the matter of Holy Order. But that is a garden path up which we must not now stray. For we are talking about Baptism.

Now what are we to make of all this diversity? Does it mean that the Twelve Apostles all baptized in one way; and that the various churches which they founded all gradually varied the pattern of the Apostolic rite? Or does it mean that the Twelve Apostles all baptized in one way; and that one church alone preserved the Apostolic pattern, and that all the others perverted it? Or does it mean that the Apostolic rite was a simple little affair, and that every Church elaborated it to taste—one in this way, and one in another? Or does it mean that the Twelve Apostles all baptized in different ways, each after his own particular fancy, and that they are the persons responsible for the divergencies that appear in the fourth century throughout Christendom?

That is the problem which we have to investigate. And the best way to tackle it is probably to run over the fourth century evidence, and to see exactly what the differences in the baptismal pattern really are. Then we can ask how far back they really go, and whether they are apparent in the New Testament itself.

We have good evidence for the way in which Baptism was administered in fourth-century Rome. You can find it in a series of lectures to the newly-baptized given by St Ambrose, and known as *De Sacramentis*. Not that St Ambrose was lecturing at Rome. He was, as you know, Bishop of Milan. But in *De Sacramentis* he makes the remark: "I desire to follow the Church of Rome in all things". And when he does describe anything which is peculiar to Milan, he lets you know at once. So he can be relied on as good evidence for Roman practice about the year 380.

His baptismal rite is elaborate. There is a first anointing, connected with the renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil. There is a threefold dipping, connected with the act of faith in Father, Son, and Spirit. There is a second anointing. There is the washing of the feet, unknown at Rome, but considered important at Milan. And there is a final ceremony, known as the "Spiritual Seal" or the "Perfecting". Most unfortunately St Ambrose does not tell us how this was administered. It pretty obviously included a prayer for the descent of the Spirit, such as we now have at Confirmation, for there is a quotation from Isaiah 11 in his text at this point. It may well have included a signing with the Cross, and possibly a third anointing. For the noun *signaculum* and the verb *consignare* are used. First Communion follows immediately.

Such is the rite described by St Ambrose in the fourth century. It is a rite which, with the exception of the feet-washing, is still used in its full extension by the Church of Rome. You may claim, if you like, that it is Apostolic, and that other churches have perverted the pattern. But in that case you will have to explain a good deal of history away.

What do you find, if you look at the other end of Christendom? at the churches of East Syria? There is good evidence for their practice in the Liturgical Homilies of Narsai. Narsai of course flourished in the middle of the fifth century. But there is no reason to suppose that what he describes was not common practice in East Syria in the fourth century. Now the rite described

by Narsai is elaborate, but not nearly so elaborate as that of St. Ambrose. There are the renunciations, an anointing with oil, Baptism with a formula containing the threefold Name; and then Communion follows immediately. No anointing after Baptism, no prayer for the descent of the Spirit or Laying-on of the Hand. Anointing, Baptism, Communion—and nothing more.

If the churches at the two ends of Christendom have such widely differing baptismal rites in the fourth century, what of the churches in between? There are the churches of Egypt, and there are the churches of West Syria—Jerusalem and Antioch. What fourth-century evidence is to be found for their baptismal practice? For Egypt there is Sarapion's Prayer Book, which is good evidence for the practice of a local church in the middle of the century, and may be good evidence for the metropolitical Church of Alexandria, though I should doubt it. Remember that Sarapion was a bishop, and that therefore you will find in his Prayer Book only the prayers required by a bishop. You won't expect to find the parts of the baptismal rite performed by the presbyters, e.g. the questions and answers during the act of Baptism. What you do find is a couple of prayers for the blessing of oils. From the rubrics and from the texts of these prayers it is perfectly clear that in Sarapion's rite there was one anointing before Baptism and one anointing after Baptism. No prayer is included for the Laying-on of the Bishop's Hand. It is therefore safe to assume that there was no Laying-on of Hands in Sarapion's church at this time. The baptismal pattern of the Egyptian churches in the fourth century was therefore in all probability Anointing, Baptism, Anointing, followed by Communion — and nothing more. It differed both from the Roman pattern of St Ambrose and from the East Syrian pattern of Narsai.

The West Syrian pattern seems to agree with the Egyptian. Evidence for the fourth-century practice of Jerusalem is provided by the catchetical lectures ascribed to St Cyril, who was Bishop of Jerusalem from about 351 to 386. (If you believe, with English scholars, that they were written by St Cyril, you will say that they are good evidence for the middle of the century. If you side with many of the continentals, you will say that they were written by John, his successor in the see, and you will claim that they are evidence for the end of the century.) At Jerusalem there was a first anointing connected with the renunciations, the Baptism connected

with the threefold act of faith, a second anointing, and then Communion.

The other evidence for West Syrian practice in the Fourth Century comes from the North, from round about Antioch. The catechetical lectures of Theodore of Mopsuestia date from the end of the century. His pattern seems to be a variant of St. Cyril's. He has apparently two anointings before Baptism, one connected with the renunciations and one immediately before the actual Baptism. After Baptism comes a third anointing, and then Communion. Slightly earlier evidence from the North is to be found in *Apostolic Constitutions*. This, as you know, is an odd work, generally supposed to have been written near Antioch round about the year 375. The author's baptismal rite seems to have the same pattern as St. Cyril's — Anointing, Baptism, Anointing, Communion.

It would be tempting to claim that all the Egyptian and Syrian evidence was internally consistent, that it pointed to a single pattern of common origin, different from East Syria and Rome, but at any rate agreeing with itself. Unfortunately such a claim cannot be made. Sarapion and St. Cyril correspond. But Theodore has an extra anointing; and the author of *Apostolic Constitutions*, though he agrees with St. Cyril and Sarapion in having one anointing before Baptism and one after Baptism, disagrees with them as to the meanings of the anointings. For St. Cyril and Sarapion teach that the Spirit is given in the anointing after Baptism; while the Constitutor teaches that he is given in the anointing before Baptism.

Three patterns of Baptism, then, are found in the fourth century. In the Roman West a complex rite—Anointing, Baptism, Anointing, Prayer with the Laying-on of Hands, followed by a signing with a third anointing. In the Syriac-speaking world a simpler rite, Anointing and Baptism only. In the lands between a similar rite, Anointing, Baptism, Anointing. Since the fourth century there has been a process of smoothing out. The East Syrian pattern—Anointing, Baptism—has disappeared. The West Syrian pattern—Anointing, Baptism, Anointing—persists in the Byzantine rite, and the second anointing is declared to be “Confirmation”. The Roman pattern still persists—Anointing, Baptism, Anointing, Hands, Anointing, but the third anointing is claimed as “Con-

firmation". In this way a superficial agreement in doctrine conceals a long history of diversity in practice.

What lies behind the fourth-century differences? They seem to go back into the murky period of liturgical pre-history—the second and third centuries. In the West, Tertullian wrote his treatise *About Baptism* in the early years of the third century. His pattern is pretty obviously the ancestor of the Roman pattern. He knows of Baptism, Anointing, and the Laying-on of the Hand. Neither the first nor the third anointing is mentioned. They may have been practised in his time, but he does not regard them as important. For him Baptism and the Laying-on of Hands appear to be the essentials of the rite. The anointing after Baptism is obviously an integral part of his rite, but he does not seem to attach much meaning to it. The third anointing—the "Confirmation" of the later Roman rite—he does not even mention.

In the East, the Syriac *Didascalia*, which is generally dated about 250, knows only the later East Syrian pattern—Anointing, Baptism. The Gnostic rites of the period show the same general type. The evidence is set out in Conolly's edition of the Homilies of Narsai, and I will not bore you with it by quoting it. Always the pattern is the same—Anointing, Baptism—and nothing more. Communion follows Baptism immediately. Some Gnostic sects display variants, if we may trust the evidence of St Irenaeus. The time-saving device of mixing water and oil together, and throwing the mixture over the candidate, is perhaps the most remarkable.

It will be noticed that I have not cited the evidence of the *Apostolic Tradition* of St Hippolytus. As is well known, the Greek text which St Hippolytus is believed to have written is no longer extant. Versions exist, of which the Latin is supposed to be the most reliable. The baptismal rite is of the later Roman pattern. If we could be sure that it is what St Hippolytus wrote, it would be valuable evidence for the antiquity of this pattern. But we cannot be sure. Even Gregory Dix, who was confident that he had established most of the text of *Apostolic Tradition* as it left the hand of St Hippolytus, refused to accept the Latin version of the Confirmation Prayer. Many scholars are becoming more and more doubtful about the reliability of even the most reliable version. This is certainly true of the sections of the treatise which concern the Eucharist; and it is becoming increasingly true of the sections that concern both Baptism and Ordination. It is tempting to put

Tertullian's *About Baptism* and St Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition* together, and to find in them the second-century Roman pattern of Baptism. But this is going beyond the evidence, and taking risks that one ought not to take.

I shall not waste your time in dealing with the evidence of the *Didache*. Its date, its provenance and its value are all matters of dispute. Its text is not above suspicion. The sole manuscript dates from the eleventh century. The text of it which is reproduced in the first book of *Apostolic Constitutions* differs considerably from that of the eleventh-century manuscript. Who is to say that the eleventh-century copyist had a more reliable text in front of him than the author of *Apostolic Constitutions*? So I think that we had best leave the evidence of the *Didache* on one side.

But what about St Justin's evidence? He was writing a straightforward account of the Christian Sacraments for the Roman Emperor of the day. He was writing in Rome, but he was born in Syria and had lived for a time in Asia Minor. He had therefore knowledge of Christian practice in various parts of the Empire. He was a plain layman, who could be trusted to give a clear account of what Baptism actually was, of what really happened when a man was baptized in the first half of the second century. His account is straightforward. The candidate receives Baptism, and is then admitted at once to the Prayers and to the Eucharist. Surely this is conclusive. All the additional ceremonies, anointings and laying-on of hands, are gradual accumulations of a decorative kind. Washing with water alone is the essence of Christian baptism. But it is not as easy as all that. Justin was not so simple as he sounds. He was obliged to talk about the water of Baptism, because it was common knowledge that you became a Christian by taking a bath. He was obliged to talk about the bread and wine of the Eucharist, because there were stories that Christians ate the bodies and drank the blood of babies. But he was not obliged to reveal any more. So he didn't. He tried to put the Emperor off from further enquiry by suggesting that Christianity was just another Oriental cult like Mithraism. His evidence is good so far as it goes. But you cannot argue from his silence.

The evidence of Holy Scripture alone remains. The Catholic Fathers and the Ancient Bishops show us nothing but diversity. Does the Bible give us any evidence of uniformity? You will not expect me, at this time of day, to go through each of the books of the New Testament. It will probably suffice to take the Acts

of the Apostles, and to glance briefly at the accounts of Baptism that it contains.

(a) St Peter's advice to his fellow-countrymen in Acts 2 is, as you know, ambiguous. It may mean that they are to be baptized with water, and that they will then receive the Holy Ghost by means of a second sign. Or it may mean that they will receive the Holy Ghost by being baptized.

(b) The Samaritans in Acts 8 are baptized by St Philip, but apparently need a second ceremony at the hands of St Peter and St John to complete their Baptism. The pattern is—Baptism, Laying-on of Hands.

(c) The Ethiopian eunuch, also in Acts 8 is baptized by St Philip but apparently needs no subsequent ceremony. Having been baptized, he goes on his way rejoicing. The pattern is—Baptism only.

(d) St Paul in Acts 9 undergoes a rite of uncertain meaning. But the pattern is clear enough. Ananias lays hands on St Paul and then baptizes him, and then gives him something to eat. The pattern appears to be—Laying-on of Hands, Baptism, Communion.

(e) Cornelius in Acts 10 is admittedly an exceptional case, like the Apostles themselves on the day of Pentecost. The Holy Spirit fell on him, as on the Apostles at the beginning. St Peter then proceeded to baptize him. In so far as any pattern can be discerned here, it is Spirit first, Baptism second.

(f) The jailer at Philippi in Acts 16 is apparently baptized, and then without further ado the Eucharist is celebrated. The evidence is too thin to bear any real weight, but the pattern appears to be Baptism, Communion.

(g) The disciples of John in Acts 19 are baptized by St Paul and then receive the Laying-on of Hands immediately.

Here then, in one book of the New Testament, we have no certainty as to the baptismal pattern. The same is true of the rest of the New Testament evidence. St Paul and St John talk about anointing, but no one can say whether they are speaking metaphorically or not. Hebrews apparently thinks that the Laying-on of Hands is something essential to the Christian religion, as essential as Baptism itself, but it is not quite clear whether the Laying-on of Hands is a part of the baptismal rite or something else. Neither St Paul nor St John ever mentions the Laying-on of Hands. The Apocalypse mentions Consignation, the mark on the forehead; but

no one can tell whether it is referring to current Christian practice, or merely copying Ezekiel, or both. In so far as the New Testament writers are concerned, their evidence is as confused as that of the Fathers. On the whole it inclines one to believe in a primitive multiplicity of practice.

The Church of England has a very definite baptismal pattern of its own. This consists of Baptism with Consignation, followed by the Laying-on of Hands with prayer, followed by first Communion. This pattern may claim reasonable support from Holy Scripture. St Philip, with St Peter and St John, seemed to have followed it at Samaria. St Paul appears to have followed it at Ephesus. It seems to have commended itself to the unknown author of Hebrews. It contains the two elements in Tertullian's pattern upon which he set most store. Tertullian was the first Christian to write a treatise on Baptism, and he was only four or five generations from the Apostles. This pattern seems to underlie the traditional Roman pattern, in spite of the interpretation now placed upon that pattern by Roman Catholic theologians. It has as good a claim as any of the modern rites to be regarded as authentic.

We should, I think, be reasonably content with our own rite. We need not be unduly disturbed by the fact that we differ from the Church of Rome and from the Churches of the East about the "matter" of Confirmation. No local church is infallible; and where Canterbury differs from Rome and Constantinople, there is no particular reason why the one should be wrong and the others right. It is a question for the historian to investigate and to decide. At present no decision has been reached.

## BIBLICAL THEOLOGY AND HISTORY

By A. P. LEARY

“CHRISTIANITY is a religion which takes history seriously”. This assertion has become the slogan (if not the war-cry) of twentieth century Christianity. In reaction against the Hegelian philosophizing of the last century and the liberal religion of ethics and do-good-ism which resulted from it, Christian thinkers to-day have been anxious to reassert the historical character of Christianity and the “historical-ness” of the continuing life of the Spirit. The emergence of a post-critical biblical theology testifies to a concern to re-read the essential message of Christianity in the Jewish matrix which produced it, and to purge theology of philosophy—of intrusions of non-Christian thought-forms and ideas which crept into its life and thought during the period of its early expansion and greatest vitality.

The subject of Christianity and history has many subdivisions and it is difficult to discuss any one of them without becoming involved with all the others. The purpose here is to show that an over-historical view of Christianity can result, for one thing, in fatal regression to Jewish thought-forms and *Weltanschauung*, and in intellectual Neo-Ebionism with repercussions in nearly every division of theology.

The reaction against the various types of “idealism” which substituted themselves for Christianity after the unenlightening “enlightenment”, with its cold rationalism and barren ethical systems, had faded has been a healthy one. We should indeed “take history seriously”—that is, we should understand the life of our Lord in its authentic New Testament setting, and discipline severely any truant nineteenth-century idealism, but at the same time we must keep in mind the dangers to which an exclusively temporal orientation of Christianity can lead us. It is true, surely, that an event such as the crucifixion is more than “rôle-play” of eternal verities about the love of God; it must be seen in the light of the “Suffering Servant” songs and the general Old Testament tradition. Yet, on the other hand, its importance lies in its being a creative act not of a creature of time, but of Almighty God himself, who creatures time and its citizens are. Our Lord the Word took

himself complete humanity: the Infinite willed to clothe himself in finitude, the Eternal entered time, just as, of course, it is also true to say that the finite was lifted up into the Infinite, time raised into Eternity. The reason why the historicity of the events which attended the Incarnation is important is that they were the events of eternity, of God, taking place in history. Christianity, like all life ultimately, is a matter of *persons*. It is not exactly correct to say, as is commonly done, that Christianity is a revelation given in terms of history; it is a revelation given in terms of *personality*. For example, Anglicans value a shrine like the church in Little Gidding not because of the historical events which took place in connection with it, but because of the *person* who figured in those historical events. It is personality which gives meaning to history, not history to personality. History acts on individuals, on particular manifestations of our common manhood; but personality acts on history, and determines its meaning as it controls its development. History may be defined as the record of the inter-action of persons. This is not warmed-up Carlyle; it is a view of history taken from the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, which is a life Christians can discuss only in terms of persons and, the more modern corollary, personality.

In particular, we can see the truth of this with regard to Christianity. In the study of the Bible, for example, it is not the Old Testament which, in the final analysis, gives us our understanding of the Messiah. It was the Messiah, when he appeared, who revealed the meaning of the Old Testament. To be sure, in our desire for as deep a knowledge as possible of the scene into which the God-Man entered, our study of the Old Testament in criticism and history helps us to understand better the sort of language which eventually formed the first-century Palestinian idiom, the framework of eschatology and apocalyptic, the beliefs about the nature and sovereignty of the one true God, which he could assume with his hearers; yet it is as Christians that we come to the Old Testament in the first place. All Old Testament study is *ex post facto*. The word of God in the Old Testament only comes alive when the Word becomes flesh and reveals the hidden things of God. We can never reason from the Old Testament to Christ until we are "in Christ". St. Paul, after his celebrated conversion, saw the whole Old Testament as a preparation for Christ, but it was not his study or knowledge of the Old Testament which brought him to Christ. The

religion of the Old Testament ends in the crucifixion of the Messiah. As Dr Casserley says, ". . . there were Hebrew as well as Greek reasons for refusing to accept the Gospel."<sup>1</sup> It is in the taking up of the Old Testament into the New that we come to find it meaningful in our worship and devotion.

The allegorizing of the Old Testament which was the vogue of preachers and commentators in the early days of the Church may well have been due partly to their embarrassment over some of the crudities of the Old Testament, to a desire to discover suitably refined meanings for rough passages, acceptable to an educated Alexandrian Empire conscious of style and literary elegance. However, such writers as St Clement of Alexandria, St Justin Martyr, St Irenaeus, even Origen, were also concerned to show that the Old Testament was the dominion of Christ, and they saw Christ between the lines of almost every passage they read. Irenaeus wrote:

When the Law is read by the Jews even to this day it is like a myth, for they do not possess the interpretation of everything, which is the human sojourn of the Son of God. But when it is read by Christians it is the treasure hidden in the field, but revealed and explained by the cross of Christ,<sup>2</sup>

and though the hermeneutical method followed in his day is no longer acceptable, the conviction which motivated it is still most important.

To-day, theology can take two different approaches to the study of the Bible, and the choice of one or the other depends very largely on what view is held of the relation of Christianity and history. One approach begins with the older scriptures themselves, to systematize their concepts and terminology, to see the development of Jewish and Hebrew religion as a continuous whole, and to produce a "theology" of the Old Testament. A book like Otto J. Baab's *The Theology of the Old Testament* is an excellent example of this line of approach. Professor Baab claims that the Old Testament provides us with a balanced, mature, sufficient religion, with its own integrity, well able to stand on its own feet. Having determined just what essentially constitutes revelation and the manner of God's operations in history, this approach usually goes on then to the religion of the New Testament, and fits into categories established beforehand by the study of Jewish origins the revelation given in the life and teaching of Christ. The words of Jesus are seen in their Judaistic setting, and every effort is made to stress the "Jew-

ishness" of the Gospel, with its controlling concepts of the unity of God, salvation, faith, and eschatology. Thus, when textual problems cause difficulty in interpretation, the balance is always swung in favour of the exegesis which is most in line with the general tradition of "biblical" thought. The word "biblical" comes more and more to mean "Jewish". George A. F. Knight furnished us in his book *From Moses to Paul* with some examples of this tendency:

... that wholly Jewish religion, Christianity<sup>3</sup>. The Reformation, for example, was an occasion indeed when the Church was truly vital: but then, as Schonfield affirms, the Reformation was merely the "Rejudaissance" of Christianity.<sup>4</sup> The Church, for example, must learn to think in those thought-forms which the first Christians used before the Church was influenced by Greece.<sup>5</sup> Today scholars recognise that early Judaism was "right", that Judaism was God's chosen vehicle for the revelation of himself to the world; that Christianity must in essence be Judaism ... the neo-orthodoxy of the present generation is humbly returning to the Word of God ... at last contritely admitting that the roots of Christianity are indeed to be found in the Old Testament and in the Judaism of the first Christian century, and *nowhere else*. The whole of Christology, nay, the whole of Christianity, must develop directly out of the Old Testament.<sup>6</sup>

Few writers have stated the "neo-orthodox" position as clearly as Professor Knight. The popularity of the Jewish writer Martin Buber among Christian "biblical" theologians has its own significance too.

The second approach to the Bible is to begin with the Incarnation, and to look at the Old Testament in the light of the Light which illuminates every man. With the knowledge of what *did* actually happen at the culmination, the flowering and death, of Hebrew religion as the chief tool of hermeneutics, the Old Testament becomes the central witness to the passion and resurrection of Jesus. This was the way St Paul used the scriptures of the Old Testament. This was the way the early Church used them, valuing them because in the light of a prior, corporate, actual knowledge of the Incarnation, they revealed to the faithful that the Word who became flesh was also the Word who spoke through the prophets and wise men of antiquity, and they rejoiced in a Lord whose relationship with his creatures transcended even the realm of his incarnate life, reaching back into ancient times, into

the very dawn of the religious consciousness. It was not only in the "predictions" of prophetical writings that early Christianity found testimony to Christ: every story, every great event in Old Testament history seemed relevant to truth as revealed in the death and resurrection of its Lord. An example of such Christocentric study of the Bible can be found in Lionel Thornton's *Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery*, which, quite aside from the particular relation of Baptism to Confirmation which is its main concern to champion, is a remarkable application of Old Testament theology in devotional terms to the life of the new Israel. In our day there has been a healthy revival of "typology", not the crude, fanciful allegorizing of Old Testament stories to which modern biblical scholarship takes such exception, nor the naïf assertion of the accuracy of Old Testament "predictions", but a study, through the lens of the Incarnation, of the rôle of God incarnate as Messiah of Israel and, in extension, of the Church in her rôle as the new Israel. Father Thornton in *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* and in his major work *The Form of the Servant* is perhaps the best known of the biblical typologists. In a simpler, more direct fashion, Father Hebert of Kelham in *The Throne of David* has investigated the fulfilment of Old Testament religion in the life of Christ and the Church. But it must not be forgotten that his Messiahship of Israel was but one rôle of the Word Incarnate. He came as the Messiah of Israel, but it was as something more than a Jewish religious leader that he redeemed the world. The Word is not important because he was Messiah; Messiah is important because he is God Almighty the Son.

Christ is the Servant of God, the Son of Man, the Word and Wisdom of God, the rose blooming from the root of Jesse, Abraham's Seed, the figure who ushers in the last day; he is, in short, a recognizably Jewish historical figure, but he is that figure because he willed to be. The "he" therefore is prior to the historical figure. The doctrine of the pre-existence of the Logos is no longer a very popular theme for doctrinal discussion (indeed, Brunner speaks of the "damage inflicted on Western theology by the Logos theologians, who infected Christian thought with their sterile intellectualism"),<sup>7</sup> but that "he" who was the Messiah was also the Lord God Almighty, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God,

Light of Light, Very God of Very God — this is the essential meaning of the Incarnation, and without it the “historicity” of the Gospel becomes nothing more than a pious chronology of Semitic hagiography and martyrology.

In the first approach to theology, as described above, it is history which controls the interpretation of personality. In the second (and outside England its representatives are numerically negligible), it is personality which controls history. In the first, the significance of our Lord is to be found in Hebrew religion, and in the second approach, the significance of Old Testament religion is found in Christ. The first approach deals with individuals or “singularities”; the second deals with persons, in particular, with the Divine Person of God Incarnate.

The Word became flesh in the womb of a particular Virgin, and, surely the “scandal of particularity” is as popular a theme to-day as “justification by faith alone” was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What is frequently forgotten is that the scandal is such because “that Holy Thing” which was born of Mary was the Lord who created her, because of the “entemporization” of the Godhead. History is important because metahistory willed to become historical in a certain person. As Charles Williams says,

The beginning of Christendom is, strictly, at a point out of time. A metaphysical trigonometry finds it among the spiritual Secrets, at a meeting of two heavenward lines, one drawn from Bethany along the Ascent of Messias, the other from Jerusalem against the Descent of the Paraclete. That measurement, the measurement of eternity in operation . . . is, in effect, theology.<sup>8</sup>

To say, therefore, that Christianity is a religion of history does not mean that it is a religion produced by history, but a religion introduced into history, a religion with its roots in infinity, and its source of power in eternity. This makes the controlling concept, the normative factor, of the Christian religion not a matter of history, but of metahistory, or, to be precise, of metahistory in union with history. Eliot has described the Incarnation as a “moment in time, but not of time”.<sup>9</sup> Berdayev has spoken of “the eruption into time of eternity”.<sup>10</sup> We can see, then, that the view one takes of history will affect one’s view of biblical theology.

Nothing, of course, must be allowed to derogate from the full reality of the human events in the story of redemption. Just as theology fought against various forms of Gnosticism to protect the

doctrine of the reality of Christ's manhood, so must theology fight against any attempt either to mythologize the New Testament (or, in attempting to "demythologize" it, to make it mythological) or to interpret it as a revelation of "truths" shimmering in the icy regions of unreal "reality". Yet the other danger, of making Christianity a religion *of* history, instead of a religion *in* history, by de-emphasizing not so much the eternal *meaning* but the eternal *being* of its events, is equally serious. Some of the attacks on "philosophy" in religion to-day among "biblical" theologians, especially of the Continental Protestant tradition, are really the result of an over-historical view of the nature of Christianity. The reaction of such thinkers against "baptized" classical philosophy is really a reaction against the view of Christianity which has been described here as "rooted in infinity", and is a protest against Incarnational theology in favour of an historically-orientated, historically-controlled theology. In biblical study this takes the form of a regression to Jewish thought-forms, concepts, institutions, and vocabulary. When traditional theology treats of Christology, or the doctrine of the Trinity, or the relation of the heavenly and earthly orders in the sacramental system, especially of Natural Theology, biblical theology raises a cry of protest, not because these traditional doctrines are not "true", but because they are not "biblical". Truth is not identified with something outside time, a standard of eternal law grounded in the being of God, but with the authentically "biblical" revelation (truth becomes existential, not ontological), and "biblical" means, not "scriptural", in the sense in which an Anglican speaks of a doctrine in accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, but *Jewish*. This is an example of history controlling theology, not by keeping it on the straight-and-narrow between mythology or idealism and personal fancy, but by dictating to theology the areas of thought beyond which she may not go: theology is told not only that she has no right to treat of an essentially Jewish story in non-Jewish terms, but that she has no right to ask questions which the Jewish *Weltanschauung* is, by its own limitations, unable to answer.

A distinction can be made, then, for the sake of convenience, between the terms "scriptural" and "biblical". The word "biblical" may be taken to mean the type of theology referred to in America as "neo-Protestant" or "neo-orthodox", in Europe as "dialectical"; it is a theology partly produced by, partly making use of that

general European philosophical temper called "existentialism". It has great differences within itself, it has its own quarrels and divisions, yet all of its proponents share in a common view of the nature of the "biblical" and of the function of theology, and form a common front as regards what they reject of classical Christianity. In Europe and America the term "biblical theology" nearly always refers to this type of theology.

In England, and in world-Anglicanism generally, the word "biblical" means "scriptural", and rests upon quite different suppositions. The question asked of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons at the conferring of Holy Orders: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain all Doctrine required as necessary for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ?" does not mean that Anglican clergy are expected to have a Semitic theological vocabulary, but that they are expected to testify that the story of redemption contained in the Bible is the true one, not to be added to or subtracted from, and that nothing which has its foundations outside the historic life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus may be considered essential to salvation. This oath rules out the "demythologizing" of Rudolph Bultmann, of course, as much as it does the developments of modern Roman Catholic theology. It leaves the door open to "philosophy" and to the two great Anglican pillars of scriptural interpretation: Tradition (in which is included not only the theology of the Oecumenical Councils, but an implicit belief in the capacity of the intellect in grace to produce such a theology) and Reason (which, to an Anglican, always means, at least, "common sense").

Examples of this attitude can be seen not only in the defensive apologetics of Hooker and the classical Anglicanism of the Caroline Divines, but in the events of the life of the early Church. At the Council of Nicaea, for example, it was the followers of Athanasius with their "philosophical", "unbiblical" vocabulary who upheld the "scriptural" doctrine of Christ. The Semi-Arians (and the Arians who would have been satisfied if the Semi-Arians' formularies had prevailed) with their highly "biblical" vocabulary were actually the foes of the authentic scriptural and apostolic teaching. According to the views of modern "biblical" theology, it was the Semi-Arians who were true to "biblical" religion; Athanasius represents the betrayal of "biblical" theology by speculative philosophy. Old-fashioned "liberalism" used to reject Chalcedonian

theology because it was not "true"; modern dialectical theology rejects it because it is not "biblical". The general Anglican tradition regards it as fully "scriptural". In this example, perhaps, the shade of meaning suggested by the two terms is made clearer.

The problem of knowing where to stop, where to draw the line, is seriously complicated by such writers as Rudolph Bultmann, who would seem, at a cursory glance, to be concerned with resisting these Judaizing tendencies. The Jewish imagistic limitations, the world-construct of the first century Semitic mind, are a barrier, he believes, to the effective preaching of Christ to-day; therefore, to make Christianity a "live option" to twentieth-century man, theology must address itself to the task of "demythologizing" the New Testament. This sounds harmless enough. But a second look at Bultmann and his followers reveals that the Jewish "mythology" of which Bultmann wishes to divest the New Testament includes most of what Anglicans believe to be the essential content of the story of redemption. Bultmann may be, as the contemporary use of the word seems to permit, "biblical", but to an Anglican highly "unscriptural". If it is possible to disbelieve in the historicity of most of the life of Christ as recorded in the Bible, and still be regarded as a "biblical" theologian, something has happened to the meaning of that word, which should suggest caution in using it.

Paradoxically, one feature of the divergence of the two viewpoints which have been outlined as regards their views of history, is the old struggle between Science and Religion emerging in a new set of circumstances. History, which has arrogated to itself the methods, sometimes the vocabulary, of the scientific method, has told theology that there are certain areas where she may work, but that outside these areas there is the red-light district of philosophy, unfrequented by the respectable people of genuine "biblical" tradition. This is but a parody of the older conflict which raged two or three generations ago, when Scientism told Religion that peaceful "co-existence" was possible as long as she did not trespass her own property—which turned out to be not much more than what came to be known as "religious experience". The situation is only a little changed. Scientism, which is the final form of history run amok, has relegated theology to a position of a mere interpreter of the "biblical" experience, or, at best, to that of an apologist—and the apologetical technique of the dialectical theologians is rather that of holding up the Medusa-head of the Gospel to confront (a

favourite word) an unbelieving generation, than a serious attempt to explain the Christian Faith to a world without a religious vocabulary. The vocabulary of "biblical" theology is quite as irrelevant to the lives of ordinary people as that of traditional theology. Theology, that is, Dogmatic Theology, really disappears, its place assumed by a biblical theology which is constructed largely out of "biblical" evidences and the newly rediscovered Jewish-ness of the Gospel message, and which jumps, as it were, from the Bible directly to present theological needs, ignoring the development of Christian thought through the two thousand years of the Church's life. This new theology goes by different names. In America it is called "Constructive Theology", or, among Lutherans who in an interesting contradiction usually organize it along credal lines, "Symbolics"; in Europe, "Systematic Theology". Its finished form is called by Karl Barth "Church Dogmatics", and its proper study is "the Christian Church", by which he means the experience of the reception of the Word of God.<sup>11</sup> Paul Tillich alone seems to carry on the traditional disciplines of the older idea of theology; he takes classical theology very seriously, and has recently shocked some of the "biblical" theologians by publicly espousing Natural Theology.

It is important that Dogmatic Theology, understood in its traditional sense, exercise a normative function in biblical theology and in the field of apologetics. Just as the New Testament is always the controlling agent in any *development* in Dogmatic Theology, so Dogmatic Theology must always be the controlling agent in any new assessment of fresh biblical "evidences" or insights. One preserves the other from any sort of change which might involve loss of some element of creative vital orthodoxy, a choking of the continuing stream of the Church's heritage; this is a practical application of the Vincentian canon. There is a great upsurge of systematic theology following in the wake of biblical criticism. Contemporary thought, exhausted by over two hundred years of painstaking criticism of the Bible, is beginning to turn its attention to "meaning" once again. As biblical criticism was the great challenge of the last few generations, so biblical theology has become a similar challenge to-day. But the new interest in theology is coming to its work without a prior dogmatic structure to use in wielding the great mass of "evidences" into a coherent basis for theology.

This vacuum is more apparent, perhaps, in America where average Protestantism is still of the "liberal" or "modernist" type,

and in Europe, than in England where the silent pressure of the organic Church, with its directive sense of continuity, is always to be discerned in the movements and developments of theology. As has been pointed out, the phrase "biblical theology" in England may be taken to apply equally to Father Thornton and to Anders Nygren; such is not the case in America (the English reader should bear in mind that Anglicanism, only the fifth largest non-Roman body in America, is of little influence in the theological mainstream of American Christianity).

One of the tools rejected by the earlier generation in biblical criticism was the power of abstraction, the capacity to relate particular events in the Jewish setting of the New Testament to a pattern of reality grounded in the being of God. This is hardly to suggest a return to religious Platonism. The supernatural world of which St Paul says we are a colony is not a world of Platonic ideas. Platonism destroys history as surely as confining the tools of theology to Semitic thought-forms eventually, by stagnation, destroys theology. The reversion to Judaism in biblical theology is a product of a movement of thought much wider than this particular question. Its philosophical form is contained in the famous proposition, "existence precedes essence".

It is a European movement born out of two wars, and is ultimately anti-intellectual, anti-rational, anti-aesthetic. It represents a failure of doctrinal nerve. It is a failure to face up to the demands and challenges of post-Cartesian philosophy and post-Darwinian scientism. Unable to raise up a Christian apologetic to meet the onslaught of scientism, a large portion of Christian thinkers simply capitulated, introducing into religion a dualism as serious as the cosmological dualism of the Gnostics. Unable to reinterpret Christian philosophy in a way which could make itself a force in a world becoming disenchanted with the worn romantic epistemology with which European Protestantism had for so long a time kept casual company, these thinkers rejected philosophy itself as non-Christian (because non-Jewish), and, armed only with the phenomenology of religious experience, the visceral metaphysics of gloomy Teutonism, and a world view garnered from study of the Jewish origins of Christianity, have given over philosophy and the arts to the secular world.

It may be, after all, that it is in the field of aesthetics where the blow falls heaviest. It is a subject in itself, but a brief look at two

comments by "biblical" theologians may indicate what can be expected. In *Christianity and Civilisation*, Emil Brunner writes as follows:

We cannot evade the question whether there is not a fundamental opposition between art and faith, as expressed in the second commandment of the Decalogue . . . Can the believer in face of this un-ambiguous prohibition enjoy art without reserve? . . . The question remains whether art as the work of imagination and as imaginary perfection does not involve a fundamental conflict with faith in the invisible perfect One . . . Is there not a secret opposition between the enjoyment of heavenly beauty in the imaginary world of art and the hope of the real heavenly redemption? Is not art, at its best, some kind of parallel to pantheistic mysticism . . . ?<sup>12</sup>

Richard Kroner is moved by much the same spirit. In *Culture and Faith* he warns:

The artist is a messenger not of the Living God but of the Muses, whose virtue and spirit are entirely contemplative. The poet, Schelling says, is born a pagan. No wonder that the great poets have some inclination to the pagan gods, to which they frequently appeal.<sup>13</sup>

He goes on in the same book to cite examples of the betrayal of the Christian religion by artists:

Even Dante chooses Vergil as his leader through hell, and his audacious idea of making the beloved woman the mediator between himself and the Blessed in heaven is certainly not Christian.<sup>14</sup>

One wonders what Charles Williams would have made of that statement. It is impossible to discuss here the subject of the Bible and aesthetics, but this glimpse into current "biblical" views of art suggests what such a discussion might involve.

This concentration on the Judaizing of the Gospel is not unrelated to the question of history and Christianity. It is a direct result of taking to unwarranted extremes the proposition, "Christianity is a religion of history." The study of theology has become to-day the study of the history of theology in all but the "out-of-date" and consciously "High Church" theological colleges, and Dogmatic Theology is beginning to lose its autonomy and integrity as the "science of God," with its own methodology and terminal concepts. This turn of events is beginning to have a paralysing effect on Christian ethics: Ascetical Theology is one of the first disciplines to be marked off as "unbiblical", and Moral Theology goes close behind it. Behaviour

and principles of behaviour flow directly, however, from Dogmatic Theology, and the coherent systematization of moral principles so necessary for pastoral work and the development of the Christian social conscience in missionary areas of the Church flows directly from the application of Dogmatic Theology to the life of the soul. With morals, essence must always precede existence.

To counterbalance effectively this modern Judaizing it is necessary to view history as being capable of expressing the eternal, but always subject to the control of and leading to the eternal. God became man that man might have access to God. The eternal entered history only that man might have eternal life. Bulgakov says, "The Incarnation . . . completed historic time without destroying human history, but rather giving it a meaning positive and eternal, and becoming its centre".<sup>15</sup> This view turns neo-orthodoxy into paleo-orthodoxy. In a limited sense, of course, God became subject to history in the Incarnation, and surely in the concrete historical situation of the New Testament story much of the character of God who was being revealed is perenially present, but in a far deeper sense, the God-Man exercised his Lordship over history as much by gathering it up into himself as he did by entering into it and defeating its twin marshalls of death and time.

"The Word was made flesh". "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man . . . ye have no life in you." "The flesh profiteth nothing". When we have understood the paradox of these three phases, we shall have understood the relation of Christianity to history.

<sup>1</sup> J. V. Langmead Casserley, *Graceful Reason*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Haer.*, 4.26.1.

<sup>3</sup> George A. F. Knight, *From Moses to Paul*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 73-74.

<sup>7</sup> Emil Brunner, *The Christian Doctrine of God*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Williams, *The Descent of the Dove*, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Choruses From the Rock*.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Berdayev, *The Meaning of History*, p.67.

<sup>11</sup> Karl Barth, *Dogmatics in Outline*, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Emil Brunner, *Christianity and Civilisation*, Vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Kroner, *Culture and Faith*, p. 126.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Sergius Bulgakov, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 19.

# OUR LORD'S IMPRESSIVE RHETORIC

By CECIL S. EMDEN

All teachers, especially those with a mission, want to make their teaching impressive. They, consciously or unconsciously, use "figures of speech"<sup>1</sup> so as to be emphatic, and so as to intensify their meaning. Almost every experienced public speaker uses rhetorical expedients such as imaginative and vivid comparisons (metaphor and simile), colourful exaggerations which are not to be taken literally (hyperbole), significant echoing of words (anaphora), and twists of expression that have a sharp edge on them (irony and satire).

The extraordinary impressiveness of our Lord's teaching and conversation was certainly due in great measure to his frequent recourse to "figures of speech." Appreciation of the way in which he used them tends to a better understanding of his character and of his views on the art of living. We may be sure he felt most strongly where he was most emphatic; and nowhere did he employ more vigorous methods and display more violent feeling than in denunciation of cruelty and hypocrisy. Positive virtues, such as humility, faith, and self-sacrifice in the service of others were inculcated by him by means of oratorical devices which involved forcefulness and vividness; but where his principles were opposed by those of the Scribes and Pharisees, he resorted to barbed irony to defeat them, thereby disclosing to us the evils which he was most deeply concerned to denounce, and the ideals he was most intent on promoting.

### *Incisiveness*

Not only our Lord's conversation but his teaching was eminently characterized by being incisive. He seized on the essential point, and dealt with it briskly, and without discursiveness. Several "figures of speech" were capable of helping him to be forceful and terse at the same time; and it is doubtless partly for this reason that he used them so freely. "Figures" such as hyperbole and metaphor are, it is true, constant accompaniments of Oriental eloquence; but they often enable a speaker to say something more compendiously than if ordinary language were employed.

Our Lord's trenchant manner of speaking was largely attributable

to his ardent sense of mission. The call to individual disciples was evidently not prefaced by persuasive arguments. On these occasions our Lord relied on the spell imposed by such methods as a penetrating look and the peremptory words "Follow me" (Mark 2, 14). With healings, too, his manner was quick, direct, and dynamic: "I will; be thou made clean" (Mark 1, 40-1); "Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole" (Mark 10, 51-2); or "Go thy way, thy son liveth" (John 4, 49-50). Such incisive phrases were additionally impressive by reason of their dramatic suddenness, though it is noticeable that faith was in each case to be first assured. Again Peter wanted to walk to his Lord on the water. He was not given any encouraging words or explanations, but just received the mono-syllabic order: "Come" (Matt. 14, 28-9).

Incisiveness is also characteristic of our Lord's words accompanying a swift turn in a conversation, or in an argument, to his purpose. "Who is my mother and my brethren? . . . Behold, my mother and my brethren." (He indicated his listeners when speaking these latter words.) (Mark 3, 32-4). Again, "Bring me a penny," an abrupt order which was followed by a dramatic turning of the tables on his opponents (Mark 12, 15-17). And, to the lawyer enquiring about who was his neighbour, he told an interpretative story, and added tersely the unexpected but inexorable answer to the original question, "Go and do thou likewise" (Luke 10, 36-7).

### *Epigrams*

A frequent means adopted by our Lord for effectively illuminating a point of discussion was the balanced sentence, in which aspects were compared or weighed one against another. Sometimes such epigrams depended on their antithetical operation. In the use of this kind of "figure" his characteristic incisiveness could operate to perfection.

Parenthetically it should be remarked that sometimes people consider epigram, metaphor, and similar devices to be merely means of literary embellishment. This is a mistaken view, for "figures" are not properly ornamental, though they may be so in a secondary way. They, in fact, reflect essential features in people's habits of thought and expression. Any intelligent person is constantly, and almost automatically, comparing and contrasting objects and ideas; and this process of comparison and contrast necessarily manifests itself in speech and writing. Our Lord never used "figures

of speech" for purposes of oratorical ornament. He used them to communicate as forcibly as possible his own strong feelings on vital questions of behaviour.

In some of his epigrams the effective contrast is produced by simple antithesis. "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath" (Mark 2, 27). "For whosoever would save his life shall lose it" (Mark 8, 35). "So the last shall be first, and the first last" (Matt. 20, 16). In others, a sentence comprises a literal statement balanced and enforced by a metaphorical one, such as "He that is not with me is against me,<sup>2</sup> and he that gathereth not with me scattereth" (Luke 11, 23).<sup>3</sup>

Some of these parallelisms are in poetic form; and we may assume that this form was employed by our Lord for impressiveness and for ensuring fixity of recollection rather than for refinement and gracefulness of style. They can, therefore properly be categorized as rhetorical expedients which aim at emphasis. An outstanding example is:

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth  
Where moth and rust doth consume,  
And where thieves break through and steal:  
but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,  
where neither moth nor rust doth consume,  
and where thieves do not break through nor steal:  
for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

(Matt. 6, 19-21).

The combination of antithesis and echoing of phrases is obviously a powerful factor in making this poetry memorable.

### *Repetition*

This echoing of phrases was one of the efficient means of emphasis frequently used by our Lord in his formal teaching. It is very noticeable in the example last-quoted. Solemnity is often one of the effects which our Lord desired to produce by this method. "This generation shall not pass away until . . . Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away" (Mark 13, 30-1). This device for emphasis was also used most impressively when combined with simile, as in the parable of the houses built either on rock or sand: ". . . the rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew"; these words were repeated with dramatic effect (Matt. 7, 25-7).

Repetition such as this was made most arresting when used with cumulative force, working up to the rhetorician's "climax". "What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? a reed . . .? But what went ye out to see? a prophet? yea . . ." (Luke 7, 24-7). By this process of searching analysis our Lord built up a lively picture of the essential features of John the Baptist's character.

Our Lord also used significant repetition of phrases with notable impressiveness in conversation and in controversy. This mode of speech could be powerful enough to overawe His opponents. For instance: "... answer me, and I will tell you . . . answer me" (Mark 11, 29-30); and "... ye err . . . ye do greatly err" (Mark 12, 24, 27). And, to convince the doubting father of the boy with the dumb spirit who said, "If thou canst do anything . . .", our Lord iterated persuasively: "If thou canst! all things are possible . . ." (Mark 9, 22-3). He also employed the same expedient to move the feelings of his disciples by solemn warnings, and as a means of reproach. He asked them: "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" And, in the next verse, He continued the same means of solemn emphasis. "The cup that I drink ye shall drink . . ." (Mark 10, 38-9). Again, Peter said to him, "I will lay down my life for thee." Jesus echoed Peter's words, "Wilt thou lay down thy life for me?" (John 13, 37-8). This echo had an intensely moving quality, and is made doubly moving by the sequel.

### *Hyperbole*

The operation of hyperbole, which was freely used by our Lord in his teaching, is an entirely distinct means of emphasis from that of repetition. With hyperbole, instead of hammering a point home, the case is overstated and highly coloured, even caricatured, so as to attract attention. It is essentially an Oriental mode; and in the East there was much less risk than there is in the West of such statements being taken literally. The Orientals knew how to modify the meaning. When they were told that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God, they were indeed astonished that the undertaking should be one of extreme difficulty; and they asked who could then be saved; but they did not take the statement literally (Mark 10, 25). Some modern commentators in this country who have tried to construe the statement literally by suggesting that the "needle's eye"

was a small gate, lose the whole idea of the operation of hyperbole. Several instances of our Lord's use of hyperbole can be quoted to prove that they were not intended to be taken literally. For instance: "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father and mother . . ." (Luke 14, 25-7). This obviously means: "is not willing to put God's claims before those of his father and mother".

Many of the instances of our Lord's use of hyperbole involve metaphor; and for this reason it is not easy for us to make the required modification. "I came not to send peace but a sword" (Matt. 10, 34); or, "leave the dead to bury their own dead" (Matt. 8, 21-2); or, "If thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off" (Mark 9, 43-7). This last example could, it may be supposed, be modified to mean: "Better to revise your whole way of living than to endanger your soul".

The hyperbolical form is highly arresting, whereas the literal form might fall on unattentive ears. If the proper operation of hyperbole is understood, the Gospel injunctions and teachings will be duly modified, and they will then be recognized as practicable. But if they are taken literally, they will be entirely ineffective because no one can attempt to aspire to them in that form. Hyperbole as the instrument of a teacher takes effect in two stages. First, the attention of the hearer is caught. Secondly, the conceit or whimsicality is discounted, and the principle that lies behind the exaggerated remark becomes acceptable.

### *Rhetorical Questions*

Our Lord never forced conclusions on his hearers, for he obviously felt that ready-made ones were of little value. Doubtless the main object of his frequent use of rhetorical questions was the stimulation of thought in his listeners. If a member of an audience hears a statement, that statement may register so slightly on his mind as hardly to penetrate it. But, if he is asked a question, he is bound to think, so as to formulate some kind of silent answer. Occasionally our Lord's rhetorical questions were couched in metaphorical terms, and then their vividness must have made them additionally stimulating. Broad problems in the art of living were posed by our Lord in this way. "For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life?" (Mark 8, 36-7). "Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, and not to be put on

the stand ?" (Mark 4, 21). Often he used rhetorical questions as a means of conveying reproaches to those who were upholding a narrow interpretation of the Jewish code of behaviour, and who seemed incapable of understanding the enlightened principles he was exemplifying and preaching. Opposition to healing on the Sabbath day was the occasion of some of these indirect reproaches. "Whether it is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy . . . ?" (Mark 2, 8-11). "What man shall there be of you, that shall have one sheep and if this fall . . . ?" (Mark 12, 10-11). Or, more generally, "can the sons of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them ?" (Mark 2, 19).

The same expedient was used by him to chide his disciples. It was used with great vigour, in combination with repetition, when the disciples shewed their inability to draw the obvious inferences from the miracles of the feeding of the thousands. "Do ye not yet perceive neither understand ? have ye your heart hardened ? [i.e. Are your faculties benumbed ?] Having eyes, see ye not ? and having ears, hear ye not ? and do ye not remember ? . . . And he said unto them, Do ye not yet understand ?" (Mark 8, 17-21). Jesus instead of making some such bald statement as: "You seem to be quite incapable of believing in my power to supply human needs, in spite of evidence in my feeding of the thousands", tried to spur the disciples into thinking out the facts for themselves. His combination of rhetorical questions and echoing of phrases must have engrossed their attention, and must have at least succeeded in inducing searchings of heart. The passage has a notable ring of actuality.

### *Metaphor and Simile*

Sometimes our Lord achieved persuasiveness by inducing vivid impressions rather than by incisive or forcible language. He aimed then at intensification of meaning rather than at simple straightforward emphasis. His tools for this purpose were metaphor and simile. These devices were not used, as already noticed, so as to embellish his remarks, but rather to enliven and illuminate them. Complex abstract ideas can often be put more clearly and more concisely in metaphorical terms. "Enter ye by the narrow gate" (Matt. 7, 13-14) is more striking than, and just as intelligible as, some such phrase as "Pursue the principles I have inculcated even though the practice proves arduous". An outstanding problem of

evangelization is more pointedly described by, "The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few" than by, "There is much work to do, but few to do it" (Matt. 10, 2). A vivid and impressive lesson is inculcated by the words, "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God" (Luke 9, 62). Much less telling would be the literal equivalent: "No one who, having started a job, hesitates, is fit for the Kingdom of God".

There are some instances, especially in St John's Gospel, where it would be impossible for the cleverest speaker to put a lesson not only as significantly but even as intelligently in abstract terms as our Lord did in metaphorical terms. Speaking of his redemptive function, he said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall to the earth and die . . . but if it die it beareth much fruit" (John 12, 24). This pronouncement, put in abstract terms, would be less clear and less meaningful. The same considerations apply to other sublime, inspiring metaphors in St John's Gospel, the Light of the World (with its diverse implications), the Bread of Life (a masterpiece of figurative significance), and the Vine (disclosing the complex nature of Christian membership with eloquent conciseness).

Our Lord used metaphor with striking effect when illustrating in a few vivid words the way in which a man can be judged by his works. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" (Matt. 7, 16). Here and on several other occasions he used the absurdity of the incongruous to illustrate wrong moral attitudes. In this way he successfully combined the vividness of metaphor, and sometimes the stimulus of the rhetorical question, with the spice of humour. This was notably so when he instanced the absurdity of putting a light under a bushel where it could have no effect, or of a father offering his hungry child a stone, or of a blind man leading another blind man. Perhaps the occasion on which he most successfully captured the attention of his hearers by a laughable incongruity was that of the parable of the mote and the beam. The piquant humour is best appreciated in a modern rendering: "How is it that you scrutinize the speck of dust in your brother's eye and fail to observe the great lump of wood in your own eye? . . . You hypocrite! first take the great lump out of your own eye, and then you can see properly how to remove the speck out of your brother's eye" (Matt. 7, 3-5).

In general, our Lord's similes cannot be said to tend to brevity

as do his metaphors, for a good many parables of some length are in fact extended similes. There are some of his similes, however, that impugn his opponents with a vigour and point that would not be within the scope of literal language. His description of the Scribes and Pharisees as whitened sepulchres which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly are full of dead men's bones [i.e., hypocrisy and iniquity] is one of these (Matt. 23, 27). Again, instead of trying to explain to the multitudes in abstract terms that they were hypocritically avoiding a recognition of the fact that his coming had changed everything, he conjured up a picture which would immediately signify to them his meaning. "When you see a cloud rising in the West, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower . . . And when ye see a south wind blowing . . . Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time?" (Luke 12, 54-6).

The high proportion of illustrations to his discourses which our Lord drew from rural scenes is natural, especially because of the ease with which his hearers would be able to interpret them. No literal description could have conveyed with equal intensity of feeling his solicitude for the erring and refractory Jews than his picture of himself anxious to care for and protect them as a hen does its brood (Luke 13, 34). Another countryman's simile, with a wider and even deeper significance, was used by him in conversation with Nicodemus. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit" (John 3, 8). A statement that the Spirit's workings are independent of human control is not an easy one to frame or to understand. But when it is explained that the Spirit's workings are as independent of human control as is the wind, a difficult concept is at once illuminated.

### *Irony and Satire*

With most of his rhetorical "figures" our Lord's emphatic or vivid language struck the minds and stimulated the imaginations of his hearers so as to render his teaching and his arguments more cogent and effective. With the "figures" of irony and satire the procedure and the objective were different from those so far discussed. Irony and satire do not aim primarily at making language more vivid, but rather at illustrating and accentuating the depth of the speaker's feeling by a twist in the way he expresses himself. The pointed and

vigorous phraseology of ironists and satirists has the object of rebuking or exposing those at whom their rhetorical weapons are directed rather than to rouse the audience to a greater sensitivity of perception. Hyperbole is used for emphasis; and metaphor for intensification of meaning. But irony is essentially a weapon; sometimes a sharp one, and sometimes a playful one, but nevertheless a weapon. It is generally punitive or corrective rather than persuasive or interpretative, like other "figures."

Our Lord's use of pungent irony may surprise some people; but we cannot adequately understand his attitude to subjects which provoked his violent reprobation such as self-righteousness, hypocrisy, cruelty, and profanity without studying this aspect of his practice of rhetoric. Irony is a proper weapon for the revolutionary reformer and the ardent idealist. Our Lord's irony was largely employed with the object of refuting dangerous ideas and condemning evil ways, such as making the little ones to offend, and devouring widows' houses. It was, of course, never contemptuous or sarcastic, and was not more scornful than was appropriate to the occasion.

We may conclude from a consideration of his practice of irony that he regarded it as a prime duty not merely to promote goodness, but also violently to oppose the more pernicious of the prevailing attitudes and practices. It is, however, important to notice that our Lord's irony was not habitual, like that of some users of it, but was only invoked to combat the kinds of vice that required active opposition, and to defend himself against the malevolent and crafty intrigues of his enemies.

It was surely with shattering effect that he remarked to the Scribes and Pharisees: "Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites . . ." ["Isaiah described you beautifully when he wrote . . ."]<sup>4</sup> "Full well do ye reject the commandment of God . . ." ["It is wonderful to see how you can reject . . ."] (Mark 7, 6-9). Again, "Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers." ["Go ahead then, and finish off what your ancestors tried to do !"] (Matt. 23, 32).

These examples of his aggressive use of irony are exceptional. Sometimes he used sharply-edged irony more in the sense of correction than chastisement. "Ye both know me and know whence I am; and I am not come of myself . . ." (John 7, 28). He did not mean that they knew his true origin—on the contrary; but by inverting his meaning he made his indictment more effective. Sometimes too, towards the end, his defensive irony, though caustic, had

an air of sombreness and resignation. For instance, "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" ["for it would never do for a prophet to meet his death outside Jerusalem"] (Luke 13, 33). Or, "Many good works have I shewed you from the Father; for which of those works do ye [propose to] stone me?" (John 10, 32). He might have said, in straightforward language: "In spite of all I have done for you, you now, it seems, propose to stone me." But this would not have had the same sharpness of reproach as the ironical version, couched as it was, in the form of a rhetorical question.

Ironical expressions addressed to his disciples were naturally gentle and kindly, or at least not harsh. Here the intention was not denunciation but reproach. When He said to them: "Know ye not this parable? and how shall ye know all the parables?" (Mark 4, 13), he was, as Lagrange points out, showing them with good-humoured irony how much they were in need of understanding. And, in the Garden of Gethsemane, the words addressed to the three disciples, "Sleep on now and take your rest" (Mark 14, 41), were surely not meant literally, but were tinged with a mixture of bitterness and resignation<sup>5</sup>. These milder forms of our Lord's irony, contrasted with his sterner ironical castigations of his opponents, help us to have a juster impression of the wide range of his employment of rhetoric.

Satire, the specialized form of irony used to expose or discourage evil ways or mistaken views in the world at large or in groups of people, often comprises an element of grim humour. Once or twice our Lord's use of it exemplified this feature. In the Sermon on the Mount he said: "When therefore thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men" (Matt. 6, 2). The notion of the sounding of trumpets was a metaphorical one. There was no such practice in fact. The picture has its humorous aspect; and it was this that gave pungency to the injunction.

The rigid legalism and uncharitable conduct of the Scribes was stigmatized by our Lord with a mixture of biting satire and arresting hyperbole when he said: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall" (Luke 16, 17).

He also used satire to chide the foolish and distorted ambition of his disciples. Here again his remark included the smack of humour characteristic of this mode. The disciples had been contend-

ing among themselves who was to be the greatest. Our Lord pointed out to the disciples that they should not let their case be like the infamous one of the self-appointed tyrants who, while engrossed with the idea of wielding power, ridiculously enough claimed the title of benefactors (Mark 10, 42; Luke 22, 25).

No examination of our Lord's manner as a teacher and a talker can be too detailed. The more realistic the picture we can evoke of him discoursing to the crowds and arguing with opponents, the closer we shall be to his character and to his mind. Nothing, perhaps, is more interesting about his character than its wide scope, its amplitude. The contrast between his words of compassion to the sick or those in trouble and his words of severe reproof to those deliberately doing harm to others is, indeed, most remarkable. Dr Montefiore<sup>6</sup> has written about this contrast in discerning phrases: "For cruelty, pride, hypocrisy, and self-righteousness he had few reservations of language or condemnation, but for those who were more sinned against than sinning, for the degraded, the outcast and the shunned . . . he could make excuses and find compassion." In each of these extremes of character our Lord exhibited a revolutionary attitude. His teaching about the need for vigorous opposition to anti-social vices on the one hand and unqualified application of kindness on the other were among the most novel features of his interpretation of the art of living. A study of his impressive rhetoric can help us to understand both the strong contrasts of his character and the depth of his feelings in regard to what he taught.

<sup>1</sup> A good definition of a "figure of speech" is "a deviation from the plain and ordinary mode of speaking, with a view to greater effect."

<sup>2</sup> Meaning that, as his principles had been challenged, neutrality would thereafter be impossible.

<sup>3</sup> The metaphor is probably one from herding sheep.

<sup>4</sup> Translations from J. B. Phillips, *The Gospels in Modern English* (published by Geoffrey Bles, Ltd.) are quoted in square brackets, as giving a better impression of the ironical flavour than does the Revised Version.

<sup>5</sup> This interpretation is adopted by Luce, Swete, and Lagrange. Other views, based on the change in our Lord's attitude, as described in the later part of Mark 14, 41 and the following verse, seem to neglect the fact that meanwhile his betrayers had been sighted.

<sup>6</sup> *The Synoptic Gospels*, vol. 2, pp. 573-4.

# THE EPISCOPAL LICENSING OF SCHOOLMASTERS IN ENGLAND

By W. E. TATE

IN England the connection between the national schools and the National Church is and always has been a peculiarly close and intimate one. There are many reasons for this fact and many manifestations of it. One of these last which strikes the overseas student of English institutions as rather strange, and which on occasion even surprises us natives, is that in England for nearly nine hundred years a schoolmaster was, or was supposed to be, licensed by the bishop of the diocese in which his school lay.

The original obligation was not of course peculiar to England but was common to the whole of Western Christendom. But in England it survived much later than in most neighbouring countries. And although it has been practically obsolete for something like a century and a half, in theory it seems to have remained in a highly vestigial form to our own days.

Apparently the law rests ultimately on the III and IV Lateran Councils, the XI canon of the first named being confirmed in this by the Council of Westminster in 1200.<sup>1</sup> At this time there were of course relatively few grammar schools in England save those attached to cathedral churches,<sup>2</sup> and it was "but reasonable that he who taught in the bishop's church should be approved of by the bishop". With the development of grammar school provision in medieval times, it appears that the bishop contrived to extend his jurisdiction. This was in practice exercised by his chancellor, perhaps I take it, because the office of chancellor of the *cathedral* had originally included that of *Scholasticus* or *Magister Scholarum* (master of the cathedral school).

I know of no pre-Reformation canons asserting this jurisdiction of the Ordinary over schoolmasters except among the clergy in his own cathedral.<sup>3</sup> But there is abundant evidence that the obligation was there, and that it was enforced in the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>4</sup>

In Tudor times,<sup>5</sup> after the break with Rome, the bonds were

tightened and given statutory authority, and this apparently on both religious and political grounds. Finally they came to rest on both canon of the English Church, and statute of the English Parliament. For the Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559 were incorporated into the Canons of 1604, and in addition there were statutes on the point in the reigns of Eliz. I, Jac. I, and Car. II.

I cite a few examples taken more or less at random, illustrating how both spiritual and secular legislation enforced the ancient rule.

### *Injunctions, Constitutions, and Canons*

In 1555 (Bonner *Injunctions* No. 32): *Item*, that schoolmasters of any sort be not admitted till they be by their ordinary, or by his authority, examined and allowed . . . [and that they teach their scholars to help the priest at mass and to say the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*]. In 1556 (Pole No. 44): *Item . . . ac de ludimagistris et hypodidascalis an sint idonei et officiis eis creduli et ab ordinariis loci examinati et approbati* (with which may be compared Pole *Constitutions* 1556-6, No. X: *Docendi munus nemo imposterum quovis in loco suscipere audeat nisi ab ordinario examinatus probatusque . . .*). In 1557 (Pole, *Canterbury Articles* No. 41): *Item*, whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also Catholic and men of good and upright judgement, and that they be examined and approved by the Ordinary . . . In 1559 (Queen Elizabeth I, *Injunctions* No. 40): *Item* that no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the Ordinary . . . The 1571 Canons have: *Ludimagistri*

*Non licebit cuiquam docere literas et instituere pueros nec publice in schola, nec privatim in cuiusquam aedibus, nisi quem episcopus ejus dioeceseos approbavit, cuique sub auctentico sigillo suo docendi potestatem fecerit . . .*

A very similar clause appears in the *Canons* of 1604 (Canons LXXVII-LXXIX—*De paedagogis sive ludimagistris*).

These enact (LXXVII) that none shall teach school without a licence (LXXVIII) that Curates desirous to teach shall be licensed to teach before others (but shall not enter into unfair competition with existing grammar schools), and (LXXIX) that schoolmasters shall teach the Catechism, take their scholars to church and examine them on the sermon, and use only the King's (Lily's) Latin Grammar.

They order moreover (CXXXVII) that the schoolmaster shall not only possess a licence, but also shall produce it at the Visitation: *... ut quilibet ... ludimagister ... licentias ... suas quascunque in visitatione prima illius episcopi, vel in proxima post ejus admissionem exhibeat.*

### Statutes

Though the 1559 Injunctions were not specifically confirmed by Statute, it is quite arguable that they were approved by inference.

A clear statutory confirmation of the ancient obligation came a dozen years later, in 1580-1:<sup>6</sup> *if any p'sons ... shal kepe or mainteyne any Scholemaster, which shall not repayre to Churche, ... or be allowed by the Bishopp or Ordinarye ... shall (sic) forfaite and lose for every Moneth so keping him ten poundes; ... and such Scholemaster or Teacher ... shall be disabled to be a Teacher of Youth, and shall suffer ymprisonment ... for one yeare.* In 1603-4:<sup>7</sup> *... no person ... shall keepe any Schoole or be a Schoole Master out of any the Univ'sities or Colledges of this Realme, excepte it be in some publicke or free Grammer Schoole, or in some such Nobleman's or Noblewoman's or Gentleman's or Gentlewoman's House as are not Recusant or where the same Schole Master shall be licensed thereunto [under a penalty of 40s. per diem upon schoolmaster and employer].*<sup>8</sup> Laud's (abortive) canons of 1640 (No. 3) also have special clauses concerning schoolmasters employed to teach the children of popish recusants.

The abolition of both monarchy and episcopacy did not ease very much the pressure upon schoolmasters to conform to the establishment in Church and State. For during the Commonwealth, when for a time episcopacy was abolished, the episcopal jurisdiction in this respect was for two or three years exercised by the Major-Generals.<sup>9</sup> It was resumed by its proper possessors at the Restoration. Naturally enough also at the Restoration the old obligation was reinforced. Further demands were made in 1662, notably as to subscription to a declaration of non-resistance, and the law was tightened up in its application to private schoolmasters. In 1672 the Test Act made the holding of any office, civil or military, conditional upon taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and receiving the Holy Communion according to the usage of the Church of England. Schoolmasters were not among the minor civil officers exempted from the Act.<sup>10</sup> Soon afterwards, however, a series

of legal cases in 1699, 1700, 1701 *bis*, and 1702 made it clear that the licensing applied only to the masters and ushers of grammar schools, not to those in petty schools, mathematical schools, or dancing schools.

This matter of schoolmaster licensing was much canvassed among the ecclesiastical uproars of Queen Anne's time. The interested reader will find in Cardwell's *Synodalia*<sup>11</sup> documents bearing on the Lower House of Convocation's concern about the increase of unlicensed schoolmasters, and its representations to the bishops thereon.

Despite such statutes as the Toleration Acts of 1688 and 1711, the Nonconformist Relief Act of 1779, and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1790-1,<sup>12</sup> licensing seems to have survived in practice (?in most dioceses) until the early years of the nineteenth century. By this time, however, exemptions of one kind or another had whittled away some of the Church's original powers. Dissenting schools founded as such since <sup>1</sup>Wm. & M. were exempted from the statutes, and it was doubtful how far their masters as laymen had ever been subject to the Canons. So I take it that, legally, licensing applied in the main to ancient endowed schools, or those in fact or in theory of royal foundation. And even here the records of most dioceses seem to show a cessation of the practice of licensing schoolmasters in the later eighteenth or early nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Even so, however, the ancient obligation remained, in theory at any rate, until 1869.<sup>14</sup> Then it was not so much abolished as made subject to abolition under each scheme to be made in pursuance of the act.<sup>15</sup> I suppose that in any school of ancient foundation it held until the making of the scheme. In any such school for which no scheme had yet been made, it held both legally and canonically to our own days.

In the last few years there have been made by the Ministry of Education what are in effect omnibus schemes for the schools of whole areas, and these all include clauses under which the ancient obligation is abrogated. It was because of its theoretical survival until this was done that until our own time the Church of England in some dioceses still has made provision in its table of fees for those to be levied on the issue of a schoolmaster's licence. A colleague of mine who shares my taste for educational antiquities rejoices in the possession

of such a licence, duly issued by the Registrar under the seal of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ripon and dated 17 April 1953 !

Although the licensing of schoolmasters began so early and continued so long, licences, so far as my experience goes, are rarely found in English school archives. Presumably this is partly because the licence was the personal property of the master, not that of the school. In the same way one rarely finds in a parish chest the incumbent's letters of orders or of institution. They were the property of the priest, not of the parish.

Similarly one would have hoped that the licences would be systematically enrolled in the registry of the bishop granting them. They are so enrolled or filed in some dioceses, but in general diocesan records contain fewer of these than one would have expected—sometimes there is merely a form entered in some precedent book. I do not know what is the reason for this. It can hardly be that the licences were considered formal and not worth enrolment, for as Dr Barrett points out, preachers' licences are also very rarely enrolled, and at any rate up to 1660 they were very far from being merely formal. Perhaps the reason is a very mundane one. While the fee for the issue of the licence was but a shilling, no fee whatever was prescribed for enrolling it, so the registrar did not trouble himself about this.

However this may be, either original or enrolled copies are rarely found. There is a Canterbury one of 1599 in Strype's *Whitgift*, Barnard prints as something of a curiosity one from Norwich 1769, and Carter<sup>16</sup> another of 1800 from the same diocese. All these are in English.

A Latin one of 1585, for Winchester and Chichester dioceses, is also given by Strype,<sup>17</sup> who distinguishes between the two main types, "*ad instruendum pueros in literis grammaticalibus*," and "*in facultate legendi et scribendi*."

I add for comparison an early and more impressive Latin document from the Public Record Office, where a few such licences survive in the Exchequer records among the Accounts and Minutes of the Auditors of H.M. Land Revenue. I take it they have found their way here with applications by schoolmasters for the payment by the Crown of former chantry school revenues charged on the receipts of the Augmentation Office, which Henry VIII had set up to administer his new properties.

[20 July, 1586]

LICENCIA FACTA WILLELMO GREGSON<sup>18</sup>

Edwinus<sup>19</sup> providentia divina Eboracensis Archiepiscopus primatus metropolitanus: ad quem omnis et omnimoda jurisdictio spiritualis et ecclesiastice (*sic*) que ad custodem peculiaris jurisdictionis de Allerton et Allertonshire<sup>20</sup> nostre Eboracensis provincie pertinuit Ratione visitacionis nostre diocesis modo pendentis Notorie dinoscitur pertinere Dilecto nobis in Christo Willelmo Gregson litterato Salutem in Domino

Ad exercendum munus seu officium Ludimagistri<sup>21</sup> sive puerorum instructoris infra (*sic*) parochiam de Northallerton nostre jurisdictionis artemque grammatices ibidem publice profitendum bonosque auctores quoscunque de jure et statutis huius regni Anglie approbatos sermone latino seu vulgari juxta capacitatem audientium et erudiendorum publice exponendum et interpretandum cetereque (*sic*) omnia et singula faciendum exercendum et expediendum que ad munus & officium Ludimagistri instructoris spectant & pertinent seu spectare & pertinere dinoscuntur. Te de cuius sane Doctrine (*sic*) plurimum confidimus admittimus tibique in hac parte licenciam concedimus per presentes quamdiu te in dicto tuo officio laudabiliter gesseris vel donec quousque aliud a nobis inde habueris in mandatis.

Datum Eboraci sub sigillo officii vicariatus nostri in Spiritualibus generalis quo in hac parte utimur XX<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Julii Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo sexto et nostre translationis Archiepiscopatum Eboracensem anno decimo.

JOHANNES ATKINSON  
Notarius publicus

This is not an original, but a contemporary registered copy, made by a clerk who was, I think, either rather careless, or a little shaky in his Latin.

<sup>1</sup> Dated respectively 5-19 Mar. 1179, 11-30 Nov. 1215, and 19 Sept. 1200.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see the present writer's article "Some Sources for the History of English Grammar Schools", Pt. 1, in *Brit. Journ. Edl. Studies*, I, 2, May 1953, 164-175.

<sup>3</sup> The true reason for this is not necessarily that advanced by the stout churchman, Dr Richard Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, edn. 1788, III, 311, that medieval bishops "discouraged learning everywhere else [than among the cathedral clergy], thereby exalting their own superiority in knowledge."

<sup>4</sup> There are (?only) three cases on the subject in the Year Books. The major one is the famous Gloucester Grammar School Case of 1410 (See J. E. G. Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*,

1902, text in App. 1, 240-1 and discussion of it 50-60), with the famous dictum "*Le doctrine et enformacion des enfantes est chose espirituel* ", (Year Book II Hen. IV, Case 21, 47), i.e. I take it, (I am no lawyer) that unlicensed schoolmastering was not an offence against common law, but that jurisdiction upon it lay in the Courts Christian.

<sup>5</sup> I know of no detailed and scholarly general study of the schools at this time except N. Wood, *The Reformation and English Education*, 1931. In this see especially 51-3, 61-3, 68-9, 72, 76-7, 270, 274, 277, 307.

<sup>6</sup> 23 Eliz. c.1 § 5 (1580-1).

<sup>7</sup> 1 Jac. I c.4 § 8 (1603-4).

<sup>8</sup> A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters* 1911, XLVI, is doubtless right in saying that the 1580-1 Act is a result of the papal outburst against the Queen in 1580, which demanded what he calls "antiseptic measures", but he seems to have slipped in suggesting that the 1603-4 Act was a result of the Gunpowder Plot of 5 Nov. 1605. Anyhow both acts are clearly directed mainly against "popish recusant" schoolmasters.

<sup>9</sup> Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, 1908, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Act of Uniformity 14 Car. II c.4 1662 § 7, Five Mile Act 17 Car. II, c.2 1665 § 3, Test Act 25 Car. II c.2 1672 §§ 1, 2, 3, 15.

<sup>11</sup> E. Cardwell, *Synodalia* 1842, II, (XXXIV) 707. The cases of 1670, 1679, and 1700, 1701 *bis*. 1702, 1734, 1735, 1741 and 1759 are discussed in some detail by Montmorency, op. cit., 170-180.

<sup>12</sup> Respectively 1 Wm. & M. c.18 (1688), 10 Anne c.6 (1711), 19 Geo. III c.44 (1779), and 31 Geo. III c.32 1790-1.

<sup>13</sup> I am obliged to Dr Mollie Barrett of the Bodleian Library for the information that in the Diocese of Oxford it seems to have died out in the mid-18th century.

<sup>14</sup> The Endowed Schools Act, 32 & 33 Vic. c.56 (1869) § 21.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. the scheme for Bradford School, Yorks, 19 Aug. 1871, Art. 29 (conveniently available in Leach op. cit. pp. 548-560).

<sup>16</sup> J. Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, edn. London 1822, III 384.

E. H. Carter, *Norwich Subscription Books*, 1937, 99-100.

H. C. Barnard, *Short History of English Education*, 1947, 373.

<sup>17</sup> Strype, op. cit., I, 468-9.

<sup>18</sup> P.R.O. Exchequer (Land Revenue) Enrolment Books, Vol. 185 f.251.

<sup>19</sup> This is of course Edwin Sandys ?1516-1588, LXVI Lord Archbishop of York, 1576-88.

<sup>20</sup> Northallerton, though it is geographically in Yorkshire and is in fact the county town of the North Riding, was in the Liberty of Allertonshire, civilly the possession of the Bishop of Durham, and ecclesiastically a peculiar, under the jurisdiction of the Durham Dean and Chapter.

<sup>21</sup> Northallerton School, N.R. Yorks, originated at some time unknown, but certainly *ante* 20 Mar. 1322. Gregson reigned over it for but a year, July 1586 to July 1587. *V.C.H. Yorks* I (1907), 445-6, and references there cited.

# KNOWLEDGE, WISDOM, AND UNDERSTANDING

By **RAYMOND CHAPMAN**

“ Nature that framed us of four elements . . .  
Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds ”,

wrote Christopher Marlowe at the time when England was receiving the full force of Renaissance humanism. For over four centuries it has been axiomatic to the peoples of Western Europe, and later to their offspring in the New World, that the mind of man is capable of infinite achievement. We take it for granted today that our knowledge is greater than that of our forefathers. Means of mass-communication pour endless streams of information to the reading and listening millions. Never before have so many Mr Gradgrinds been occupied in the transmission of facts. It is of no importance to the editors of “ digests ” and the planners of documentary films that a great deal of information may be contained in a completely uneducated mind. We claim to know more—about the physical universe around us, the societies into which we are formed, the means of production and sustenance, even the nature of the mind itself by which we know these things. Therefore we claim to be advancing in wisdom.

This is a dangerous and unfounded supposition. There is no warrant for equating wisdom—which I regard as the development of the human mind through experience—with the accumulation of facts. Breadth is to be distinguished from depth, in the mental no less than in the physical world. The modern mind may often be like a shallow pond which cannot contain all that is poured into it, and which consequently floods and ruins the good dry land around it. True wisdom is like a well, of small diameter but so deep that it never fails to produce the desired measure of water.

It is of little use, however, merely to note and deprecate this state of affairs. Nothing is more futile than to bewail the misfortune of being born into the twentieth century. I do not mean simply that the hydrogen bomb is offset by the discovery of anaesthetics, or that the instrument which dispenses interminable dance-music also

conveys the world's greatest symphonies. No such balance-sheet of loss and gain is profitable. We find ourselves in a total situation which we have to accept. To wish it otherwise is like regretting the circumstances of flesh in which our souls are temporarily incarnated. Quarrelling with the present is valid only if it helps to shape a better future.

Confronted then with the increase of human knowledge, what can be said of the creed by which a Christian desires to live? The humblest modern townsman knows a great deal more, in the sense of possessing more factual information, than did the writers of the Gospels and Epistles. The faith which was first propagated in a small, predominantly rural community, has spread to countries undiscovered two millennia ago. The symbols by which its truths were communicated to that community are often almost meaningless today. Certainly the instructed modern Christian can experience instant spiritual feeling at the thought of the Good Shepherd or the lilies of the field. But no symbol can be valid when its referent is unknown, and there are millions today for whom a sheep is only mutton and lilies appear spontaneously in a florist's window. There are other instances where the traditional faith seems to be quite incompatible with modern experience. The belief that Christ "ascended into Heaven" made good sense when it was thought that our world was fixed and flat, the centre of the Universe, and that the far sky was in fact the physical abode of departed spirits. Today it would seem that a vertical journey from the earth's surface would go on through space for ever—or perhaps would arrive back at the point of departure.

In such a dilemma, modern man can make one of three choices. He may throw in his lot whole-heartedly with the scientists, and dismiss the whole of Christian theology as outworn and disproved speculation. As a sub-division of this attitude, he may declare cautiously that there is a certain kind of truth in it, but that the Gospels and creeds do not mean what they appear to mean. Such a man would suggest that the Resurrection is true "in a sort of way", because a good man's influence endures after his death. Secondly, it is possible to build as it were two tabernacles, one for Newton and one for Nicaea, and to keep the two parts of the mind separate and mutually exclusive. A number of churchmen as well as scientists seem to be able to perform this remarkable mental exercise without much difficulty. Better, no doubt, than the total

rejection of faith, it can hardly be said to offer much hope of development within what faith is retained.

But there is a third and more desirable possibility. The educated modern Christian should strive to keep his faith pure and entire, at the same time adapting traditional modes of thought to meet modern conditions. If the story which he believes is a true one, it should be adequate as a background for all the innovations that the world may witness. It should remain wholly true, not partly or symbolically true, until the end of time. There should be no need for that dichotomy of teaching as between day-school and Sunday school which is responsible for the loss of so many faiths in adolescence. It should be remembered that growth and development do not mean that the original source must be changed. Our Lord spoke of the great tree hidden in the grain of mustard seed. Because we see the tree now spreading its branches, must we assume that the tiny seed was imperfect—or indeed illusory?

The very endurance of the Church speaks of the truth of her message. The Gospel has been preached and accepted in lands of which the Evangelists knew nothing, in tongues of which they were ignorant. Its message has brought comfort and inspiration under conditions of which the earliest missionaries could never even have dreamed. Just as the Old Testament prophecies were fulfilled in the Incarnation, so the Christian Gospel has been continually proved to contain truths beyond anything known to those who first received it.

It is too often supposed that we live in peculiarly troubled times, following many centuries of security. It would seem as if Christianity were being put to a severe test for the first time in its history. Sceptics write as if the things which Christ preached had been acceptable only so long as life remained static. In fact the times of trouble and dissolution have been at least as many as the times of tranquillity. Even in these latter men have talked of decline and coming catastrophe. A religion which survived the breaking-up of the Roman Empire, the Black Death, and the prolonged wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can hardly be regarded as out of place in our own day.

It is not only violence of a physical kind which has threatened the Church. The immediate problem of increasing knowledge has been faced and met before. Augustine and Aquinas were able to cast the simple faith within the intellectual framework of two great

philosophers. The rapid opening-up of hitherto unknown regions of the world in the sixteenth century, together with the revolution in knowledge of the surrounding universe brought about by Copernicus and Galileo, might have seemed to present an unanswerable challenge. Men's minds were troubled to realize that the world Christ knew was physically incomplete. Some were indeed driven to atheism or to a more hesitant faith, like Donne, who lamented:

“The new philosophy calls all in doubt.”

Yet, within a generation, Milton could turn this same “new philosophy” to glorious account in his treatment of the primal Fall. When, after the Civil War, men came to consider the implications of all they had fought for, it seemed to some that Christianity could be set aside in favour of more up-to-date and rational social groupings. Hobbes, you will remember, regarded at least one great Church as a mere new expression of an exploded association:

That which we call the Papacy is but the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.

At the same time a humbler and far less knowledgeable man, John Bunyan, was also considering the ways of men in communities; he saw how States and cities reflected the eternal conflict in the individual soul.

The nineteenth-century clash of religion and science has already passed into history. New knowledge of early texts armed the exponents of the Higher Criticism to attack traditional interpretations. The Revised Version of the English Bible showed that the Church too could afford to look squarely at the challenge of contemporary scholarship. While Hardy recoiled from the idea of evolution into a bleak determinism, Hopkins could still rejoice in God's work manifested in the physical world. In our own century, clinical theories of mental disorder have been applied to discredit man's religious faculty and to destroy one of the oldest of all religious symbols, that of the Father. In reply, Eliot has shown an agent of God's grace working under the guise of a psychiatrist.

Thus it appears that in all ages the extension of the frontiers of knowledge has seemed to threaten existing beliefs. Yet every time the faithful have been able to show that the new was already implicit in the old. New ideas, far from making old dogmas

untenable, give fresh scope for their expression and communication. Many people have made fun of the way in which the Roman Catholic Church has, for example, named St Michael as the patron of aviators. Such a concept is, within the system, most fitting and intelligent. It is thoroughly reasonable to suppose that the accepted attributes of a particular saint would give him a special care of some new activity. By one of those paradoxes which are the heart of Christianity, the divided Church of today is the same and not the same as that of the first century. I have sometimes wondered whether even the tragic divisions within the Church may not be contained in God's purpose. Men became so much more complex, in their outlook and their needs, that perhaps it was necessary to allow them greater variety of religious expression in the world which began with the Reformation.

Yet we must believe that the great central deposit of faith remains pure. There has been much talk lately of "demythologizing", an ugly word which often tends to an ugly purpose. No factual knowledge can explain away the actual truth of those tenets by which Christians have lived and worshipped since patristic times. What then do I say if, to revert to an earlier example, I am challenged on the doctrine of the Ascension? It is perfectly reasonable to ask whether, in the light of modern discoveries about interstellar space, I literally believe the scriptural accounts which give warrant for the credal phrase, "He ascended into Heaven". The answer is an unqualified Yes. Were the apostles deceived, or deceitful, in their description of what happened? Why should not Christ have chosen this symbol as the only one to appeal to their understanding? In the existing state of human knowledge at that time, the best way to suggest that a human form had passed, still living, from the world of men, would be an actual upward disappearance. The dogma is true both in the sense that this is what they actually saw, and in the deeper truth which it contains.

It is a common error of the sceptic to suppose that miracles are invalidated by being given a "natural" explanation. It may be that some of the scriptural miracles can be explained by modern discoveries, and that many more will eventually be so explained, and even be performed by ordinary men. But that does not make their occurrence in earlier times any less supernatural. If a man in first-century Jerusalem had been able to produce fire by once rubbing a small piece of wood against the side of a box, or if he

had pressed a switch and illuminated the Temple, or turned a knob and brought the voice of Caesar from Rome, his contemporaries would have rightly claimed that he had performed a miracle. We do such things daily and without thought. If we can one day parallel the miracles of the scriptures, it means only that all knowledge has always been contained within the Godhead, and that slowly we are attaining to him.

This error of supposing that to explain is also to explain away is a common one. The arrogance of some modern humanists exceeds anything ever alleged of medieval prelates. There are spheres of human activity which defy all the theorists and planners. It does not appear that any revelations of biochemistry have made the slightest difference to the experience of falling in love. It does not appear even that the biochemist reacts in any way differently from his unenlightened contemporaries. There is still no philosopher who can patiently endure the toothache; psychologists slap their children when they cry at night and the cancer specialist continues to enjoy his cigarette. People are not much affected, in character and action, by the information which they absorb. Modern theories about the working of the human mind and its hidden motivation do not seem to make much difference to behaviour.

This is not to say that all such discoveries are worthless. Explanation which leads to greater understanding may in time help to raise the standard of human conduct. But it can only help: by itself the scientific idea can do nothing. It may be true that analysis of the unconscious mind can show a man why he is acting in an irrational or anti-social way, and may even stop him from such action. But what then? The effect is entirely negative unless some new course of conduct, with an acceptable compulsive basis, can be presented. The situation was exactly predicted long ago: the evil spirit who leaves only an empty room behind him will soon re-occupy it sevenfold. It is not to be supposed that Christianity must be contained for ever within the world-view of two thousand years ago. New facts and skills are to be welcomed as an extension of human experience under God. The modern error is to suppose that they are their own justification. We take no forward step when we are told that Saul had an aggressive neurosis which was cured by music-therapy or that David was a manic-depressive.

The sceptic indeed is determined to be in the right of it. He seldom stops to heed the advice of Cromwell—who curiously

enough is often one of his folk-heroes—to consider the possibility that he may be mistaken. There is no man on this earth without faith. Those who reject religion can cheerfully accept as axiomatic innumerable statements which are, for them, taken on trust. How do they know that matter is made up of electrons, that the sun is ninety million miles away, that man evolved from lower forms of life? Because they have read about it, been taught it in school, or heard it on the wireless. Fair enough; we all have to live the greater part of our lives on trust and the opinions of experts. But let them not demand immediate personal proof from the Christian for every tenet of his faith. Let them not blame the Church for ignoring men's bodies and concentrating on spiritual "irrelevancies", and at the same time say that the need for religion has been removed by material progress.

This assumption as axiomatic of theories propounded by a few experts, is one of the most disturbing features of the modern scene. Still worse, interpretations never made by the experts are pressed into the service of what is desired. I have recently seen an article in a students' magazine based entirely on the supposition that some form of positive sexual activity is inevitable for the young person who wishes to lead a sane and balanced life. Such an assumption being made, the case against conventional morality might seem to be a strong one. In fact the interpretation is not warranted by the published works in which the writer had placed his new faith. Christ and St Paul knew as much about human physical needs as any modern student of psychology. They offered solutions which, even merely with the famous English instinct for fair play, are at least as worthy of a hearing. But the New Testament is out of fashion and the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" is in.

Human problems appear under a new guise in every generation, but they are the same problems. If twentieth-century man were a new phenomenon, sprung fully-armed from the head of Freud, then perhaps the more traditional attitudes might be cast aside. But it is not so. The "new" situations, on which it seems that only modern experts can pronounce, will mostly be found to have a parallel somewhere in the Pentateuch—or, to be free from the appearance of bias, let us say in Homer and the Greek drama. Being modern is the same as being alive. It is reasonable, even on non-theistic grounds, to give heed to the counsels which have sustained men through centuries of successive modernities.

There is an analogy between the position of the Christian believer in face of ever-increasing knowledge and that of the creative artist. The artist's perception is not in any way diminished by the discovery of new facts; indeed, it is enhanced. Paintings of the human form depend on knowledge of anatomy, even though that knowledge may be deliberately distorted for the sake of particular emphases. The elaborate instruments of the modern orchestra are designed with regard to the physics of sound. Writers have in all periods incorporated current theories in their works. Modern psychology has provided material for first-class work both by a Christian like Eliot and by a sceptic like Joyce. Few, if any, have ever suggested that there is no place for art in a world of increasing complexity and specialization. Certainly it has been found more difficult to produce work of universal appeal under these conditions. Some have felt that great literary tragedy is impossible in view of new theories of human motivation. But many others have proved that adjustment is both possible and necessary.

It is unlikely that the human mind will ever devise any new plots or basic themes in the arts. Old truths must continually be re-stated if they are not to be forgotten. To Homer, the dawn was "rosy-fingered", to Shakespeare it was "in russet mantle clad", to Housman "the ship of sunrise burning". The scientist can explain exactly why the sky looks as it does in the early morning, the physiologist can explain why we perceive it as we do. Yet no one suggests that there is no dawn at all, or that its nature and appearance have changed over the centuries, or that any one of these percipients was mad or deceitful. Why should our knowledge of the Creator be less capable of variety and development than our knowledge of any aspect of Creation?

The field of the arts shows that increased factual information is in itself neither harmful nor beneficial to human fundamentals. Aeschylus was in many ways more ignorant than Shakespeare, both were a great deal more ignorant than Ibsen. Picasso is a mine of information compared with Michelangelo. Britten could explain things that would have seemed like magic to Bach. Sartre could pass a general knowledge paper in which Kant would have failed. Yet it is not clear that there is any all-round advance or decline in artistic or philosophical achievement.

The artist, like the Christian, does not stop short at the externals

of life. He is concerned with the essence of things, the unchanging centre that is not affected by new and more complex disguises. The poet loves beauty, whether in a rose or a great machine. New phenomena give him new sources of beauty or ugliness, to praise or to reject. They do not alter the fact that there is a concept of beauty, however much fashions of its expression may change. But it is not good enough to take a purely uninvolved view of this question. It is necessary to be an existentialist—not in any limited sense—if fundamental values are still to be honoured. Denial that changes have taken place leads to the Ivory Tower, which very soon becomes a ruined tower. More than one culture has disappeared through being identified with a system of thought that allowed no room for development.

The Christian must not say that any problems not specifically discussed in the Bible are not for him. He cannot excuse himself from taking up a position on such things as motor traffic, commercial television, artificial insemination, and mechanized warfare. He may not have a text to quote incorporating any one of these things, but he has plenty of guidance on such things as the sanctity of human life and marriage, the peril of corrupting ignorant minds, and so on. It is not too much to say that he is given a few basic tools, with which he has to build up his religion from the materials around him. Again, the artist is in the same situation. No great writer sits down with the thought: "I am a Catholic, a Socialist, a bi-metallist, and I will now write a poem which shall be an *apologia* for Catholicism, Socialism, or bi-metallism". But the writer will reveal his faith, or lack of it, in whatever he writes. A tragedy of domestic life written in the seventeenth century is necessarily different from one written in the nineteenth. Yet both *Othello* and *A Doll's House* depend on the fact that a man and a woman have got married. A Christian today cannot live the life or think the thoughts of a Christian in the Middle Ages. Yet he can be none the less a Christian, reciting the same creed with no less conviction of its absolute truth.

For just as the age-old fact that a man chooses a woman and tries to keep her for himself gives point to a wide range of literary treatment, so the fact of the Incarnation and all that followed from it is significant throughout all ages. The primal choice, in which human free-will was permitted and asserted, lies behind the existential choices which all men must continually make. These

choices are not isolated and independent, as some modern thinkers would have it. They are united by the fact that man is entrusted with the power to choose or to reject a given course of action, to affirm or deny any idea.

Now here the importance of our greater knowledge should be clear. We can often choose with a greater understanding of the consequences of our choice than was possible for our ancestors. The criteria governing choice, duty to God and to Man, are unchanged. The records of past experience, the study of cause and effect, should make it easier to see in what way those criteria are involved. In fact the complexity of the modern situation may make it more difficult. The nihilism that is apparent among so many thinking men is, I believe, often the result not of an initial abandoning of values but of the difficulty of distinguishing how values are affected. We simply know too much : in the old phrase, we cannot see the wood for the trees. In such situations there is no refuge but in prayer for guidance.

It is not always possible in practice to make a perfect harmony of the new and the old. There are times when the division of the mind into separate compartments is inevitable, but there should always be a communicating door which can be opened if the right time comes. At present the scientists and social scientists are in the lead. It cannot be claimed that the majority either of the artists or the theologians are doing much to point the way ahead. In an age of overwhelming technical advancement, it is inevitable that there will be times when the Christian reaction to something new will not be immediately clear. It does not seem possible at present to take any definite line on such projects as inter-planetary travel. The discovery of rational life anywhere else in the Universe would certainly require some little adjustment in Christian thinking. But these are bridges which need not yet be crossed. The important point is that it is better to preserve the totality of belief by temporary exclusion of some known facts than to make a weakening compromise for the sake of bringing everything in. Each new discovery is a challenge, but it should not be allowed to claim immediate right of entry. There are times when it is wise to follow the counsel of Gamaliel and to "let them alone".

Some artists, and some theologians, have suffered from the desire to be modern at all costs. Poets since the Industrial Revolution have found that the writing of nature-poetry is increasingly less

natural. More and more of their readers are spending the greater proportion of their lives in towns. This led in many cases to a determination to see beauty in gasometers and railway engines. There may be beauty in these things; if there is, it will find expression in poetry when there is a poet ready to accept it. If there is not, the poets should not be afraid to say so. It is a mistake to try to fit the new objects of familiarity into the framework that contained the old. That is why it seems so particularly difficult to distinguish genuine innovation from distortion in all branches of modern art.

The Christian too must proceed cautiously. Perhaps the greatest challenge lies in the development of the means of mass communication. There is nothing intrinsically good or bad in an amplifying system. The question to be asked is, whether it is possible to preach the Gospel in the spirit of its Founder to an enormous audience which can hear the preacher without seeing him. My answer to that would, after experience, be Yes. Many others would say that it is not possible. Again, is the cinema a legitimate medium for religious work? Surely yes; if it has become the chief means of entertainment and instruction for the majority of people, it would be wicked to neglect its opportunities. It is no farther from Galilee than were the medieval mystery-plays in their own time. But this does not mean that every Christian writer should rush to have his creations shown on the screen. The Christian cinema will doubtless emerge in time; there is no reason why it should be immediately contemporary with the secular cinema.

If Christians are over-anxious to plunge into all new developments, to show that they can make use of new discoveries, there is a danger that the process will work the other way. New knowledge brings new power, and those who wield the power are only too anxious to bring Christianity within their control. This has been the menace to the Church in all ages—to seek the protection of the lords of this world and lose its soul in so doing. The Christian preacher would be better with a dozen people in a barn than being heard by millions on the authority of somebody's soap-powder. The means are not evil; new knowledge in itself can always be productive of good. But if they come under the control and exploitation of evil men, there can be no traffic with them.

These new techniques, and the factual knowledge behind them, may present a problem either of conduct or of dogma. In the

former case there is, as was suggested earlier, no real difficulty. Christianity is not an ethical system. It provides an attitude towards life, a relationship between God and Man, in which guidance can always be found. This is not to say that the right course of action is always immediately obvious. We all know what it is like to have to choose between two possibilities, both of which are unwelcome and may be undesirable. But such dilemmas are not really altered by new situations. Their frequency may be greater, but the primal need is not radically different.

In questions of dogma, it is necessary to distinguish between the essential and the accidental. Increasing knowledge about the nature of man and the world in which he lives can never disprove the fundamentals of Christian belief. They are on a different plane, and cannot be explained away any more than can a poem or a painting. The traditional mode of expression of those beliefs, however, may be found to be invalid. It is necessary to make a mental adjustment from the literal to the symbolic in these cases, without allowing the same process to undermine the doctrine itself. Unless we choose to be more ignorant than our fellow-men, we must use words like "came down", "ascended", "the right hand", without the actual physical imagery that they would have presented to those who first pronounced them. But we must be constantly on our guard against the temptation to compromise further, to say that nothing "really" happened at all. A true event may have a symbolic presentation. The poet expresses his experience through symbols which are not the experience itself, but which do not take the place of that experience.

However complex and vast man's knowledge may become, it cannot burst through the first boundaries of the Christian story. Our faith rests on a series of paradoxes, on a wild and glorious non-sense, which no new information can make impossible. Even God cannot do the impossible, for the impossible is that which God cannot do. He cannot combine affirmation and negation, cannot exist and not exist. But he can be at once the Creator of all things and a helpless baby, can be a dead outcast and the ever-living Spirit. The mind of man will never discover complexities to outdo those paradoxes which were grasped by simple, uninformed men of the first centuries.

# IS THE AGE OF MIRACLES PAST?

By **BASIL SKINNER**

IN an era marked by astonishing advances in science and technology the status of the miracle is a matter of vital importance to Christians and scientists alike. By miracle we mean here an event which refuses to conform to the accepted scientific laws. The Christian who is also a professional scientist may well be faced with a dilemma. If for instance he is a public analyst his daily work and livelihood depend on the unfailing operation of the scientific laws on which his tests are based. If he finds a sample of a spirit to be deficient in alcohol, the manufacturer is likely to be prosecuted for marketing a substandard product. Certainly the analyst will not consider the possibility that some of the alcohol has changed into water since the spirit left the distillery. Yet he is asked to believe that at a word from our Lord water was turned into wine.

The perplexities of such a position have been well voiced by the late Dr E. W. Barnes, who in his book *The Rise of Christianity* stresses that the results of scientific research all point to the "finite scale uniformity of nature". By this he means that while God may possibly intervene in the normal course of nature through the medium of extremely minute particles such as genes (since these are at present beyond the scope of the scientist's tools and measurements), the Almighty is precluded from "interfering" with the course of physical events in any other way, since it is already unalterably fixed by the laws of nature.

Such an approach is clearly a negative one. Barnes, attracted as he was by the Christian way of life and convinced of the reality of religious experience, just could not bring himself to believe in miracles. To him scientific laws were fundamental truths of nature which could under no circumstances be violated, yet most of the Gospel miracles seemed to involve the breaking of at least one of these laws. Barnes taught that the Church must sooner or later come to terms with the findings of "modern scholarship". In effect he rejected most miracles, including the Resurrection, as archaic

features of Christianity without historical foundation, and attempted to salvage a religion from what remained of the Gospel. Hopeless a task as this was, no scientist can fail to sympathize with Barnes' attitude, or indeed with the more extreme view that the Christian Faith is altogether incompatible with the findings of modern research.

In the last few years a number of Christian writers have attempted to dismiss scientific agnosticism and disbelief in miracles as survivals of an outdated scholarship, thus subtly suggesting that some fifty years ago Christian scholars triumphed once and for all over rationalist arguments. This of course is not the case; Christians can no more establish the miracle by logical argument than the rationalist can refute it. The great clash of beliefs certainly came in the last century, but the result was inconclusive and to-day many scientists of first-rate intellect hold that the observed regularity in the behaviour of nature is such as to exclude all possibility of miracle. Christians can only harm their own cause by underestimating their opponents and holding that the rationalist position is intellectually unsound. Our belief in miracles rests not in any logical process (though we should claim that it is perfectly logical to believe in miracles) but in our knowledge and experience of the power of God.

It is equally important, on the other hand, not to allow ourselves to be persuaded that in the present age belief in miracles can only be maintained by blinking one's eyes to obvious facts. Let us for a moment examine the precise value of these scientific laws, or laws of nature, which those of Barnes' school would hold are such fundamental truths that our Faith must be modified so as to meet their demands. These laws are no more than formulae devised by man to summarize the results to date of human investigations into some aspect of nature. To quote an example, up to the turn of the century all scientists' efforts to split atoms met with failure. Consequently physicists *assumed* that atoms were incapable of further subdivision and the ultimacy of the atom was established as a scientific law. Nature is obligingly regular in her behaviour and very frequently a given experiment is found to yield the same result in practice. It is but a short step for the scientist to conclude that the same result will always be obtained, and to regard it as the consequence of an unalterable law. The scientific method wholly depends on the assumption that nature behaves in accordance with

regular laws of this kind, and when one remembers the amazing achievements of science in the last fifty years it is perhaps not surprising that scientists, and above all those with but a casual acquaintance with the fruits of modern scientific invention, tend to exaggerate the importance of the laws and methods of science. Some go as far as to deny the reality of the spiritual world altogether: how much easier it is indeed to trust in the tangible, material achievements of science than in spiritual truths which are never easy to perceive. Others, unwilling to go to such extremes, nevertheless regard scientific knowledge as superior to, and more reliable than, the findings of theology or of any other branch of study.

Yet the law of nature, it cannot too strongly be emphasized, is not an absolute principle but a human attempt to find one. As such it is far from infallible and in fact often has to be altered to bring it into line with more recent discovery. Returning to the indivisible atom, experiments with radioactive materials at the beginning of this century resulted in the splitting of the atom, under conditions not previously tried. The indivisible atom had to go. This work led eventually to the atomic pile, in which three of the most fundamental laws of physical science were broken. In the operation of the pile, as in the explosion of an atomic bomb, a certain amount of weight (mass) disappears, being replaced by a huge quantity of heat (energy), thus violating the two great principles of the Conservation of Mass and the Conservation of Energy. One metal may be readily converted to another in the pile, an idea which would have seemed preposterous just over fifty years ago. The familiar ridicule cast on the early alchemists' efforts to change lead into gold is already out of date, and the alchemists are about to have the last laugh! In all these cases the laws have had to be modified to accommodate the new knowledge.

The history of science has always been the same. Fifty years ago the so-called Classical Physics ruled the scientific world. All matter was composed of particles moving in definite directions at speeds which could in principle be determined. Physicists were triumphant; it was only a matter of time before the whole of nature would be unfolded in these terms and man would be master of the physical universe. Suddenly, however, it was discovered that the exact whereabouts of a sufficiently minute particle could never be pin-pointed. A very small body behaved in many ways more like a

wave than a particle and acted as if it were everywhere at the same time. This discovery has shown matter to be infinitely more complex than was previously supposed, and the laws governing its behaviour are in fact not nearly as simple as was once believed.

Time has shown again and again how fatally easy it is for scientists to over-simplify the truth. In the realm of biology it was held for centuries that God had "specially created" the myriad species of plants and animals. Each and every one he had created separately in his own good time. Darwin's theory of Natural Selection, however, transformed men's opinions almost overnight. The position was now crystal-clear. We had all—plants, animals, man alike—evolved down the ages by a completely haphazard process from single cells. The struggle for existence, rather than the hand of God, had made us what we were, even if God had willed it thus. It was all so simple once the secret had been told. Yet as scientist-theologian F. J. Hort was brilliant enough to see at the time, Darwin had greatly underestimated the complexity of the process. Few scientists today would doubt that this mechanistic, purposeless variation was one factor in evolutionary development. It is quite inadequate, however, to account for the deep gulfs between the major divisions of the plant and animal kingdoms. For example man is so often said to have developed from anthropoid apes. We can trace from fossil-study the development of modern man from primitive man or of one kind of ape from another, but there is no sign of a connecting link between man and the ape. The so-called "missing link" has intrigued minds for years; the discovery that the Piltdown skull, which with its human skull and ape-like lower jaw did seem to throw a little light, was a fake has made the prospect of any solution even more remote. A similar gap exists between mosses and ferns, ferns and flowering plants, and indeed in almost every such case.<sup>1</sup> All the evidence indicates that nature has evolved in a series of jumps rather than by a smooth continuous process. Man seems to have appeared, as it were, right from the blue.

Recent evidence, in fact, renders the idea of a completely random evolutionary process increasingly difficult to accept. Lamarck (1744-1829) suggested that plants and animals could not only adapt themselves to the environment of their lifetime, but had the power to pass on the adaptation to their progeny, so that succeeding generations were *born* with a body more and more equipped to deal

with the particular needs of the race. The inheritance of these acquired characteristics is very difficult to prove in the laboratory, for the process is probably spread over many generations. Lamarck's ideas were discredited in the era of Mendelian genetics, the latter again suggesting a random process. Lamarckianism has been revived by several later authors, however, notably by the Soviet biologist Lysenko a few years ago. Lysenko's tendency to associate his science too closely with politics has lessened the attention paid to him, but the present writer is firmly convinced that this power of an organism to develop, over the ages, the equipment it needs to survive, as if by a conscious process, will eventually be demonstrated. Is it reasonable to suppose that the whiteness of the polar bear, the green of the grasshopper, the changing face of the chameleon really developed through a process completely devoid of purpose? Or that the complex, sensitive structure of the human body and mind developed from a single cell simply because that form happened to survive in the struggle for existence? Such ideas do not appeal to man's highest intelligence. Whether we assume that a transcendent God confers from above the form that his creatures need, or whether God is immanent in the souls of living things responding to their needs, we are here far removed from the mechanistic ideas of Darwin's later supporters.

We have attempted to show how frail is the evidence of the laws of nature when applied to establish the nature of reality. Not only are the laws purely transitory formulae, but in all probability they are far too simple for the realities which they essay to describe. To hold that the laws in their present form are inviolable is to deny the possibility of any future advance in human knowledge.

In the last few years evidence in the field of spiritual healing has accumulated to such an extent as virtually to compel the view that Christian prayer and faith set free forces which in many cases entirely transform the accepted course of nature. This rediscovery of the Church's ancient power of healing is reflected in an ever-increasing literature on the subject by authors of unquestioned integrity and competence. Dr Weatherhead<sup>2</sup> gives details of lasting cures, not merely of psychological ailments but of dangerous organic diseases such as inoperable cancer, Bright's disease, and tuberculosis, effected by prayer and laying-on of hands. In many cases doctors had given up all hope of recovery. Even more impressive, perhaps, is the testimony of Christopher Woodard<sup>3</sup>,

himself a Harley Street physician, who describes with the scientific accuracy and detachment of a medical man a large number of cures of the same type. In some, on account, as he says, of lack of faith, the cure was slow and gradual, but in others recovery was sudden, complete, and—to medical science—inexplicable. Both these authors have studied miraculous healing at Lourdes and agree as to the rigorous and scientific scrutiny given by highly-qualified doctors to every case of healing in the waters before it is officially recorded as a miracle, the medical records being available for inspection by all serious enquirers.

Many other cases could be quoted, and it is exceedingly difficult for an impartial student to avoid the conclusion that in such healings the laws of nature have in some way been superseded by the power of the Divine love. Dr Weatherhead<sup>4</sup> supposes that a superior hierarchy of spiritual laws operates alongside the laws of nature. These spiritual laws, by their nature incapable of detection by laboratory techniques, not only govern the spiritual world but interact with the laws of nature and exert a powerful influence on physical events. There is certainly ample evidence that the principle of scientific cause and effect, as at present understood, is by no means infallible and that miracles are not nearly as rare as is sometimes supposed.

Some scientists are prepared to believe in healing miracles, but exclude others such as the Stilling of the Storm. It is perhaps true that miracles are most frequently encountered in the realm of healing; the Gospel narrative seems to suggest that supernatural power is most often manifest in our Lord's acts of compassion towards the sick. Again the human being, as the most responsive of God's creatures, is more likely to be receptive to that power than an inanimate lump of matter. Yet it is wiser on the same general grounds not to exclude the possibility of miracle in any sphere of nature. Even Mr Fred Hoyle, an agnostic, when confronted with compelling visible evidence, goes so far as to suggest that the substance hydrogen is being continuously created out of nothing all over the physical Universe.<sup>5</sup> Nineteenth-century rationalists would have found it hard to credit that one of their successors should propose a miracle of this magnitude!

In view of these developments it is perhaps unfortunate that of late a number of Christian scholars, in an effort to keep the Faith abreast of the times, have been prepared to concede more ground

to the scientists than necessary. In several recent books on Christianity and Science the question of the miracle, which is surely a vital issue, has received scant mention and is often overshadowed by discussions on points of much less importance. Canon Raven asserts that the changed outlook of scientists has removed the problem of miracles from the central place which it occupied in the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Yet his almost apologetic reserve on this subject suggests that the miracle must in fact raise acute problems in the readers' minds. Commenting on our Lord's words: "The blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good tidings preached to them." (Luke 7.22), he says: "We may take these words literally if we like: they represent spiritual facts as truly"—a truth indeed, yet the words almost suggest that the miracles did not happen. It is clear, however, from the references quoted, that this very day the blind receive their sight, the deaf hear, and the lame walk, in the most literal sense of the words. In his 1952 Gifford Lectures, Vol. 2, Canon Raven again seems to go to unnecessary lengths to placate the scientists with their expected criticisms of Christian orthodoxy. Although he regards it as presumptuous to suppose that miracles could not happen, he affirms that "The evidence for an *orderly world* [italics mine] necessitates the re-examination of the Gospel miracles; in some cases the difficulty of literal acceptance is greater than in others",<sup>7</sup> and "It is a cause of thankfulness to many today that men find the miraculous in the unique quality and abiding presence of Jesus Christ rather than in the mode of His conception or the emptiness of His tomb."<sup>8</sup>

The probem of the miracle must be faced. We do not here insist on the precise historical accuracy of every Gospel miracle. Still less do we deny that science has given mankind an extremely reliable body of knowledge about nature which must often supplant the pious speculations of the Biblical authors. To trim our Faith so as to conform to the present ideas of the secular students of nature, however, is to refuse to allow a proper place for Divine revelation. Attractive though it seems to bring Christian doctrine into line with the supposed laws of nature, the latter after all only utter *our* misty apprehension of the way in which God works in the physical realm, and if we allow them to become our ultimate yardstick of belief we are making God's Mind no greater than our

minds. If Christ's miraculous powers are restricted to his abiding presence in our hearts it may soon be suggested once more that God is no more than a psychological phenomenon. Many years ago Sir Oliver Lodge advised Christians not to abandon the miracle just as scientists were about to concede it. Scientists may not have yielded as quickly as he supposed, but his advice is no less needed today.

NOTE—In their recent report *Divine Healing and Co-operation between Doctors and Clergy* a committee of the British Medical Association find "no evidence that there is any type of illness cured by spiritual healing alone which could not have been cured by medical treatment which necessarily includes environmental factors". Yet the report recognises "inexplicable" cures from cancer and other diseases, with and without spiritual healing, including the miracles of Lourdes. Again in Appendix II doctors and others give striking evidence of apparently miraculous healings. The committee seems to reach its negative conclusion because there is no definite proof that healing in these cases has been due to spiritual ministrations *alone*. Scientific proof of this is obviously well-nigh impossible to obtain, but that these cures occur cannot be doubted.

<sup>1</sup> See Rendle Short, *Modern Discovery and the Bible*.

<sup>2</sup> *Psychology, Religion, and Healing*, 1952.

<sup>3</sup> *A Doctor Heals by Faith*, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *The Nature of the Universe*, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> *Christianity and Science*, World Christian Books, 1955, p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 80.

## HENRY SIDGWICK AND THE METHODS OF ETHICS

By Thomas McPherson

Henry Sidgwick, "the greatest of the Utilitarians", was born at Skipton, Yorkshire, in 1838. He was sent to school at Blackheath in 1849, and to Rugby in 1852, where his widowed mother took a house in the following year. Sidgwick was something of a prodigy. He was completely uninterested in sport, and his intellectual development was remarkable. He went to Cambridge in 1855, where he had a brilliant career; he became fellow and assistant-tutor of Trinity College in 1859.

His studies had been in classics, but he now found that his interests were turning towards philosophy. He had at the beginning of his second year joined the group in Cambridge that called itself the Apostles Society. Its purpose was to encourage the frank and full discussion of everything discussible. Sidgwick took a leading part in the Society's meetings, although he was younger than most of the other members. It was largely the influence of his intellectual conversations with the Apostles that led him to realise that he would be happier working on philosophy than on classics.

But Sidgwick seems to have been very unsettled at this time, and not at all sure what he ought to do with himself. The picture of this part of his life that is given us in the *Memoir* by his wife and brother is one of a young man completely unable to make up his mind, attracted first by one profession, then by another. He thought of schoolmastering, and had himself accepted for an assistant mastership at Rugby, then changed his mind and resigned before he had taken up his duties. He decided to attempt Oriental studies, and began to learn Arabic, but lost interest and dropped it. He toyed with the idea of taking Orders. But there can be no doubt that he made the right choice when he finally decided to remain in Cambridge, and there make for himself a career as an academic philosopher. Philosophy had only just been taken up as a serious subject of study at Cambridge, and Sidgwick's is the great

name in Cambridge philosophy of his time; it is in part due to Sidgwick that Cambridge rather than Oxford became at the beginning of the century the British centre of philosophy. In 1869, Sidgwick became lecturer in philosophy at Trinity College, and in 1883 he was appointed Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy.

In the 1860's there was a strong agitation for the abolition of religious tests, and Sidgwick took some part in the movement. At the time of his appointment to the lectureship in philosophy at Trinity College, he became doubtful about his own position. The declaration that he had made sincerely at the time of his original appointment to his fellowship had now ceased to represent his true belief. He decided that he was bound to resign his fellowship. His action made a great impression on others who had been agitating vaguely for the abolition of religious tests, but who had not thought that the continued existence of the tests might be imposing any moral duties on them personally. Sidgwick's action moved the College authorities so much that they permitted him to retain his college lectureship even though he was no longer a fellow of Trinity. Sidgwick's action had a marked effect in stimulating the agitation for the abolition of the tests, and they were finally abolished in 1871. The incident is typical of Sidgwick, a man of the highest moral character. We shall have occasion to refer to it again below.

Sidgwick's interests were not entirely academic. He would have been a worse moralist if they had been. He was one of those who worked for the admission of women to university examinations. Any book dealing with the movement last century for equal educational opportunities for women as for men will be bound to contain some reference to Sidgwick. For example, one may read something about the part he played in the book of reminiscences by Alfred Marshall's widow.<sup>1</sup> And Lady Stephen's account<sup>2</sup> of the efforts of the rival group who were also working for the establishment of a women's college in Cambridge shows the extent of Sidgwick's efforts for women's education in England. Sidgwick was largely responsible for the establishment of Newnham College. His wife, Eleanor Mildred Balfour, generally called Nora, the sister of A. J. Balfour, was the second Principal of Newnham, and she and Sidgwick lived there after 1892.

Among Sidgwick's other interests were the Charity Organisation Society, and the Society for Psychical Research of which he was

one of the founders. His opinions about psychical phenomena seem to have vacillated. He and his wife devoted a good deal of their time to the investigation of the claims of "mediums." Sometimes they were convinced, sometimes not; and they never seem to have come to any final opinion on these matters. The later part of the *Memoir* by his wife Nora and Arthur Sidgwick contains the record of many disappointments in this field.

All accounts of Sidgwick record his brilliance as a conversationalist. He had a slight stammer, which he used to very good effect. But Sidgwick cannot have been a very interesting lecturer: his published lectures read as though they must have been very dull when delivered: he does indeed seem to have had very few regular attenders at his Cambridge lectures. His books other than published lectures also lack literary grace. Sidgwick knew what he wanted to say, and he usually said it well enough, if extreme caution in expression is to count for anything; but he did not say it interestingly. Sidgwick's style was the effect of his mind: he wrote the way he thought. And the way he thought has not been better described than it was by Viscount Bryce.<sup>3</sup>

[Sidgwick's] was a mind of singular subtlety, fertility, and ingenuity, which applied to every topic an extremely minute and patient analysis. Never satisfied with the obvious view of a question, it seemed unable to acquiesce in any broad and sweeping statement. It discovered objections to every accepted doctrine, exceptions to every rule. It perceived minute distinctions and qualifications which had escaped the notice of previous writers. These qualities made Sidgwick's books somewhat difficult reading for a beginner, who was apt to ask what, after all, was the conclusion to which he had been led by an author who showed him the subject in various lights, and added not a few minor propositions to that which had seemed to be the governing one.

The following is a list of Sidgwick's works, with dates of publication. In addition to these books he wrote a great many articles and reviews, and in his youth even tried his hand at verse.

(1) *The Ethics of Conformity and Subscription*, 1871. (2) *The Methods of Ethics*, 1874, seventh edition 1907. (3) *The Principles of Political Economy*, 1883. (4) *The Scope and Method of Economic Science*, 1885. (This was a presidential address to the Economic Section of the British Association.) (5) *Outlines of the History of Ethics for English Readers*, 1886. (6) *The Elements of Politics*, 1891. (7) *Practical Ethics; Addresses and Essays*, 1898. After his death there were published: (8) *Lectures on the Ethics*

of T. H. Green, H. Spencer, and J. Martineau, 1902. (9) *Philosophy, Its Scope and Relations*, 1902. (10), *The Development of European Polity*, 1903. (11) *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses*, 1904. (12) *Lectures on Kant*, 1905.

By far the greatest of Sidgwick's works is *The Methods of Ethics*.

Sidgwick is most generally called a Utilitarian, but he wears his Utilitarianism with a difference, and it will not do to call him by that name alone. He appears most commonly to have thought of himself thus, and often used the word of himself,<sup>4</sup> but not without qualification. He realised the faults of Utilitarianism very clearly.

In a way it seems rather futile to label any philosopher with the name of a school. There are often so many varieties of opinion held by members of a philosophical school that it is sometimes a pretty arbitrary choice whether or not we shall number certain people among them. It is convenient for some purposes to have philosophers neatly gathered into groups; but for other purposes it is not at all convenient. To understand a philosopher properly we ought perhaps to take him as he is, and not be too much concerned about the name by which he is commonly known. (Not, of course, that we can afford to ignore the influence of other thinkers on him or his influence on them; we will certainly not understand him properly if we do that.)

Sidgwick had planned a book on ethics long before he began to write the *Methods*. In a letter to his friend H. G. Dakyns of March 1862—twelve years before the publication of the book—he said:

I am revolving a Theory of Ethics, which I think might appear in the form of essays; I think I see a reconciliation between the moral sense and utilitarian theories.<sup>5</sup>

And he wrote again to Dakyns in December of the same year:

You know I want intuitions for morality; at least one (of Love) is required to supplement the utilitarian morality, and I do not see why, if we are to have one, we may not have others.<sup>6</sup>

Sidgwick's preoccupation with the relation between utilitarian and intuitionist theories in ethics (which is really the subject of his book) seems largely to have arisen out of a practical problem facing him at this time. In the autobiographical fragment that he dictated a fortnight before his death, he said, speaking of this period of his life:

Meanwhile I had been led back to philosophy by a quite different

line of thought from a practical point of view—that is, by the question that seemed, to me, continually to press with more urgency for a definite answer—whether I had a right to keep my Fellowship. I did my very best to decide the question methodically on general principles, but I found it very difficult, and I may say that it was while struggling with the difficulty thence arising that I went through a good deal of the thought that was ultimately systematised in the *Methods of Ethics*.<sup>7</sup>

This incident I have already mentioned. Sidgwick had become a fellow of Trinity in 1859, and at that time had felt no compunction about making the religious declaration required of University teachers. Later, however, as he became less orthodox in his religious views, and came to feel that he could no longer conform to the Church of England in the sense required by the declaration he had earlier made, he decided that he was bound to resign his fellowship, and did so in October 1869.

This very practical problem was ideally suited to lead a man like Sidgwick—both conscientious and a philosopher—to consider the whole relation of utility and duty. "Can the good that I may be able to accomplish for myself and others by retaining my fellowship offset the conviction that in retaining it I shall be going against a clear intuition of duty?" The whole train of thought that followed on his posing to himself some such question as this is set down in the *Methods of Ethics*. It is not unimportant to bear in mind in connection with the *Methods* that it arose out of a very real problem facing the author in his own life. (There is no hint of this given in the *Methods* itself; and it is easy for a reader of Sidgwick to regard the book as the work of a mind, not of a man—a mind supremely analytic, but inhuman. However, the *Methods* is not meant only as a piece of abstract philosophical analysis; it is meant to be a book discussing the moral problems which arise out of practical situations, and suggesting answers to those problems. And Sidgwick was not a disembodied mind; he was a man. His writing may often seem to be divorced from the problems of human beings, but in reality he was always very nearly and deeply concerned with the actual moral life of men.) I do not suggest that he was unique in this. Probably most moralists (except, one is inclined to say, on his own admission, Professor C. D. Broad) have turned to moral philosophy because they have become conscious that practical moral problems face them personally. But it is both interest-

ing and important to note the particular problem that drew Sidgwick seriously towards ethics.

This is the point that I am most anxious to make here about the *Methods of Ethics*. It is a *practical* book. Even where Sidgwick seems to have analysed some notion to the point where everything personal has disappeared from it, it will be seen that the notion is in reality still very firmly fixed to earth. Sidgwick appears abstract, but this is because of the way he writes the English language. It is unfortunate that he wrote the way he did, but I suppose he could not help it. Sidgwick's ethics never in fact gets very far away from people. The *Methods* was practical in its conception, and it is practical in its realised form.

In a letter to Miss Cannan (an old friend of his mother's), 24 June, 1878, Sidgwick writes about this aspect of the *Methods*, the second edition of which had appeared in 1877. He here sets down simply what he conceived to have been his chief aim in writing the book. The letter is, I think, of some importance to an understanding of the *Methods*, and this must be my excuse for quoting from it at length. Sidgwick writes :

As you have read my book, I can perhaps give you some idea of what was in my mind, when I wrote it, as regards the whole vast problem with which Ethics deals.

It is sometimes said that there are two fundamental ethical questions, "What is right," and "Why is it right"; and though the distinction is open to attack, I think it expresses in an imperfect fashion the fundamental difference between the aspects in which two different classes of minds habitually view the great problem of life. There are some minds to whom the great difficulty is to know how to act; how in this mixed world (however it has come to be so mixed) the ideal of Duty (of whose ideal reality they feel no general doubt) is to be concretely realised here and now—there are so many competing methods and so much to be said on both sides of so many questions. It is for this class of minds that my book is primarily designed; not that I pretend to give them immediate practical guidance in any special difficulties they may have, but I try to contribute towards an ultimate reconciliation and binding together of all the different lines of moral reasoning that have gone on mingling and contending with each other since men first began to reflect on their well being and their duty.

Well, it is for these that I have tried to write, in this way. But I know very well that there is another class of minds, with which I have also strong sympathy, who have never really felt troubled about practical questions. They have always seemed to be fully guided by the simple rules of the common conscience, supplemented (wherever these are ambiguous) by a clear and decisive moral instinct. What they long to

know is not so much what *Duty* is, but how *Duty* comes to be there in conflict with inclination; why the individual is so often sacrificed to the general; why both in the single life and in the race good is so imperfectly triumphant over evil, etc., etc. To a speculative mind these questions are, no doubt, more profoundly interesting than the others. Sometimes they become absorbingly so to me, but I rather turn aside from much contemplation of them, because I not only cannot answer them to my satisfaction, but do not even know where to look for the answer that I want. I am sincerely glad that so many of my fellow-creatures are satisfied with the answers that they get from positive religions; and the others—philosophers—find a substitute for the satisfaction of an answer found, in the high and severe delight of seeking it. I cannot quite do either; and therefore I hold my tongue as much as I can!<sup>8</sup>

In this letter, we have a clear statement of the essentially practical nature of the *Methods*. It is a book purporting to tell men what their duty is: it is not merely a book which discusses the concept of duty.

This point is being dwelt on because there is a common opinion of the *Methods* which holds it to be what Sidgwick here explicitly states he did not mean it to be. There is some justification for a misinterpretation of the nature of the *Methods*. It looks as if it is an abstract philosophical enquiry into the meanings of ethical terms. But it is not. Sidgwick, in the *Methods*, expressly avoids the discussion of what might be called the strictly philosophical issues involved in morality; or, if he feels that he is expected to discuss them, he does so in as brief and noncommittal a way as possible.<sup>9</sup>

There is an interesting passage in a letter to J. A. Symonds dated 8 April, 1888. Sidgwick writes:

... Ethics seems to me in a position intermediate between Theology and Science, regarded as subjects of academic study and profession, in this way:—No one doubts that a Professor of Theology, under the conditions prevailing in England at least, is expected to be in some way constructive; if not exactly orthodox, at any rate he is expected to have and to be able to communicate a rational basis for some established creed and system. If he comes to the conclusion that no such basis is attainable, most sensible persons would agree that he is in his wrong place and had better take up some other calling. On the other hand, the professor of any branch of science is under no such restriction; he is expected to communicate unreservedly, the results to which he has come, whether favourable or not to the received doctrines: if (e.g.) he were the solitary Darwinian in a society of Creationists, that would be no reason for resigning his chair—rather for holding on. Now my

difficulty is to make up my mind which of these analogies I ought to apply in my own case—and I have not yet done so.<sup>10</sup>

This letter will strike a reader who shares the common misconception of the nature of the *Methods* as curiously un-Sidgwickian. It will seem odd to him that the problem should even have occurred to Sidgwick. And yet I believe it is typical of him. It will not do to say that Sidgwick was the sort of man who ought unhesitatingly to have plumped for the science analogy. In fact Sidgwick was not the coldly dispassionate thinker in ethics that he is often considered to be. We have seen enough to be sure that at an earlier time he would certainly have held that a professor of ethics ought to be practical—to teach a definite system of morality that would be of use in the actual moral problems of life. At the time when he wrote the letter just quoted, he seems not so sure—he is prepared to allow the possibility that a professor of ethics may be narrowly and critically philosophical in his approach to his subject—but all the same the problem is still a very real one for him.<sup>11</sup>

The *Methods of Ethics*, despite its title, is not primarily an exposition of other people's ethical theories. It is Sidgwick's attempt to set forth his own ethical theory. His way of doing this is to examine what he takes to be the chief theories that can be held by ethical philosophers, but this examination is only a means to the end of developing a positive theory of his own.

It has sometimes been seriously doubted whether Sidgwick *has* an ethical theory. Sidgwick possessed an exact and fair mind, which clearly saw all the arguments *against* the views he himself tended towards, and all the arguments *for* those he did not himself hold, and his scrupulous honesty led him to set them all down. Consequently, it is not always easy to see exactly what positive position (if any) he himself holds on the particular question he is discussing. But this should not be taken to mean that he has no positive position. It will be found that the points on which doubts have been raised as to whether Sidgwick knew his own mind are all of the sort I have called the strictly philosophical issues of morality. Sidgwick is not particularly interested in these things; and he does not feel that it is necessary for him to have any definite views about them. And so he sets down the arguments for each opinion that is held on the matter in question, gives a careful summing up, in which he is careful not to commit himself either way, and leaves it at that. It is wasted effort to pore over the difficult parts of the

book seeking for Sidgwick's views on something on which he in fact had no particular views, or was not sure of those he thought he had. When Sidgwick is dealing with any part of his subject that he considers important he is as explicit as anyone could wish—and the parts of the subject that he did think important were the *practical* parts.

I think that a word of explanation of the term "practical" is called for. When I say Sidgwick is a practical thinker in ethics I mean he is a thinker who is primarily concerned with finding an answer to people's actual moral problems, and only secondarily with abstruse philosophisings about those problems. If this means that Sidgwick is a casuist I do not think we need be surprised. Sidgwick was (in part) a Utilitarian, and Utilitarianism seems inevitably to lead to casuistry.<sup>12</sup>

When someone asks: "Ought I to do X or Y?" Sidgwick wants an ethics that will enable him to say: "Do X." He does not think it is helpful to say: "Well, I wish I could help you, but that is a very difficult problem you have. But, of course, you know that it is also very interesting to inquire what we mean whenever we say we are obliged to do something, and the study of what is involved in moral choice can also be most exciting. How fortunate that you chose this moment to come to me! As it happens, I have only just now arrived at some opinions on those questions. Sit down and I'll tell you about them."

Sidgwick wants to develop an ethics that will truly be in touch with people, and not one that dwells apart in a world of ideas. However, my main reason for writing this explanation is to distinguish my use of the word "practical" here (which I hope is the ordinary "common-sense" use) from Sidgwick's own use of the word as a technical term in philosophy. The main thesis of his book *Philosophy, Its Scope and Relations* is that there are two kinds of philosophy—he calls these theoretical philosophy and practical philosophy—and that the philosopher's most important task is to study the relation that holds between them. By theoretical philosophy, he means the study of what is, and by practical philosophy, the study of what ought to be—or, as he puts it, we may regard the two studies as the systematization of the sciences and of the arts respectively. Practical philosophy is a normative study. Ethics is a branch of practical philosophy in this sense—*i.e.*, it deals with "ought" rather than with "is". Now,

what I have been trying to say is that Sidgwick's ethics is practical in another way—in the ordinary non-technical sense of the word. His ethics is the study of what ought to be (Practical Philosophy with a capital "P"—he himself always capitalizes it), but it is a study undertaken with the aim—never lost sight of—of helping living human beings with their difficulties about what ought to be or what they ought to do (practical philosophy, with a small "p"). ("Practical", in the title of his book *Practical Ethics*, is used in the way I have been using it, and not as he used it in *Philosophy, Its Scope and Relations*.)

Sidgwick's work is far from superseded. The *Methods of Ethics* contains material that no one interested in moral questions ought to overlook. (If only it were more readable!) Professor Broad writes: Sidgwick's *Methods of Ethics* seems to me to be on the whole the best treatise on moral theory that has ever been written, and to be one of the English philosophical classics."<sup>13</sup> I hope I may be able on a later occasion (here or elsewhere) to discuss some aspects of the *Methods of Ethics* more fully.

<sup>1</sup> Mary Paley Marshall, *What I Remember*.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Stephen, *Emily Davies and Girton College*.

<sup>3</sup> James Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*. pp 332-6.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. ". . . those who, like myself, hold that the only true basis for morality is a utilitarian basis". *Practical Ethics*, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Sidgwick: *A Memoir*, by A.S. and E.M.S., p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p.89.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p.38.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p.336.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, his treatment of Free-will—Book I, Chap. V.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Sidgwick: *A Memoir*, by A.S. and E.M.S., p. 484.

<sup>11</sup> The following passage also bears upon what is said here: "We conceive it as the aim of a philosopher, as such, to do somewhat more than define and formulate the common moral opinions of mankind. His function is to tell men what they ought to think, rather than what they do think". (*Methods of Ethics*, p. 373.)

<sup>12</sup> Or perhaps it is casuistry that leads to Utilitarianism. At any rate, the two are certainly connected.

<sup>13</sup> C. D. Broad, *Five Types of Ethical Theory*, p. 143.

# ALEXANDER KNOX, 1757—1831

By JOHN T. A. GUNSTONE

ALEXANDER KNOX is one of those interesting lay theologians of the Church of England who somehow have escaped the attention of a biographer. Scholars have long realized his importance, especially as a precursor of the Oxford Movement, and a few quotations from his letters and essays find their way into general histories of the Church; yet Knox's life, his place in the ecclesiastical society of his day, and his work as a theologian, have never been fully investigated. Men like Mr W. E. Gladstone, Bishop W. Jacobson, Dean R. W. Church, and Professor G. T. Stokes read and admired the four volumes of Knox's *Remains* and the two volumes of his *Correspondence*, published by his friends after his death, but no one has ever given him the individual, detailed study which he undoubtedly deserves.

Knox was an Irishman, born on St Patrick's Day, 17 March 1757. The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes him as a descendant of the Scottish reformer, but the genealogy of the Knox family does not reveal any obvious connection between the two men.<sup>1</sup> Knox's father—a well-to-do alderman of Londonderry—and his mother were devout Church people, and their son grew up in an atmosphere of the best eighteenth-century Anglican piety. From boyhood, however, he suffered from a form of epilepsy which affected him in various distressing ways. He was unable to sleep alone in a room until past the age of thirty. The mere presence of a stranger would sometimes reduce him to the state of a jittering idiot. Worst of all, as he grew older, he developed a morbid tendency to unhealthy introspection which had disastrous results on his spiritual life. "The thing called religious melancholy may be, for aught I know, a real disease," he wrote once to a friend. "But I do not think that it is my disease: I rather believe that religion is my master passion: and that, of course, my bad nerves work upon that, as in a covetous man they would produce the apprehensions of dying as a beggar. My views of religion, when my mind is unclouded, all are cheerful and happy . . . But, when I think my religion is declining, that thought is my misery. Had

not my disorder this power over me, it would be as harmless to me as the serpent was to St Paul.”<sup>2</sup>

Religion was not always his master passion. In his state of health a regular education and employment were out of the question, but he had the leisure to read widely. About 1792, with vague political ambitions, he joined the Society of United Irishmen, a party which agitated for parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, but the spread of republican principles among his fellow members soon repelled him, and between 1794 and 1797 he published a series of short pamphlets ably analysing the condition of Ireland and exposing the United Irishmen as “a band of systematic traitors.”<sup>3</sup>

The pamphlets attracted the attention of the authorities and Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for Ireland, invited Knox to become his personal private secretary. On the day the Rebellion began, Knox accepted the post. Almost immediately he regretted it. The strain of working in Dublin Castle, the heart of a nation simultaneously at war with the French and in revolt within itself, shattered his nerves. Within a year he resigned and fled to England to seek peace of mind and security among the watering-spas.

The long holiday in England, spent mostly in the West Country, marks the turning-point of Knox’s life. Hours of reflection convinced him that hitherto his religion had been but an affair of the mind. During this period he kept a short diary. “I had always the consciousness of an unchanged heart”, he noted: “I was never convinced of sin; never evangelically humbled; never had a believing view of the Redeemer; never was thoroughly ready to part with all for the pearl of great price. I have had strong desires, great anxieties of mind, and an earnest wish that God would make me a Christian; but never was thoroughly disposed to take the steps necessary on my own part.”<sup>4</sup> Among the people he met was Hannah More, whose withdrawal from the world of “the Great and the Gay” impressed him deeply. When he returned to Dublin in 1801 he resolved to follow her example, and for thirty years he lived quietly at his house in Dawson Street with his manservant, Michael McFeely, and his housekeeper-companion, Miss Ferguson, emerging only for occasional visits to his friends. Not even Castlereagh’s offer of a seat at Westminster tempted him to abandon his seclusion.

It was from this time that Knox became a notable figure in

Church life. As a young man he had met and corresponded with John Wesley. He had dabbled in theology. But now his views crystallized. He rapidly acquired the reputation of being an independent and original thinker. Furthermore, his embarrassment in strange company was overcome. On a second visit to England in 1804 he moved among a distinguished gathering at Bath—"a cream ewerful skimmed off the great pan of London"—and he reported to Miss Fergusson that "it was all very curious how I was led to talk, and how those who heard me were pleased and surprised at having, as it were, religion presented to them in so different a form from which they had been accustomed."<sup>5</sup> When he went to England again five years later, Henry Thornton urged D. Parken, the editor of the *Eclectic Review*, to meet him—"He really is worth your going over on purpose to talk with him". After the meeting Parken wrote a description of Knox: "His person is that of a man of genius. He is rather below the middle size, his head not large, his face rather long, narrow, and more rectangular than oval, his features interesting rather than pleasing, his eye quick, his brow elevated, his nose aquiline, his upper lip protruded. His muscles are very full of motion, his complexion pale, apparently from ill-health, but susceptible of a fine glow when the subject of conversation becomes animating. His expression of face is not unlike Cowper's. He is small limbed and thin, and wears spectacles that very much become him. When interested his countenance is full of action, his eye piercing, his cheek suffused, his gestures profuse and energetic, his whole form in motion, and ready to start from his seat. His manner of expression is natural and easy, fluent in general but not very fast; he hesitates occasionally for a word, and encumbers his diction with long explanatory parentheses, from which, however, he returns duly to the proper topic; his language is commonly appropriate, and almost invariably pure—sometimes exquisitely elegant—very suitable and mostly made out; occasionally it is sublime. His voice is pleasant, with a very little of the Irish tone."<sup>6</sup>

Callers began to make their way to Dawson Street in growing numbers. "Since breakfast I have had, with little respite, one visitant after another" is the kind of remark which appeared in his letters. People came to listen, to question, and to debate. They departed puzzled, usually disapproving, but always impressed by the piety and the conviction of their host. A few were converted.

and Knox found himself amidst a little circle of admirers, mostly clergy of the Irish Church, who with him undertook as a vocation the attempt to win others to their interpretation of the Gospel.

Knox's method was one of personal influence. He laboured long hours composing massive letters to his friends, carefully expounding his theology in an elegant and powerful literary style. "I was occupied in rather a long letter to an English barrister, who is also a dissenter, and yet likes to hear all I have to say", he wrote to a correspondent, explaining his delay in replying to a letter. "These are calls to which I like to yield. Who knows what may be done, by even scattering here and there, seeds of truth?"<sup>7</sup> When pressed by his friends, he published one or two treatises. But he avoided publicity, and it was in private conversations with him that the views of others were affected most successfully. From all accounts there is no doubt that Knox fascinated his listeners. Years after his death one remembered his sitting in a large gathering after dinner "acting, like Dr Johnson, as the oracle of the assembly".<sup>8</sup> "He would win a man from even a well-grounded opinion", wrote Peter Roe, a young clergyman of a far different outlook from that of Knox.<sup>9</sup>

Historians have tended to overlook the extent of Knox's personal influence. They have argued that his works were published too late to have had any part in the Oxford Movement and have neglected to take into account the possible effect of his conversation and letters. For a retired man he had an astonishingly wide and varied list of acquaintances. He knew many members of the Church of England. He was known to most of the Clapham sect. His connection with Wesley brought him into contact with Methodists like Adam Clarke and Joseph Butterworth (the "English barrister" mentioned above). And he was talked about among the younger generation of scholars at Oxford in the 'twenties, for when William Jacobson, the future Bishop of Chester, came to Ireland as a tutor to the La Touche family, he looked forward above all to meeting Knox.

The La Touches—descendants of a Huguenot refugee—are an important ring in the chain of Knoxian influence. Peter La Touche was a wealthy Dublin banker. He and his wife, staunch Anglicans, entertained many travelling churchmen in their lovely country home, Bellevue, in the Wicklow Hills above Delgany. Knox visited them frequently, staying months at a time. "It was be-

cause Mrs La Touche deemed me religious that she wished to have me there", he explained.<sup>10</sup> His teachings ruled the La Touche spiritual life. When visitors called and religion was discussed, Knox's views were the touchstone of orthodoxy. Bishop Robert Daly recalled how, in his early days, he used to visit Bellevue and find Knox exercising "a great influence over many young persons who were beginning to think seriously . . . of divine things".<sup>11</sup>

Of course, Knox's influence was strongest among the Irish clergy. Richard Woodward, the Bishop of Cloyne, was one of Knox's school. Charles Broderick, the saintly Archbishop of Cashel, was completely won over and burnt all his old sermons. By 1808 it was rumoured that not only the Archbishop but also the clergy of his diocese were being corrupted as well. Among them was John Jebb.

Jebb was still at school when he first met Knox, who was nineteen years his senior. When Jebb was ordained in 1799 Knox secured for him (through Broderick, who was then Bishop of Kilmore) the chapel of ease at Swanlinbar. When Broderick was translated to Cashel he took Jebb with him to be lecturer at the cathedral. In 1810 Jebb became Rector of Abington, near Limerick, and in 1823 he was designated Bishop of Limerick. He died in 1833, after several years' illness in England. The *Correspondence* of Knox and Jebb, which can be supplemented from the original letters in the British Museum, traces the pattern of their allegiance. It began with Jebb as Knox's protégé, the younger man asking his advice and guidance, but in time it developed into a partnership of equals, perfectly united in their thought and aims. Jebb did much to propagate Knox's views in England in the years immediately before the Oxford Movement—an important aspect of their lives which has not yet been fully studied. But Jebb must not be dismissed as a mere echo of Knox. Jebb indeed mirrored Knox's teaching, but to its reflected light he added the clear outline of scholarly discipline. Jebb lacked the genius of Knox's prophetic vision, but he applied its results. "Though more and more convinced of my very bounded originative faculty", Jebb once wrote to Knox, "I more and more feel that my mind is so moulded, as almost entirely to accord with those thoughts of yours, which, in the first instance, I could never have myself originated."<sup>12</sup> And history confirms this statement. Knox's thought may be found in Jebb's *Practical Sermons*—a best-seller in its time. It

was Knox who taught Jebb to look for the parallelisms in the New Testament which are the subject of Jebb's greatest work, *Sacred Literature*. It was Knox who suggested the editing of Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man* and of Townson's *Works*. There is much truth in the dictum of Charles Forster, Jebb's companion and chaplain: "If Mr Knox be Socrates, Mr Jebb is Plato."<sup>13</sup>

Knox's influence was not always successful. During his visit to England in 1804 he stayed with Hannah More at Barley Wood. To his delight he thought they were both "substantially of the same school"<sup>14</sup>—and indeed Hannah More's latest biographer finds traces of Knox's thought in *Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess* which Miss More was writing when Knox visited her.<sup>15</sup> "Were Hannah More decidedly of your way of thinking", wrote Jebb in 1806, "with the high character she has acquired, and weight which attaches to her sentiments, among evangelical people, she might be an instrument of great good."<sup>16</sup> Such was Knox's view, for during the next few years he wrote a number of long letters to her expounding his ideas. But no alliance was formed. If Hannah More was swayed by Knox's arguments in 1804, she soon returned to her former position. Her replies to his letters disappointed him. "With those parts of my letter about which I least cared, she seems much interested; but, where I wished her to be more attentive, she makes scarcely the shadow of an observation", he complained.<sup>17</sup> When Jebb undertook to try a fresh assault for their cause some years later, Knox was discouraging: "I fear your and my friend has not the head to comprehend the conclusiveness of your remarks."<sup>18</sup>

What were the views which Knox sought to impress upon his contemporaries?

A clue to Knox's thought is to be found in the early influence of John Wesley. In his endeavour to comfort the introvert, epileptic young man he met in Londonderry, Wesley helped him to look for the signs of God's saving activity within. "You have long been under the temptation of despising the day of small things: although, indeed, they are not small things which God has done for you already. That you are still too lukewarm is almost certain; you have need to stir up the gift of God that is in you; and you have need to praise Him, that His hand is still upon you for good, preserving you from presumptuous sins."<sup>19</sup> And as Knox began to find relief and hope in following Wesley's advice, he adopted as his

own certain Wesleyan tenets. One was Wesley's sacramental theology, which Knox reproduced in his treatises on Baptism and on the Eucharist; another was Wesley's Arminianism, which, as he expounded it, was known as "Mr Knox's system."

Knox's "system" was famous—and notorious—among his contemporaries. In his day the winds of popular pulpit theology were Calvinistic: mankind was totally depraved, saved only by the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the sinner. Knox's inherited Arminianism challenged such teachings, and buttressing Wesley's views by his own careful study of Scripture, he insisted that mankind is not depraved, only fallen, and that a sinner is saved by what Christ does in him as well as by what Christ has done for him, that to be justified was "not simply to be accounted righteous, but also and in the first instance to be made righteous by the implantation of a radical principle of righteousness".<sup>20</sup>

As one reads the many pages of the *Remains* which are devoted to Knox's "system", one feels that he was inspired by much more than an intellectual conviction. Passionate feeling lies behind his work. One can understand that in his state of nervous epilepsy, total depravity seemed to surrender all hope of peace and healing. A mere assurance of a heavenly acquittal was no comfort to a man whose disease demanded the tangible evidence of salvation. His urgency vitalizes his work, and as he felt that the grace of God was enabling him to bear and then overcome his weakness, his essays glowed with confidence. Thus his doctrine of justification, which was the fundamental basis of his theology, sprang from depths deeper than the mind. It may be said of him, as it was said of the late Father J. N. Figgis, that "his experience ran like blood under the skin of his theological writing".<sup>21</sup>

Yet Knox detested controversy. Like Jeremy Taylor, he thought no good could come of it. His thinking was dialectical, not polemical. He endeavoured to reconcile, to correct, to accommodate. In his treatises on the sacraments he strove to find a place for opposing schools of thought. Similarly, he tried to bring together the two interpretations of the doctrine of justification and to fit into his system the teachings of those who rejected it. To his aid he summoned the formularies of the Church of England, where he believed the "middle line of truth" was to be found. So, on the doctrine of justification, he wrote: "The Church of England appears to me, without in any respect deviating from the line of the

Fathers, to have usefully and scripturally advanced onward, by recognising the reputative as well as the efficient part of justification; the approbation of the work wrought, as well as the operation which works it. I conceive what is said of justification, in the various parts of the New Testament, cannot be adequately understood, if both notions are not kept in view; not, I should think, in almost any instance, can the term be rightly apprehended, if the one notion be not combined with the other.”<sup>22</sup> This appeal to the Church of England for the reconciliation of different viewpoints is typical of Knox’s thought.

Though he owed much to Wesley, Knox could never call him Rabbi. In an appendix which he contributed to Southey’s *Life of Wesley* Knox admitted that he admired the great preacher above all other churchmen: “My acquaintance with him has done more to teach me what a heaven on earth is implied in the maturity of Christian piety, than all I have elsewhere seen, or heard, or read, except in the sacred volume.” But he made reservations: “I had early learned not to lean on John Wesley for everything.” Knox never became a Methodist. “When, some years before his (Wesley’s) death, I asked him, in a private conversation, how he would wish his friends to act in the case of the Methodists withdrawing from the Established Church, his answer was, ‘I would have them adhere to the Church and leave the Methodists’.”<sup>23</sup>

There never was a more thorough Church of England man than Alexander Knox, and it is his writings on the Church which have prompted historians to give him the label of “precursor of the Oxford Movement”. His philosophy of history was simple: “Things are what they are because God has willed them to be so.”<sup>24</sup> In this light he believed that the Church of England had been separated from Western Christendom by God in order that she might be free to recover the primitive Catholic faith which had been lost or distorted by the Church of Rome. The Reformation in England had been a practical application of the principle of Vincentius Lirensis, that when the visible Church errs the individual Christian must adhere to the teaching and practice of the primitive Church. Therefore Knox maintained that “Catholicity . . . is the true spirit of the Church of England”. “Our vitality as a Church consists in our identity of organization and mental character with the Church Catholic: and as our unbroken episcopacy implies the first, our Liturgy . . . contains the other.” Ridley had been the

instrument through which God had accomplished this task: "The good Ridley would no more have dreamed of putting conceptions of his (own) on the same authoritative footing with the concurrent sense of the Catholic Church, handed down unchanged through eleven centuries, than he could have thought of aspiring to Pope-dom."<sup>25</sup>

Like the Tractarians, Knox realised the corollary of this view. Since the Prayer Book contained "everything essential to Catholic theology", it had a greater authority over the consciences of churchmen than the Articles or the Homilies. Furthermore, Knox asserted, since the Church of England appealed to the primitive Catholic Church for the interpretation of Scripture, she placed herself under the authority of that Church: "If the Church of England has unwittingly attested anything contrary to the voice of the Church Catholic, she has placed herself under correction".<sup>26</sup> These views staggered Knox's contemporaries, but he had pointed to a path which was to be followed by the Oxford men with far-reaching consequences in the years after his death.

In his *Treatise on the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols* Knox illustrated his theme. He described the origins of the doctrine of transubstantiation and showed how Ridley, by studying the work of Bertram and others in the ninth-century controversy, had restored the Eucharistic teaching of the Fathers to the Church of England. The Fathers had ascribed "to the consecrated elements . . . an unutterable and efficacious mystery, in virtue of our Saviour's words of institution, by which he made those elements, when consecrated after his example, the vehicles of his saving and sanctifying power: and, in that respect, the permanent representatives of his incarnate person",<sup>27</sup> and their teaching had been enshrined in the Prayer Book of 1549 by Ridley and preserved through subsequent revisions, though unnoticed by many who used the book. In another essay Knox declared that the Eucharist was "the commemorative sacrifice celebrated by Christ's own appointment in his mystical Israel" and that St Paul's "stewards of the mysteries of Christ" were the priests of the new dispensation. He noted that "in exact proportion as the notion of strict Catholicity has been dropped, the sacrificial idea of the Lord's supper has been also abandoned" and that the Church of England divines had aimed to extract what is Catholic from what is Roman.<sup>28</sup>

Though it is possible to trace many parallels between the

*Remains* and the *Tracts*, the Tractarians themselves tended to be suspicious of Knox. Keble, whilst admiring Knox's treatise on the Eucharist, distrusted Knox's sympathy with the Methodists and his interpretation of Church History; Newman wrote that he had "too little acquaintance [with Knox's works] to form an opinion of their theological value".<sup>29</sup> Perhaps Knox himself suffers when his writings are compared with those of the Oxford Movement: beside their greatness he appears as something of a theological freak. It is fairer to see Knox's work in relation to the development of Anglican theology as a whole, and then he stands out as a remarkable representative of that tradition in Anglican thought which flowered in the seventeenth century in the Caroline divines (whose writings Knox knew so well) and in the nineteenth century in the Tractarians. The *Remains* and the *Correspondence* are impressive proof that in the seasons when that tradition was not so spectacular, it was nevertheless very much alive.

Knox's contribution to Anglican thought lay in his vision of the Church of England as the *via media* among the divisions of Christendom. In Ireland he knew Roman Catholics and non-conformists and he saw his own Church poised between the two extremes. "To find the middle line of truth was", he said, the privileged task of "our favoured portion of the Church Catholic".<sup>30</sup> The Church of England had a vital part to play in the reunion of the Churches. "One day, I am assured, we shall be one; for our Lord has said, that there *shall be* one FOLD, *as well as one Shepherd*. But in order to achieve this result, principles need to be developed, both on the side of the Roman Catholics, and on that of the Protestants, which will show both how many things they have respectively misunderstood; and what that true and safe ground is, where they may meet as brethren and 'hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in the righteousness of life'".<sup>31</sup> The history of the Church of England suggested to Knox that she was the "laboratory of Providence", that God was preparing her, as he prepared the Jews, for a great task. "My persuasion of the radical excellence of the Church of England does not suffer me to doubt, that she is to be an illustrious agent in bringing the Mystical Kingdom of Christ to its ultimate perfection."<sup>32</sup>

So Knox's thought is enriched by a deep love of his Church. He praised her history, her scholarship, and her spirituality. He

lauded the Prayer Book with what he called its "*sursum corda*" character, and treasured above all the Collects, which came, as he believed, from an age untarnished by controversy. When, towards the end of his life, he feared that the State might encroach upon the rights of the Church (the reorganization of Irish bishoprics was being discussed), he said the government could do what they liked with the Church's temporalities, but they must not touch her Prayer Book. "May you be inclined in your heart to be a watchful guardian of this inestimable treasure!"<sup>33</sup> he charged a newly-elected member of the Reform Parliament in one of the last letters that he ever wrote.

He died on 17 June 1831. His health had been slowly deteriorating for some years and his eyes were bad. To the end he was resigned and cheerful. His opponents looked for some modification in "Mr Knox's system": in the face of death, they said, he must realize that his view of the Saviour was inadequate. But no recantation was forthcoming. Ten days before he died an arch-deacon asked Mrs La Touche, who nursed Knox, if he could come and argue points with him. Knox replied, "Alas, my power of arguing points is all over."<sup>34</sup> He was buried in St Ann's Church, Dublin, where there is a memorial tablet and a stained glass window in his honour.

Though his epileptic condition threatened to darken his existence, Knox lived and died as a Christian philosopher who found the peace which is past understanding. "I sometimes wonder", he wrote, "that such astonishing mercy should have fallen to the lot of such a worm as I. I see clearly it is the very mercy of the Gospel; the blessing which the Eternal Word took our flesh to procure for us, and to convey to us. I see it harmonize with everything desirable in nature, everything important and eventful in Providence, every faculty and feeling (active or passive, intellectual, fanciful, or affectionate) in the human mind. And, above all, I see the whole explanation and development of it in the Scriptures: and (wonderful to think!) I trust I feel the efficacy of it every hour in my heart . . . To be within such a divine scheme, and to make a humble part of it, is the chief end, the consummate glory, the only real life of man."<sup>35</sup> Knox's theology was truly Catholic, for he both experienced and understood the Christian Faith as a transfiguration of the whole of life.

Such was the life and thought of Alexander Knox. For the

specialist many problems remain to be solved before Knox's place in the Church of England can be properly assessed. What were the sources of Knox's theology, besides Wesley? How widespread was the influence of his letters and conversation among his contemporaries? Where do the indirect channels of Knoxian influence lead through men like Jebb, who ordained Palmer, and like William Cleaver, the Rector of Delgany, a friend of both Knox and Pusey? But in the meantime Knox's *Remains* and *Correspondence* are available in libraries and occasionally in secondhand bookshops, and in them his thought is as fresh and provoking as it was when it was first committed to paper, portrayed in his elegant, readable style. Sometimes the present-day reader will stumble against a blind spot, as when Knox gives his opinion that Wilberforce's anti-slavery campaign was the result of "misplaced zeal", but elsewhere Knox's genius sparkles across a century and a half. He has things to say that are of timeless value, and his great love of the Church of England is an inspiration to those who seek to serve her still.

<sup>1</sup> *A Linear Descendant: The Knox Genealogy*, ed. W. Crawford.

<sup>2</sup> *The Remains of Alexander Knox*, ed. J. J. Hornby (second edition, London, 1836-7), iv. 45-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland* (Dublin, 1795-7).

<sup>4</sup> *Remains*, iv. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-6.

<sup>6</sup> S. Wilberforce, *William Wilberforce*, v. 557-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Remains*, iii. 57.

<sup>8</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Series v. 255.

<sup>9</sup> S. Madden, *Memoir of the Life of the late Rev. Peter Roe*, 124.

<sup>10</sup> *Remains*, iv. 136.

<sup>11</sup> H. Madden, *Memoir of the late Rt. Rev. R. Daly*, 33-4.

<sup>12</sup> *Thirty Years' Correspondence between John Jebb and Alexander Knox*, ed. Charles Forster (London, 1834), i. 468.

<sup>13</sup> C. Forster, *The Life of John Jebb* (London, 1836), i. 87.

<sup>14</sup> *Remains*, iv. 173.

<sup>15</sup> M. G. Jones, *Hannah More*, 189.

<sup>16</sup> *Correspondence*, i. 255.

<sup>17</sup> *Remains*, iv. 227.

<sup>18</sup> *Correspondence*, ii. 259.

<sup>19</sup> *Remains*, iv. 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Remains*, ii. 60.

<sup>21</sup> G. Pawson, *E. K. Talbot: his Community and his Friends*, 32.

<sup>22</sup> *Remains*, i. 299.

<sup>23</sup> R. Southey, *Life of Wesley* (second edition), 417, 439; *Remains*, iv. 282.

<sup>24</sup> *Remains*, i. 55.

<sup>25</sup> *Remains*, iv. 240; iii. 64-5, 69.

<sup>26</sup> *Correspondence*, i. 549.

<sup>27</sup> *Remains*, ii. 155.

<sup>28</sup> *Remains*, iii. 255.

<sup>29</sup> J. H. Newman, *Lectures on Justification* (London, 1838), 424.

<sup>30</sup> *Remains*, iv. 234.

<sup>31</sup> Dr Doyle, John O'Driscol, Alexander Knox, and Thomas Newenham, *Letters on the Reunion of the Churches of England and Rome* (Dublin, 1824), 13.

<sup>32</sup> *Remains*, i. 68.

<sup>33</sup> *Remains*, iv. 611.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 632.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

# PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONARY STRATEGY

By **GILBERT BAKER**

## I

THERE is throughout the Church today a widespread interest in the idea of missionary strategy. It is possibly an ambiguous phrase, for the connotation of the word "missionary" and the suggestion of ecclesiastical generalship may both provoke criticism. It may then be as well to emphasize what these words do not mean. They should obviously not bring to our minds pictures of Crusaders or medieval abbots in armour, or the worthy Bishop Polk who fought for the Confederates in the American Civil War. Nor should it imply some denominational or ecumenical "Pentagon Building" where western Christians obligingly make plans for the rest of the world to follow. What is wanted in the world today is not a new religious-military jargon—for the danger of applying contemporary catchwords to an eternal faith was illustrated a few years ago by those who spoke of the "Dictatorship of the Spirit" in the days of Hitler—but the meeting of holy and humble men of heart from many lands, who know the world they are living in, and believe they can see in it the signs of the times and the leading of the Holy Spirit.

But although there is a danger in, and a certain revulsion from, the use of the military metaphor, yet it has in fact been an aid to the Church's thinking from the time of St Paul, and when we survey the world fields and look at the tremendous task which still lies before the Church we can hardly avoid using the terminology which comes naturally to generals, admirals, and also to statesmen. But the Christian must always use it with the reservation that our Lord gave to his disciples at the Last Supper:

The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger and he that is chief as he that doth serve.

The Christian view of the world must in fact be something like a

view of "Looking-Glass Land". We see the same world that other people see but we see it turned round in the revolutionary light of Christ, who does not allow us to be conformed to it but transforms us by the renewing of our minds. Thus the Christian warfare is concerned with spreading the Gospel of Peace. The success of Christian enterprise is measured by the standard of defeat—the Cross. The wealth of the Church is reckoned in terms of the faith of its humblest members. The recruitment of its forces is by no compulsion except that of the love of God upon each individual in its ranks.

But how far is missionary planning in accordance with the mind of Christ? There are some who would suggest that it is presumptuous to claim a knowledge of the inscrutable purposes of God, but those who would argue thus would also argue against the possibility of God entrusting the care of souls to his Church. We can answer this question about planning partly by reading the story of the Transfiguration in which our Lord is shown speaking with Moses and Elijah about the "decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem". The plans which were then and subsequently outlined to the disciples all seem to have been concerned with the Passion. Future promises about their own part were hardly more encouraging: . . . ye shall be hated of all men . . . They were to be brought before kings and governors and persecuted from one city to another; and Peter would be carried against his will to a place of execution and there glorify God in his death. The planning described in the Acts of the Apostles is more definite in its description of the bringing of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. But it is also clear that at every point the plans were submitted to the decisions of the Holy Spirit—and also that the end of the path of the Church's progress lay only through the way of persecution. Any missionary strategy which minimizes these aspects of the Faith falls under the condemnation which is meted out to armchair generals.

Yet when all this has been borne in mind it is true that in the long history of the Church men have been able to discern the pattern of the hand of God, and that he has called men to share in the fulfilling of his purposes. It is not an easy pattern to define, for the action of the Holy Spirit seems to result in a degree of orderliness, reflected in the liturgy and in the Church's structure, and at the same time to breathe a newness of life into old organisms or to

transcend them if they are no longer fit to do his will. We are learning today that God's will can only be done fully through a Church which is integrated and in harmony with its own members. In all kinds of ways missionary planning and policy in the past have led to confusion and error because of too narrow a vision, or because of an excess of zeal coupled with lack of wisdom. Other plans have been wisely conceived in the past, but no longer produce fruit in a later age; for as Toynbee says, there is a danger in using an archaic strategy and imagining that because it worked in the past it will do so indefinitely.

For instance many people are still apt to accept without question the belief that if only enough missionaries and enough money can be sent to a given area the Church is as good as established, and the missionary task accomplished. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly under the impetus of the slogan : "The evangelization of the world in this generation", there was indeed very good reason to send out missionaries in large numbers to all parts of the world; for there was a great willingness to listen to the emissaries of the Christian West, and owing to the economic and political expansion of western nations it became more possible —though it was never easy—for considerable numbers of Christian men and women to go overseas from the West and to make their homes in distant lands. Today we must face the fact that we live in a very different world where the doors are no longer invitingly open. The period of unlimited opportunity has come to an end, and we begin to see some of the reasons for the change.

First there was the inadequate grasp of the scope and grandeur of the Gospel by many of the missionaries themselves. One disastrous result of the Reformation was that both Catholic and Protestant segments of Western Christendom forgot to look at the world *sub specie aeternitatis*, and made their judgements and interpretations of the Christian Faith increasingly from western standpoints. The Roman Church, for example, has produced over and over again twin-spired Gothic Cathedrals in the tropics—like the one in Canton—and the quiet French compounds where the bearded Fathers tend their flowers in the intervals of caring for souls, and try to make up for the lack of French wine by producing liqueurs from local materials—to the unfailing delight of roving journalists. Anglican worship in China or India with its rather stilted translations of the Prayer Book has inevitably tried to repro-

duce the pattern of the English parish church. English missionary homes are often apt to reproduce the atmosphere of a London suburb, or perhaps to be reminiscent of a university study; and the same could be said of American institutions and homes alike. However truly the missionaries themselves have understood the world-wide Gospel it was almost impossible not to let the externals make the predominant impression.

Secondly it must be admitted that a large number of missionaries together in one place sometimes led to the dangers of arrogance and exclusiveness. This, together with an often surprising indifference to the customs and culture of the country in which they lived, and a failure to discern the signs of the times, has been the cause of many rude shocks. In China and India one could often hear older missionaries lamenting the good old days when students were more docile, when there seemed to be a more suitably grateful attitude on the part of those who received the blessings of the Gospel—and when the missionaries were in control.

A third reason for lack of response is one which always faces the evangelist—the possibility that people will not listen. Ezekiel discovered this a long time ago. The failure of a mission is not always due to the sin of the missionary. There is sin on the other side too, and when we consider the really tenuous hold which the Christian Faith has upon the mind and heart of the Christian West, it is not surprising that non-Christian people do not hear. Indeed the more we realize the formidable obstacles to the Faith in the modern world, the more we may be thankful for the very considerable numbers who despite the frailty of earthen vessels have in fact grasped and made the eternal treasure of the Gospel their own.

There is a further consideration which may account for the slowing down of the Christian advance. The people who in many parts of the world have heard and received the Gospel have grown up to become members of the "Younger Churches". But it is sometimes said that these churches, for instance in Asia, Africa, or Latin America, while they have grown or are growing to independence in matters of self-government and self-support, are not really fulfilling the third prerequisite of corporate Church life, that of self-propagation or evangelism. While we glory in the fact that the Younger Church's leadership is increasingly in the hands of its own bishops and clergy can we honestly say that this development has resulted in an acceleration or even a maintenance of evangelistic

zeal? The suggestion is indeed made that the Younger Churches have merely reproduced the conventional and static forms of Christian Faith without the missionary spirit which alone can result in expansion.

This charge needs examination in the light of our own experience in England. Anyone who has planned a missionary pageant knows that there is plenty of material from say the time of St Patrick to that of St Boniface; but after the eighth century there is an embarrassing gap of almost a thousand years before the Church of England can be found seriously thinking of evangelizing its neighbours. Our forefathers during this period would probably have pleaded the need for consolidation, the dangers of the Moslem advance (and the Christian reply in the Crusades), the importance of the Church's task during the long travail and birth and growth of the nation, the upheaval of the Reformation, and the fact that it had done something to follow up its own English people when they settled overseas. To-day the churches of India and South-East Asia are also facing the need for consolidation and the tremendous task of witnessing to Christ and his Church in a period of political and economic revolution. It is not surprising if such a church is for a long time absorbed in adjusting itself to the overwhelming changes which this generation has seen.

Let us then look a little more closely at the question of how a Young Church does or can spread the Gospel to its neighbours. Many of us in England have in the back of our minds the idea that the missionary task of the world Church means people going overseas. But not every country is an island. The Russian Church followed its people and evangelized by absorption. Christians in America also found a vast field for evangelism on their own continent as the frontier steadily moved westward, though that has not prevented them from going farther afield. If the Chinese Church in the People's Republic is to grow it must be by the spiritual impetus of its own members, and not from outside. McGavran in his book *Bridges of God* has made us familiar with the idea of "People Churches", that is indigenous Churches in such places as Indonesia, Assam, or parts of West Africa. These are often strong numerically, but as they have emerged without very much foreign assistance they are generally weak in standards of education, and consequently when they seek to evangelize their neighbours they may run into the same difficulties as that of

western missions which have sought to establish themselves with resources, theological and educational as well as financial, which are altogether inadequate. But this is not the whole story. For there are indigenous churches which are on the move. Throughout Asia and increasingly in Africa there is quite a strong reaction against the traditional western missionary approach. There is an increasing desire for participation in the world Christian movement. Indian missionaries go to Papua or East Africa. Chinese clergy are to be found in California, New Zealand, and Malaya. An African bishop is invited to visit India.

Meanwhile we in this country have our own problems and hopes about evangelism in England. Missions are planned and blessed, and we long for a forward movement. But many of us too fall under the condemnation of the Younger Churches and are content to keep the wheels of our own machinery going round without being concerned whether they can be put into gear to provide creative power in our actual society. It is attractive to talk about "England as a mission field", and to think that we are starting again from the beginning. But there are on the one hand deep Christian roots, older than the nation itself, which cannot be ignored, and on the other a religious vacuum in certain areas of our life which is more terrifying than the most primitive paganism of New Guinea or the Amazon forests.

All this means that the missionary task of the world-wide Church to-day is by no means straightforward. Instead of a frontal attack upon the heathen we find ourselves engaged in a revolutionary conflict in which the enemy constantly appears in our own ranks, and in which victory can only be won by infiltration. Military metaphors in this situation have to give way to those of guerilla warfare and the jargon of political revolution. Thus it may be said that an important Christian aim to-day is, as Arnold Toynbee suggests, to build up a "creative minority" or an "internal proletariat", a body which by the quiet leaven of its witness will preserve the essential values of the Faith through periods of cultural breakdown and the emergence of new forms of social life. It may even be thought an unobtrusive increase of Christian influence is a more desirable way of spreading the Gospel than by direct evangelism.

But actually it is not possible for the Church to work in this somewhat clandestine fashion, and it would be of doubtful value

if it could. Our city is set on a hill and cannot be hid. We are under the arc lights of public scrutiny, and our Christian warfare must be conducted in the open, though this means that it has every chance of being misunderstood. The Gospel is in fact the "open secret" which all men can see and hear if their hearts are not waxed fat by material things, and their ears are not dulled by the sound of its frequent reiteration.

*What is the Christian counterpart to the Declaration of War?* It is clearly the "Declaration of Peace"—a Gospel which seeks to claim the willing allegiance of every man. It is not a declaration that can be accepted as obvious by everyone, and the Church must in fact seek to persuade unbelievers or waverers by a variety of direct and indirect methods. We should at this point examine this Christian claim in the light of the declarations of Communism or of Islam or of other world faiths.

The Communists are constantly being accused of dishonesty because they announce revolutionary principles first, and then after appearing to deny them in gestures of co-operation with those who usually oppose them, finally re-assert them in a virulent form in their common practice. When people are paying attention to the interim gestures of goodwill (which may well be advisable and profitable from every point of view) they are apt to forget both the alleged revolutionary purpose of communism, and the many practical examples of double dealing which make negotiation so difficult.

The basic beliefs of Islam are just as uncompromising, and the success of the Mohammedan religion is due partly to the extreme simplicity of its creed and a determinist outlook, comparable to that of the Marxists, which makes Moslems utterly unwilling to listen to any other doctrine. But again Islam through its history has allowed a degree of co-operation with Christians, not least through British government officials in various parts of the Moslem world. This has sometimes led Christians to believe that their Moslem brethren are not as far from the Kingdom of Heaven as was sometimes supposed. But to-day the Christian world is faced with a resurgence of an uncompromising and militant form of Moslem initiative, which demands serious consideration and the possibility of a new approach.

*(To be continued.)*

## REVIEWS

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND NATURAL SCIENCE. By E. L. MASCALL. Longmans, Green and Co. 25s.

By devoting his Bampton Lectures of 1956 to "some questions on the relations of Christian Theology and Natural Science" Dr Mascall has rendered a valuable service to the Christian Church. It was very necessary that the philosophical and theological questions raised by some of the most important developments of modern science should be examined from a Christian point of view by one who was both an expert theologian and philosopher and also familiar with the most recent scientific thought and discoveries. Dr Mascall is one of the very few people who possess the necessary qualifications in all three fields to enable him to do this; and he has produced a really first-class book which must command the respect of theologians, philosophers, and scientists alike. It is intended for university readers accustomed to the ordinary technical terms and ideas of philosophy and of mathematical science; it was precisely a book of such high academic standard which was required; but it is well, clearly, and often wittily written, and by its introduction of the newest ideas in science, and some original though severely orthodox theological speculation, it becomes exhilarating and even exciting to read.

Dr Mascall is careful to point out that he has not attempted to survey the whole field of his subject, but has confined himself to the more detailed examination of a small number of questions. But he has selected his themes so wisely that he has managed to deal with a large proportion of the most vital and important topics. Beginning with a preliminary discussion of the reasons why in the past the relations of science and theology have so often been regarded as "conflicts," he goes on to consider the past services of science to theological thinking, and certain recent developments in science which seem to him to make a *rapprochement* between science and theology easier.

In the succeeding chapters he discusses the nature of scientific theories, and especially the views of two modern philosophers, S. Toulmin and R. B. Braithwaite, on the status and significance of scientific theories and scientific facts; the element of contingency in the world, and the failure of the attempts of E. A. Milne and A. S. Eddington to deduce from *a priori* theoretical considerations both the fundamental laws of nature and its numerical constants; the relation between the Christian doctrine of creation, the Second Law of Thermodynamics, and the "steady-state" cosmologies of Bondi, Gold,

and Hoyle; and the implications of relativity and, more important, of the Quantum Theory concerning the objectivity of the external world and the determination of physical events. But unlike many writers on the subject of Christianity and science Dr Mascall does not confine himself to questions arising from the physical sciences. In his last three chapters he considers three main topics from the biological field, namely recent developments in connection with neurophysiology and the mechanism and structure of the brain; cybernetics and the construction of "electronic brains," and their bearing on the relation of the body and mind and on the Christian conception of the soul; the nature and origin of life and the application of the concept of evolution to human personality and the soul; and finally the purpose of creation, the problem of evil, the fall, and the redemption.

In all these chapters there is much wisdom as well as erudite knowledge. Though he shows a thorough familiarity with contemporary philosophy, Dr Mascall's own philosophy is dominantly Thomistic and he defends a sound form of Realism, recognizing that, in spite of the view of certain eminent physicists, the vast majority of research scientists are "hearty realists", though they would admit that scientific theories should be regarded as useful or useless rather than true or false.

One hesitates to criticise Dr Mascall on any point; but there are three on which some readers may feel dissatisfaction. The first is his treatment of the Christian doctrine of creation. He very properly insists that "for Christian theology the notion of creation is not primarily concerned with a hypothetical act by which God brought the world into existence at some moment in the past, but with the incessant act by which he preserves the world in existence so long as he wills that it shall exist." This is true, and indeed it very much needs stressing; but in the development of his argument the qualifying word "primarily" drops out, and he seems to treat the bringing of the natural world into existence as not merely a secondary aspect of the doctrine of creation but as no necessary part of it at all. He quotes St Thomas Aquinas to show that the Angelic Doctor held that we know *by faith* that the world has not always existed, and that this cannot be proved by demonstration; he also points out that, as modern physicists would agree, where there are no creatures there is no time: but from this he deduces that the Second law of Thermodynamics, which, if applicable to the universe, obviously implies that the universe had a beginning and must have an end, is irrelevant to the Christian doctrine of creation. No one wishes to base a Christian doctrine on a physical theory whose applicability is uncertain; but it does seem that the conception of entropy is more easily congruous with the Christian doctrine of creation than the view that the world has always existed. Nothing is more difficult than philosophical and theological questions depending on the relation of time and eternity; but as St Thomas himself said, as quoted by Dr Mascall: "The instant in which

the world began was not time; it was however connected with time, but as a limit and not as part of it." But surely "the instant in which the world began", the limit *a quo*, is implied in the doctrine of creation. Mascall criticises the Allocution of Pope Pius XII of November 1951, in which the Pope found in the conceptions of modern physics, such as entropy, a striking testimony to the truth of the Christian doctrine of the impermanence of the material world and of its beginning. In thus regarding the doctrine of creation as implying, at least as a secondary element, a beginning, as well as the sustaining in existence, of the universe by God, surely the Pope was more faithful to the usual Christian doctrine than Dr Mascall is.

The second point on which one may feel some hesitation is in regard to Dr Mascall's treatment of the resurrection of the body. Emphasizing very rightly the unity of body and soul, recognized alike by Christian doctrine and by modern physiological science, and the necessity for a resurrection body, he seems unduly to complicate the subject by insisting that the risen body of a man must consist of matter, albeit "redeemed matter". He quotes St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas, but does not refer to St Paul's clear teaching in 1 Corinthians 15. He does not really meet the fundamental difficulty implicit in his argument, namely how matter, of which time is a property, can exist under non-temporal eternal conditions.

It is indeed a possible criticism of the book that it pays more attention to medieval thought than to biblical teaching, and it may commend itself more to those with a background of Catholic theology than to those whose Christianity is more biblical.

The third aspect of Dr Mascall's work in which some might feel inclined to disagree is his treatment of evolution. In two respects this arouses doubts. The first is his reluctance to admit that the element of design and purpose is discernible in the world of nature. Admittedly teleology does, as he points out, raise serious difficulties in regard to the existence of evil and pain in nature; but he himself goes some way to answer this difficulty, maintaining in this respect the doctrine of an Angelic Fall. But it seems strange that a Christian theologian should attach so little importance to design and purpose. The second aspect of his treatment of evolution which seems unconvincing is his account of the origin of the human soul. Here his attempt to prove the doctrine of "creationism" against "traducianism", and to maintain that each soul is the result of a separate creative act by God, will probably appear as "special pleading" to any biologist, in view of his general acceptance of evolution and his emphasis on the interrelatedness of body and soul. We may also note that he never defines the term "soul".

But the fact that on a few such points some may be disposed to disagree with the author in no way lessens the enormous value of the book. He concludes by saying: "What I have tried to do is to show, by discussing a certain number of matters in which both theology and science have an interest, that it is possible to be an orthodox Christian

without either ignoring or repudiating the discoveries and theories of present-day science." It is precisely because he has succeeded in doing this that he has earned the gratitude of all intelligent Christians, and that they should read this book.

A. F. SMETHURST

## PLATO ON THE GOOD LIFE

PLATO: PHILEBUS AND EPINOMIS. Translation and Introduction by A. E. TAYLOR. Edited by RAYMOND KLIBANSKY with the co-operation of GUIDO CALOGERO and A. C. LLOYD. Nelson. 21s.

THIS is a volume of great importance, and a companion of equal importance is to follow it. Professor A. E. Taylor, rightly described in the Foreword as "one of the foremost Platonic scholars of our age", published his masterly *Plato, the Man and his Work* in 1926. Thereafter he designed to translate the later Dialogues, in which he thought Plato had advanced beyond what he learnt from Socrates, and was delivering his own conclusions on the moral and metaphysical problems which were the great concern of his later years. These dialogues are the *Theaetetus*, *Parmenides*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, *Philebus*, *Laws*, *Epinomis*. At his death in 1945 Taylor had published his books on *Timaeus* (1929), *Parmenides* (1934) and *Laws* (1934). This with his Gifford Lectures, *The Faith of a Moralist* (1931), would seem to be a fair harvest of work, but a few years ago he was discovered to have left in addition translations of *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, and *Philebus* with substantial Introductions, translations also of *Epinomis* and two-thirds of *Theaetetus*. *Philebus* and *Epinomis* are published in the present volume. *Sophistes* and *Politicus* are to follow, though in fact they are the first two of a trilogy of dialogues which concludes with *Philebus*.

It is well known that these later dialogues of Plato are wanting in the animation and brilliant entertainment value of his middle years, as seen for example in the *Symposium* or *Protagoras* or *Phaedo*. But they are in the main more profound, and without them Plato's reputation, though not diminished as a writer, would have been much less formidable as a philosopher. Yet the *Philebus* is about a question which quite simple people are well aware of and often discuss: Is the good life a life of pleasure or a life of thought? Socrates maintains that "there is a good which deserves to be called better than pleasure, and that this good is intelligence, science, understanding, art, and their various cognates". This is a topic on which a circle of boys or girls with a good General Certificate could have a fine discussion.

Nevertheless *Philebus* is not a book for beginners. It has all Plato's peculiarities in a marked degree, his dilatoriness, his excessive refinements, his references to philosophical opponents of whom we know little, though also his tenacious hold on the problem, his interim conclusions, and gleams still of poetry, fancy, and humour. He is, as ever,

very satisfying to a reader who is seriously interested in the conduct of life.

The translation is most enjoyable as well as profitable. There are some purely professional terms such as *sentience*, *necessitation*, or the description of "all causes whatever" as "*combinatory or disaggregatory, anabolic or catabolic*". Taylor would perhaps have modified these. In places he may have used the first word that came to hand, meaning to replace it by the right word later; in places an emendation might be ventured upon (p. 109 1. 6: *imbued* for *imbibed*). The Editors tell us that the manuscripts are often difficult to read.

All Plato's Dialogues are connected with one another in that they are the unified work of a great mind. But the formal connection between *Philebus* and *Epinomis* is not a close one. *Epinomis* is an appendix to *Laws*, and deals with the planets (considered as divinities) and some of the astronomical problems which they raise. Perhaps the most natural thing is to regard it as a short theological treatise, though it is important also as containing the most elaborate of Plato's many approaches to mathematics. Taylor wrote no introduction to it, and a short one has been contributed by Mr Lloyd.

The Editors have done their work admirably. The brief Foreword and Editors' Preface say just enough, and the notes by way of supplement to Taylor's own extensive and often important foot-notes are modestly relegated to the back of the book. Anyone who wants to have his ethical principles clarified or his theology adorned must be very grateful to Professor Klibansky and his colleagues for producing this volume, and having read it will look forward eagerly to *Sophistes* and *Politicus*.

ADAM FOX

## GLOOMY DANE ?

KIERKEGAARD COMMENTARY. By T. H. CROXALL. Nisbet. 25s.

MEDITATIONS FROM KIERKEGAARD. Translated and edited by T. H. CROXALL. Nisbet. 12s. 6d.

DR CROXALL, who was Chaplain to the English Church at Copenhagen, has done much to make the works of Soren Kierkegaard better known to those who cannot read Danish. The fact that so many of Kierkegaard's books have only been translated since 1940 shows that it is since that year of destiny that his thoughts have, as it were, spoken to the present condition. This may be due to two causes. On the one hand, this is an age when the individual is in danger of being swallowed up in an impersonal society, and Kierkegaard is above all concerned with the individual in his relationship to God. It is also an age when in many lands, if not so much in Great Britain, a Christian may be faced with agonizing choices, in which his very existence is involved, and may perhaps be called upon to venture all for his

religion when every reason and motive of self-interest is making that choice a leap in the dark. Kierkegaard is the forerunner of Buber with his doctrine of the I—Thou relationship to God. If Kierkegaard's individualism seems extreme, it is because of his extreme emphasis upon the personal act and the life of faith of the individual in his freedom of response to God.

Kierkegaard's life was not a long one; from 1813 to 1855. His works are voluminous, involved, and difficult. A Commentary upon them is most useful, especially when it is written by one who has lived in Denmark, who knows the language, and who is a warm admirer of Kierkegaard—and Dr Croxall is all of these. The paradoxical nature of Kierkegaard's thought calls for assistance in interpretation. Part of the problem arises from the use by Kierkegaard of a Socratic type of dialogue, in which the participants are all creations within Kierkegaard's own personality, so that it is by no means clear which of the views presented is essentially his own. Dr Croxall's guiding hand is the more helpful in such dim light.

The reader of this commentary would be well advised to bring to it some previous knowledge of Kierkegaard's work, and also of Dr Croxall's earlier book, *Kierkegaard Studies*. What the commentary does so well is to present the range and development of Kierkegaard's thought by a survey of all his major writings. Probably there is no better summary of his thoughts on many aspects of life and religion. Among them are included reflections upon aesthetics; upon tragedy, suffering, and despair; upon religion in general and the Christian faith in particular; upon the person of Christ, upon faith and works, and upon many aspects of personal relationships. Dr Croxall makes one feel not only the intellectual genius of Kierkegaard but also the warmth and attractiveness of his character at its best.

Kierkegaard was above all, for Dr Croxall, a Biblical thinker. "The reader will be surprised how impregnated with Biblical knowledge and devotion he was . . ." (p. 34). There is much in the commentary to illuminate the famous teachings about the leap of faith and what it meant in Kierkegaard's own mind. So much of that meaning for Kierkegaard came from his intense meditation upon Abraham. In his readiness to obey God Abraham "by faith was able to hold on to a position which to the intellect is absurd and to ethics abhorrent". "His position cannot be analysed by thought. He stands beyond the Understanding. He stands in an absolute relation to the Absolute" (p. 152). Dr Croxall's elucidation of this doctrine will help the reader of this commentary to a deeper understanding of Kierkegaard's teaching on these central issues of faith.

Chapter XVIII contains an important discussion of Kierkegaard's attack on the Church of his time, and of some criticism by Bishop Martensen in defence of the Church. Dr Croxall translates on page 241f. the Bishop's reply to Kierkegaard, with which many Anglican readers will feel a good deal of sympathy. In the end Martensen speaks of Kierkegaard as a "noble instrument who had a crack in his sound-

board". There was truth in that verdict. Yet in this strange and suffering man there are passionately felt insights into truth, and this commentary must make many able to see them where before they were lost in paradox and perplexity.

Perhaps the "Meditations" will form the best introduction to the Commentary. In these the nobility to which Martensen refers shines out. Kierkegaard was accustomed to long periods of solitary meditation on the Bible. Dr Croxall has translated and selected a number of passages from various papers left by Kierkegaard, relating them to the Christian Year, to the Passion of Christ, to the Sermon on the Mount, and to certain of the individuals of the Bible record. There are also translations of prayers composed by Kierkegaard, and through these glimpses of the inner life one gains a new insight into his teaching. The Meditations could be used devotionally, and as an aid to the interpretation of Kierkegaard's thought. The meditations upon Nicodemus, Abraham, and Job offer significant clues to the great themes discussed in the Commentary, and both books will be indispensable to those who desire to know more of Kierkegaard's life and thought.

M. KNIGHT

## A FRESH START

THE NEW MAN. By R. GREGOR SMITH. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

DR GREGOR SMITH is not at all satisfied with the present position of theology. He does not like either neo-Thomism or neo-Calvinism; he cannot abide either Biblical theology or fundamentalism. If we ask where he looks for salvation the answer lies in the names of Bultmann, Buber, Tillich, and Bonhoeffer, but like many another honest retailer he has much difficulty in making these contemporary giants digestible to the ordinary reader.

He is happier when he follows his own line. His theme is sufficiently announced in the sub-title "Christianity and Man's Coming of Age". There have been two great developments in the past, one with St Augustine, who taught the clear distinction between the secular world and the eternal city while recognizing that both were to be found in contemporary society, and the other at the Renaissance when man came of age in the full realization of his own God-given powers and brought the eternal back into time. The pity of it was that instead of living by this new-found unity the Church and civilization went separate ways.

What is now needed is a new anthropology, which will set man firmly on the pinnacle to which he mounted at the Renaissance, by insisting that this world and its concerns have a genuine importance in their own right. Only so shall we be able to maintain the essential dignity which is man's in virtue of his creation by God.

This is certainly an unusual note to be struck in Christian writing. We are more accustomed to dwell on the virtue of humility and to

emphasize the worthlessness of man in comparison with his Creator. There is an undoubted tension here, but it is well that someone should remind us that it does not amount to a definite contradiction. That the teaching is risky goes without saying. It leads the author to say some unnecessarily disparaging things about "religion", and it is perhaps significant how little room he finds for quotation from the New Testament. Nevertheless the book is fresh and illuminating. It is to be hoped that its point of view will be more fully developed against a scriptural and doctrinal background.

W. W.

## SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY

AN APPROACH TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE SACRAMENTS. By NEVILLE CLARK. (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 17.) S.C.M. Press. 8s.

NOT the least striking aspect of the revival of biblical theology has been the frequency with which doctrines preserved, but not always perfectly understood, by the catholic tradition (such as sacrifice in the Eucharist) have been independently vindicated by critical students of the N.T. This could not be better exemplified than it is in this welcome addition to an already valuable series. Though confining himself, naturally, to the dominical sacraments and to the biblical understanding of them, the author, himself a Free Churchman, has given us an account which is eminently catholic in its approach and substantially "catholic" in its conclusions.

The catholicity of Mr. Clark's approach is shown in the resolute way in which he maintains both the wholeness and the equilibrium of the Christian faith. He does full justice to the constant element of tension in biblical Christianity, but he firmly refuses to put asunder what God has joined. Thus, neither confounding the Persons nor dividing the substance, he will have nothing to do with the departmentalized theology that can, e.g. assign Baptism to the operation of the Holy Spirit and the Eucharist to that of the risen Christ. He sets both sacraments in their proper relation to cross and resurrection on the one hand and to *parousia* on the other; and though his description of them as "the extension of the atonement" is open to the same kind of criticism as the familiar description of the Church which inspired it, the epigram which concludes his chapter on the significance of Baptism could hardly be bettered: "Because they [the baptised] have risen with Christ, the eucharist is possible. Because they await the resurrection, the eucharist is necessary."

The "catholic" conclusions to which Mr. Clark's examination of the New Testament evidence lead him are, notably, an understanding of Baptism as an effective, and not merely symbolic, rite, and of the Eucharist as sacrificial throughout—the latter, significantly, expounded with the help of contemporary catholic writings. He also takes over Rawlinson's insight that the doctrines both of sacrifice and of the

Body of Christ were read out of the Last Supper, and enhances it by the illuminating way in which he draws the two together. But a reference to de Lubac's *Corpus Mysticum* might have made him a little more cautious in his defence (on eschatological grounds) of the expression "mystical body".

Though the outstanding merit of this book lies in its comprehension of the theological issues, it does not shirk the critical questions involved in any attempt to present the true biblical picture. On these Mr. Clark is sound, if cautious. He is wisely non-committal on the relation of Baptism to the bestowal of the Spirit in Acts. His discussion of what happened at the Last Supper—the fourth to appear in this series—favours, perhaps a little unfashionably at the present moment, the Pauline account and the Johannine chronology. He makes some useful criticisms of A. J. B. Higgins in particular, while his efforts to separate the wheat from the chaff in the thesis of Dix disclose an appreciation which that colourful scholar has not always commanded from his nearer kin.

1 Cor. 10.16 is oddly misquoted on p.47, and not even the exigencies of theological epigram can justify *nulla spiritus* on p. 77. But these are minor and accidental blemishes in a book that can be unreservedly recommended.

HUMPHREY GREEN

## THE PEOPLE AND THE BOOK

HEBREW MAN. By L. KÖHLER. S.C.M. Press. 12s. 6d.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES. By E. W. HEATON. Batsford. 15s.

THE INTERPRETER'S BIBLE, VOL. 5: Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah. Abingdon Press. £3 7s. 6d.

THERE is a belief that a "little" book is never worth very much. It so easily clutters up valuable space on a shelf. Again, it is generally maintained that a book cannot serve both scholars and ordinary people. Köhler's book makes an end of such prejudices. Having at his disposal an abundance of material and several decades of teaching experience the author succeeds in forcing the proverbial gallon into the pint measure. He does it elegantly, like a master, and the result is beyond praise. His description of the life of the Hebrews is certainly not only instructive but also highly entertaining. It provides the much needed corrective against an abstract approach to the Old Testament. Theology must be buttressed by the lives of the people. They had a certain air, were plain or attractive, long or short, healthy or sick. What did they eat and drink? How long did they live and how did they approach suffering and death? When did young people marry and how did they go about courtship? Were their marriages monogamous and were they successful? Did the children receive any

education? How did they train to become full citizens? How did the Law operate? Above all, what did these Hebrews really enjoy and think about during their leisure?

Obviously, not all these questions can be answered from the evidence at our disposal. Köhler does not draw an imaginary picture; he is a reliable guide to what is known and he stimulates the appetite for more. Instead of addressing the reader with the pious wish of "making the Bible real" he solicits a natural interest in real people. Dr Ackroyd's translation reads well. There is a perceptible change of tone from the original, of which a good example may be found in the title. "Hebrew Man" is not really the same thing as "*Der Hebräische Mensch*". This is not a criticism, but an observation which covers a wide range of translations of German theological works since the end of the war. Indeed, it appears that what is truly German cannot survive in a readable English translation. As usual, the indices are much better in the English edition. The references to fairly obscure works in German—most of which are not even catalogued in the British Museum—are superfluous since the student can always consult the footnotes in the original.

Canon Heaton's book is also very enjoyable and will do what it sets out to do, "to present a panorama of Israelite life, as ordinary families knew it, from about 1250 to 586 B.C.". The author addresses himself to children in the upper forms of secondary and public schools, students in training colleges, teachers, and the general reader. He has collaborated with Mrs Quennell, whose illustrations make a welcome addition to the well-chosen reproductions of reliefs, models, and photographs. Canon Heaton's style is popular and he makes sure that there is nothing dull in his review of the life at home, in the country, in industry, with all its communal ties.

These two books, competent in their own way, create an impression which differs in one essential. Köhler's Hebrew is a human being who appears a very natural recipient and vehicle of the divine Revelation. His very situation corresponds to his election. One could not imagine him without the acts of God. The great prophets of Israel speak against a background which almost demands their religious vocation. By contrast Canon Heaton's survey, especially of the religious life, makes their attainments and the transmission of their oracles almost a miracle. How could such glories thrive in the vicinity of such dung-heaps? How could the Glory of God be perceived by such men in such surroundings? It is perhaps good that we should wonder.

The secret of the Bible remains indeed as firmly locked as ever although so much background material has come our way. The caves yield their scrolls, but the contents of these and of diverse potsherds do not diminish their challenge. Therefore the spate of new translations and commentaries causes no surprise. Among these high praise must be given to the monumental *Interpreter's Bible*, which in twelve massive volumes covers the whole Bible (not the Apocrypha). The volume

under review is the last but one of the whole series. The order of the English Bible explains the otherwise rather curious sequence of the books, from Ecclesiastes to Jeremiah.

It may be appropriate to recall the general pattern of the commentary. After a scholarly introduction to each book, which ends with an outline of contents and a selected bibliography, the page divides into three sections. At the top stands the text, both in the A.V. and the R.S.V.; under it we find the textual and exegetical notes as distinct from the continuous exposition. This unusual arrangement deserves attention, for it is obviously of the greatest importance whether it meets with success or not. It may set a precedent for the work of the future. It raises the problem of the relationship between pure exegesis and contemporary exposition to a fine point.

Let it be said at once that the expository section cannot be brushed away as of only second- or third-rate importance. It has an excitement all of its own and is not merely fodder for starved preachers. The expositors range widely over the field. They use every conceivable slant to make the text, or rather its broad themes, accessible to modern minds. Their pitfalls, potential and actual, are many. What is the dividing line between inspired exposition and verbiage? Is there a more valid criterion than good taste? Modern allegorizing is a danger. An American nuance may bewilder the non-American, though it should be added that a European from the Continent would feel much more at home with the expositors than an Englishman. For instance, on Jer. 32, Deissmann's words on Col. 3, 3 ("When I open the chapel door of the Epistle to the Colossians it is to me as if Johann Sebastian [Bach] himself sat at the organ") are quoted. This kind of comment somehow never goes down well in England, but is of the very stuff of German exposition. Shakespeare, Dostoevski, Kierkegaard, T. S. Eliot, and a host of other poets and writers contribute to the aesthetic and ethical and psychological riches by way of quotation. Yet the Biblical spirit remains unimpaired. True, one cannot quite foresee what this exposition will look and feel like to a reader some twenty, forty, or even a hundred years from now. It may then be "dated" in a very definite way (post-war 1945-55) but still very interesting.

Occasionally the Expositor corrects or opposes the exegetical interpretation. It is as if the artist wrestles with the scientist and refuses to yield to the latter's restrictions. The relationship between the respective pairs of commentators is nowhere one of mutual dependence. Sometimes this results in bringing the issue of criticism into a good focus. Thus Hyatt endeavours to establish a late date for Jeremiah, who, if born only in 625 B.C., cannot have predicted the Scythian menace as the "foe from the North", nor have had anything to do with the (Deuteronomic?) Reform. Hyatt denies the prophet's apparent self-deception and *volte-face*. The expositor (Hopper), however, reverts to the traditional view, as held by Skinner and most English

scholars. Such a divergence of views in one commentary is not a bad thing.

What is perhaps more serious is that the Expositors also disagree among themselves in their approach to fundamental O.T. problems. The introduction to the exposition of the Song of Songs (by H. T. Kerr, father and son) shows at least a lively awareness of the difficulties. May we still proceed like St Bernard, and, if not, how are we to reconcile the secular, historical element of transmitted records with the salvation-history of the Word of God? Or, more simply, what is the place of Christ in the O.T.? For an answer one turns to the comment on Isa. 7 and cannot help noting a typical weakness: "Immanuel.—How perfectly the name fits our Lord! Before he came God had his spokesmen, and among them were some of the greatest souls who ever lived. But none of them could measure up to the name Immanuel. It was too big for them. Then Jesus Christ was born . . . only he fulfilled its glowing meaning." Against this the exegesis maintains a tone of historical sobriety.

Eschatology also claims its victims. It evokes muddle-headed thinking or open discomfort. On Isa. 24 G. G. D. Kilpatrick writes: "What can modern man make of such an eschatological prophecy with its mysterious and symbolic language? It is entirely foreign to modern thought. . . ." Is it? Some of the other expositors are at their best with eschatological passages and link it with modern anguish, as expressed in poetry and sociological analysis.

The exegitical section cannot be discussed here. It is of the best up-to-date scholarship. The late Prof. O. S. Rankin's work on Ecclesiastes presents an achievement in itself. T. J. Meek on the Song of Songs, R. B. Y. Scott on Isaiah 1-39, J. Muilenburg on Isaiah 40-66, and J. P. Hyatt on Jeremiah maintain a consistently high standard. It would be good to think that some of this permanently valuable work could be made available in a cheap edition. To express such a hope is not to suggest that this volume is dear for what it offers.

U. E. SIMON

## BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN BIBLE LANDS. By W. F. ALBRIGHT. The Biblical Colloquium, through Frank and Wagnalls, New York. \$2.00.

NINEVEH AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By ANDRÉ PARROT. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

ST PAUL'S JOURNEYS IN THE GREEK ORIENT. By HENRI METZGER. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

THE publicity that the Dead Sea scrolls have received since their discovery can hardly have left anyone in any doubt about the value of archaeology to the student of the Bible. If, however, someone is still unconvinced, let him or her read Professor Albright's book, *Recent*

*Discoveries in Bible Lands*, and their doubts will quickly be laid to rest. For in this book, originally published in 1936 and now reissued and brought up to date, Professor Albright sets out to review all the archaeological work that has influenced Biblical studies, and then to demonstrate how the new knowledge so gained ensures a better understanding of the Bible by the light it throws on the manners, customs, languages, and traditions of the times during which the Bible came into being. In chapters on Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and Arabia, the work that has been done and the discoveries that have been made in these countries, are set out. The author's massive learning is evident on every page. The only cause of complaint is that as soon as one has become interested in a particular topic and wants to learn more, one finds that one is hurried on to some quite different but equally fascinating discovery. And all this is doubly true in the chapters that follow, where Israel's history is considered in the light of archaeology. Here we learn that while the Creation stories reflect ancient Oriental conceptions, these were purified by the monotheism of Moses and spiritualized by the insight of the prophets. There is no solid basis for the supposed Babylonian archaeological evidence of the Flood. Patriarchal traditions go back to the second millennium B.C. and incidents from Nuzu documents of that time illustrate narratives from Genesis. More than this, "Genesis 14 can no longer be considered as unhistorical." With reference to the Exodus, the discovery of basketry and matting at a site only a few metres above the mean Red Sea level, shows that the sea level has been no higher than it is now at any time during the last three thousand years, and the Israelite crossing could not have been due to volcanic action. The substantial historicity of the Hebrew traditions of the conquest of Canaan is upheld, and the theory maintaining the legendary character of the Ai episode of Joshua 7-8 is rejected. This is enough to show how Professor Albright sees archaeology as throwing light on the Bible. "Nothing has been found", he says at the beginning of his book, "to disturb a reasonable faith and nothing has been discovered which can disprove a single theological doctrine—except that of verbal inspiration, which is not included in any Christian creed". These will be welcome words to many who may have felt that modern knowledge always sets out to prove the Bible wrong. And the best wine comes at the end. For the book closes with an assessment of the significance of the Dead Sea scrolls. These show that the Fourth Gospel shares a common theological background with Judaism and not Gnosticism, and confirm the view that the Apocalypse goes back to Hebrew sources. Most breath-taking of all, this section and indeed the whole book ends thus: "In general, we can already say emphatically that there is no longer any solid basis for dating any book of the New Testament after about A.D. 80, two full generations before the date between 130 and 150 given by the more radical New Testament critics of today". We can be grateful to Professor Albright for a fine exposition of the way in which our understanding of the

Bible has been extended by the work of archaeologists, and yet still ask him for another book setting out all the facts underlying this last sentence.

If Professor Albright often hurried us on when we wanted to linger and learn more about some particular topic, the S.C.M. Press in their new series of "Studies in Biblical Archaeology" aim to satisfy that very desire. In *Nineveh and the Old Testament*, the third in the series, all of which are being translated from the French, we are told the history of Nineveh, in so far as it affects the States of Israel and Judah. First a history of the modern excavation of the site is given. Then there follows an account of the Kings of Assyria whose wars and conquests brought them into touch with the Hebrew people. And a cruel and disastrous touch, indeed, it was for Samaria. Lastly an account is given of the end of Nineveh, and this is linked up with the references to the city in the books of Zephaniah, Nahum, and Jonah. The book has many pictures, diagrams, and plans which help us to understand, perhaps more vividly than the text, the Hebrew fear and hatred of Assyria. There is, too, an extensive bibliography which should greatly assist any who wish to read further in the subject.

*St Paul's Journeys in the Greek Orient*, the fourth book in the same series, sets out to supply background knowledge of the places through which the Apostle travelled, and the people among whom he worked, on his three great missionary journeys. Many interesting facts are given to us about Athens (e.g. the Areopagus was a court of law), Corinth, Ephesus, and such other places, but it does seem strange that in a work intended to introduce students to Paul's journeys, the fact is nowhere noted or recorded that there is no general agreement as to where in Asia Minor Paul did actually go. M. Metzger provides three excellent maps of the missionary journeys, but if these are compared with the maps in Bishop Blunt's commentary upon Acts, a work recommended by M. Metzger or his translator for further study, a considerable difference of opinion will be noted. This concerns the problem of the north and south Galatian theories, on which M. Metzger's readers surely ought to have been informed. Moreover certain other theories, which have little directly to do with archaeology, seem to underly the text, and their presence must seriously affect any assessment of the work. Thus we are told that Paul was reluctant to preach to the Jews or hellenized populations, while in respect of the "genuine pagans", their very isolation made them more fruitful soil for his ministry. Again later, we are told that "the essential Greek spirit was immune to Paul's message". This is all surely very hypothetical. A strong case can be made from the evidence in Acts that Paul almost invariably used the synagogue and found his chief converts among those Gentile "God-fearers", who in the synagogue had already learned to worship the one, true God and to seek his will in the Hebrew scriptures. The one notable failure in Acts, at Athens, is where Paul deliberately did not use the synagogue and preached directly to pagans. Again one wonders what "genuine pagans", with-

out any synagogue background, would make of the Epistle to the Galatians, for example. It is difficult, too, to see what M. Metzger can mean, when he says that Corinth did not possess "a Jewish population in the strict sense of the word", when we learn from Acts 18 that Corinth possessed a synagogue, and also that there Paul was brought by the Jews before Gallio for "persuading men to worship God contrary to the law". In another instance, because Romans denounced Paul at Philippi, it is inferred that the Roman authorities were hostile to Paul's work, but Acts 16.19 makes it quite clear that the denunciation was due to a far more sordid reason, namely the detrimental effect of Paul's preaching on the economics of sorcery. It was quite true that Paul's faith was unlawful for a Gentile Roman citizen, for it would have restrained him from joining in the prescribed Caesar-worship. But the Jews were specifically excepted from this, and Paul's own Roman citizenship, which he never seems to have hid, once even brought him out of prison. M. Metzger's book, therefore, hardly seems to be the kind of introduction that could safely be put into the hands of the enquiring student.

J. ROBINSON

## EASTERN RITUAL

**WATER INTO WINE: A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East.** By E. S. DROWER. John Murray. 25s.

THIS is an intriguing book with an intriguing title. In that charming story of the marriage feast in a Galilean village, we are told that the secret of the mysterious change of water into wine was only known to the servants who drew the water. Although in the East it is usually women who draw water, the servants in the Johannine story seem to have been men. But in the case of the book before us, the drawer of the water which the author's art has turned into wine of so admirable a vintage, is a woman. Lady Drower has drawn from many wells the extremely interesting information which she has poured out for us in her latest book. Like the servants in the story, she has been behind the scenes and has been admitted into secrets which women are not usually allowed to share. Her inquiring habit of mind, her long residence in the Middle East, her knowledge of Semitic languages, her trained observation, and, not least, her ability to write interestingly of what she has seen, make her an ideal reporter of the curious knowledge which her researches have collected.

Nor does the value of the book lie solely in the accurate and detailed accounts which it gives of various practices connected with ritual meals; it is also of no small importance to anthropologists and students of Comparative Religion for its contribution to the problems of ritual origins and of the issues raised by the much discussed question of "patternism", now so much in evidence.

The late Professor Henri Frankfort, in his Frazer Lecture on the problem of similarity in ancient Near Eastern religions, accused the patternists of neglecting or ignoring the importance of differences in their treatment of the religions in question. Lady Drower, while drawing attention to the striking similarities in the particular group of ritual customs which she has studied as they occur in widely different religions, has by no means neglected to point out the differences; indeed, her book might almost be said to provide a warning to patternists, so extraordinary are the lengths to which patternism has gone in its symbolism in the particular instance of the *prosphora*.

Lady Drower has studied the ritual meals of the Russian and Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholic, Jacobite, Armenian, Nestorian, Chaldaean, Coptic, and Abyssinian communions; also those of the Parsees and Mandaean. Concerning the latter she has already written an authoritative study entitled *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran*. Some of these, such as the Jilu Nestorians, have developed their ritual practices in such isolation from the controlling influence of other branches of the Eastern Church that it is possible that, as Lady Drower suggests, traces of pagan influence may be seen in certain details of their practice. The most striking example of this is to be found in the preparation of the *prosphora* among the Jilu Nestorians. The priest first kneads the dough into a flattened round lump, in the centre of which he makes a depression with his finger; he then pours a little olive oil into the depression, dips a wooden stamp marked with a cross into the oil, and stamps the lump of dough at the four quarters of the compass and in the centre, saying, "A seal was set on the tomb of our Saviour". In the next stage of the preparation, the priest pinches off from the lump four pieces of dough, one from each point of the compass, beginning from the east, and rolls these together into a short rod-like shape about three and a half inches long. This roll is called the *kaprana*, and is placed on the west side of the lump of dough which symbolizes the tomb. Lady Drower was told that the *kaprana* was divided after the mass and eaten by the celebrant and the chief deacon. The exact symbolic meaning of the *kaprana* and its relation to the symbolized tomb seems to have been lost; but Lady Drower suggests that there is a possible connection between the Jilu Nestorian rite and the neighbouring Mandaean rite, where similar objects represent the life-giving function of procreation.

This is only one example of the many curious and significant pieces of ritual with which the book abounds. The clarity of exposition is greatly helped by the great number of text-figures which illustrate the operations described.

The chapter entitled "The Branch to the Nose" seems to promise a solution to that obscure passage of Ezekiel; but, while it provides many examples of smelling various herbs as a life-giving ritual, and suggests Jewish parallels from Sabbath and Tabernacles ritual, it does not really offer a satisfactory explanation of a gesture which the prophet seems to have regarded as an insult to Jahveh. Incidentally

it may be remarked that a correction is needed in the footnote on p.82 where a quotation is given as from Frazer's *Folk-lore of the New Testament*. Also, on p.45, note 1, the Aramaic word for "piece of bread" needs correcting.

All in all, Lady Drower's book is a valuable and fascinating store-house of anthropological material which it would be difficult to find elsewhere, and it is to be hoped that *Water into Wine* will meet with the success which it merits.

S. H. HOOKE

## MUSLIM LITERATURE

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD. With Introduction and Notes by A. GUILLAUME. Oxford University Press; London, Cumberlege. 63s.

WHILE the revelation which Muhammad claimed to have received as a divine message dictated to him by Allah from a "preserved tablet" in heaven is recorded in the Qur'an, as in the case of most religious Founders, biographical details of his career are by no means easy to determine with any degree of accuracy. Of the various attempts that were made to set forth his life history the *Sira* of Ibn Ishâq, who died in A.D. 767, is the earliest and best written biography, and valuable also for the information it supplies about pre-Islamic Arabia. It is the abridgement of this *Sira*, known in the recession of Ibn Hisham (died 834), and recognized throughout the Muslim world, which Professor Guillaume has translated with notes, numerous additions, and variants of early authors, prefaced with an admirable introduction describing the author, the earlier biographies, the characteristic features of the *Sira*, the authenticity of the poems in it, and the editor, Ibn Hisham, together with twenty extracts from the lost book of Musa b. 'Uqba containing sayings of the Prophet and stories of his life.

Ibn Ishâq's biography of Muhammad as it now stands is divided into three sections consisting of (1) the genealogy, childhood, and early manhood of the Prophet, and traditions of the pre-Islamic era; (2) his call and preaching at Mecca; and (3) his migration to Medina, his wars and ultimate victory, and his death in 632. As Professor Guillaume explains, these are simply sections of the book which contained the lectures of Ibn Ishâq. Actually the *Sira* never existed in three parts. Ibn Hisham's abridgement which is here translated begins with Muhammad's descent from Adam through Abraham as the Prophet's traditional ancestor, and then gives the only authentic story of his early years against the background of pre-Islamic tradition filled out with legends and stories of miraculous events. Ibn Ishâq makes very little comment of his own on what he records, except on rare occasions such as his cautious reservations concerning the miraculous journey to Jerusalem and his ascent into heaven. Only God knows what happened, he maintained, but whether it was

a real or visionary experience was immaterial because it came from Allah.

As is to be expected of a biography of a religious founder and reformer in the Near East in the eighth century, miracles are taken for granted, but, as Professor Guillaume says, "after giving due weight to the pressure of hagiology on the writer and his leaning towards the Shi'a, the life of Muhammad is recorded with honesty and truthfulness, and, too, an impartiality which is rare in such writings." Much that is spurious has been included in the poems, and many of them have been written in "wretched language" which had added to the difficulties with which the translator has had to cope. As far as possible he has endeavoured to restore the text of Ibn Ishâq from excerpts in later texts, and to follow the original as closely as possible without sacrificing English idiom. This has been accomplished with outstanding success. While the volume is essentially a specialist's book indispensable for all engaged in Islamic studies, it can hardly fail to be of interest for a wider public since it makes accessible to English readers the most important work after the Qur'an in Muslim literature.

E. O. JAMES

### CULLMANN'S ESSAYS

THE EARLY CHURCH. By OSCAR CULLMAN. S.C.M. 25s.

THIS collection of historical and theological studies is a somewhat mixed bag. Some of the essays are as important as anyone could wish, while others, especially the last, on Early Christianity and Civilization, say nothing that has not been said elsewhere. In any case there is quite enough first-grade material here to make the volume an essential part of the reading of anyone who wishes to be *au fait* with current theology.

The first essay establishes the necessity of the higher criticism against all who would seek to short-circuit its discipline on the way to a "biblical" theology. The second discusses the origin of Christmas, affirming that it is to be found in christological ideas and not in pagan customs. Next comes an examination of the "plurality of gospels" as a theological problem. Would not one gospel only have given surer witness to the unity of the faith? No, because although the faith is one, it cries out for manifold witness, and as each evangelist tried to do better than his predecessors, while incorporating elements of their work in his own, we are provided with a fourfold pillar and ground of the truth. It follows that as the gospels are not biographies they should never be harmonized.

This leads to the longest chapter in the book, which is an immensely important discussion of Tradition. Cullmann finds no trace of a break in the development of the Christian tradition such as would

imply a virtual contradiction between the two parts. "The designation *Kyrios* can be understood as not only pointing to the historical Jesus as the chronological beginning and the first link of the chain of tradition, but of the exalted Lord as the real author of the whole tradition developing within the apostolic church". At the same time there is a real difference between this and the later church teaching. The latter "can never assume the same value as the apostolic norm, and it can never itself become a norm". So we come to other important chapters on the kingship and the return of Christ. Here Cullmann is inclined to give too much weight to his distinction between the two kingdoms of Christ and of God, and his delineation of the ages is not so clear as in his earlier book on Christ and Time. But to consider his thesis adequately would demand at least a full-sized article.

What will specially interest many readers is the skill with which he uses new methods to rehabilitate tradition. If he seems sometimes to go too far, he at least brings a much needed freshness to the examination of familiar evidence.

W.W.

## WALSINGHAM

THE SHRINE OF OUR LADY OF WALSINGHAM. By J. C. DICKINSON. Cambridge University Press. 18s.

THE visitor to "the Holy Land of Walsingham" as he approaches it from the south cannot fail to be held by the charm of this well-wooded country, with its narrow roads bordered by ancient oaks and luxuriant hedgerows. A short distance from the end of his pilgrimage, he will pass the beautiful fourteenth-century Slipper Chapel which is now the modest and discreet Roman Catholic shrine; then, as he reaches the beginnings of the modern village, he will observe the impressive ruins of the Franciscan Convent on the left, strategically placed (in spite of the efforts of the Walsingham canons to keep the Friars out altogether) in the way of pilgrims to the famous shrine. In the village proper, he will see the gatehouse of the Austin Canons, and, if the Priory is open, he will end his journey there, unless the object of his pilgrimage is the remarkable Anglican shrine a little farther on, placed on a site outside the Canons' precinct.

The intelligent visitor to Walsingham could not do better than take with him Mr Dickinson's book as his guide. He will find there the most reliable and scholarly history of the Priory, in which the best use is made of the somewhat scanty records and (so far as this is possible in the absence of a thorough and scientific excavation of the site) a careful description of the buildings is given. There is a useful plan and there are some attractive illustrations. As regards the plan, I may mention that Mr Dickinson is disposed to identify the fine undercroft

in the Dorter range with part of the Prior's lodging, but I suggest that it is more likely that the lodging was on the site of the present house.

The great attraction of Walsingham in the Middle Ages was, of course, the Chapel of Our Lady, on the north side of the Church. It contained the famous statue which countless pilgrims came to "venerate". The primitive Chapel was eventually enclosed in a more substantial building. Inside the Church, the chief relic, shown at the High Altar, was the "Milk of the Blessed Mary". Concerning this, Mr Dickinson observes: "Those apt to overrate the superstition of medieval man should note that offerings here in 1535 were a mere 42s. 3d. out of a combined total of over £260". He appears to be anxious to make out the best case he can for the Canons of Walsingham and for the pilgrims. But the more one reads of medieval hagiography and of medieval pilgrimages as well as of medieval literature generally, the more inevitably one is forced to the painful conclusion that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the ignorance and superstition of medieval man, an ignorance and superstition which were shared, in large measure, by the finest minds as well.

The most illustrious visitor to the Shrine was, I suppose, Erasmus, whose *Colloquium "Peregrinatio religionis ergo"*, is a valuable source of information about it, when its days were already numbered. Mr Dickinson subjects this account to a criticism, the aim of which is to convict the great humanist of inaccuracy and exaggeration. I cannot think that his criticisms meet with any real success. They are simply on small points of detail, e.g. the exact distance of Walsingham from the sea, or the distance over which the miraculous transportation of the "venerable Chapel of Our Lady" was said to have taken place. Fresh from the New Testament and the Greek Fathers, how could Erasmus help feeling indignant at what was, in his eyes, a shameful exhibition of ignorance, superstition, and fraud? At the same time, he describes nothing which does not convey the impression of first-hand observation, and his account can be accepted as substantially accurate. We may perhaps be forgiven for suggesting that it hardly matters that the Pynson ballad (15th cent.), which Mr Dickinson gives in full, says that the Chapel of the Virgin was moved miraculously a mere two hundred feet, whereas Erasmus says that the attendant told him that the building over the two holy wells was moved suddenly *e longinquo*, in snowy winter by the same wondrous power. Perhaps it was not Erasmus who was guilty of "grossly twisting the facts", but the attendant, who, having just been given a tip by the visitors, was giving them value for their money.

I ought to add that Mr Dickinson has a valuable chapter on the seals of the Priory, the pilgrim brooches and ampouls. One of the seals has an inscription round its rim. It is, as Mr Dickinson might perhaps have mentioned, attached to the Priory's acknowledgment of Royal Supremacy, and is now in the Public Record Office. Mr Dickinson gives the legend as VIRGO PIA GENETRIX SIT NOBIS, which

he translates as "Tender Virgin be our Mother". But GENETRIX cannot bear this meaning. It can only refer to Mary as the Mother of the Lord. My friend, Mr. H. C. Johnson, of the Public Record Office, kindly tells me that the legend has partially decayed and that all that can be read now is GEN[ETR]IX: SIT: NOBIS . . . IATRIX. It would seem that we have a rude leonine hexameter: VIRGO PIA GENETRIX SIT NOBIS AUXILIATRIX. (May the Holy Virgin Mother be our helper).

F. J. E. RABY

## BOHEMIAN REFORMATION

JOHN ŽIŽKA AND THE HUSSITE REVOLUTION. By FREDERICK G. HEYMANN. Princeton University Press. London: Cumberlege. 72s.

"JOHN Žižka of the Chalice" is a splendid title for the hero of the Hussite Revolution, a mighty figure both to his contemporaries and to subsequent historians. For future generations of Czech patriots he was to be such an inspiration that five hundred years later Thomas Masaryk could say: "Tabor, that is also our programme".

It is difficult to suppose that any other book will cover again so thoroughly the period at the beginning of the fifteenth century which Mr Heymann has taken for his study. The bulk of his book is concerned with only five years—1419 to 1424—for it was during that period, ending in his death, that John Žižka played a decisive role in the destiny of his country, Bohemia. Springing from a line of small country squires he ended by being the undisputed military leader of his countrymen, and for much of the time a unifying influence in their councils.

The story is an astonishing tale by any standards of adventure and warfare. Žižka began his career blind in one eye: in 1421 he lost the sight of his second eye in battle, and his most famous victories and campaigns were conducted when he was completely blind. This fact in itself gives an indication of his remarkable character and determination, as well as his great ability.

During the five years in question three crusades launched against the Hussites by the Emperor Sigismund were defeated, and at the time of Zizka's death Bohemia's independence was completely established, and its armies were the most powerful force in Central Europe.

In military tactics Zizka's methods introduced a revolution into contemporary warfare, especially in the use of wagons to carry artillery, thus creating the possibility of moveable fortresses in defence and moveable artillery in attack. His conduct in the field showed brilliant appreciation both of ground and of the use of troops. The book describes his battles in detail and clearly brings out their importance.

But the motive power of the revolution and its most important aspects were religious. Its inspiration came from the Hussite preach-

ing, and the murder of Hus at the Council of Constance in 1415, in spite of an assurance of safety by Sigismund, was directly linked to the military rebellion against the Empire. John Zizka himself was a man of simple but deep religious convictions and his guiding principles were the Four Articles of Prague sent to Sigismund by the Prague Diet of 1419. These were: (a) freedom of preaching of the Word of God; (b) communion in both kinds; (c) removal of power and possessions from the clergy; (d) public punishment of offences against the Law of God. These articles became the permanent basis of the religious demands of Bohemia in all negotiations whether with Emperor or Pope.

The giving of the chalice to the laity was adopted as the mark of those who belonged to the Hussite cause, and its importance as a rallying cry is shown in the title which John Žižka adopted. It is interesting to note that in this and in the demand that Holy Communion should be given to children of all ages the Bohemians stood with their Slav brothers of the Orthodox Church.

It is not surprising to learn that religious opinions in Bohemia during this period showed a number of variations. The town of Prague was itself divided between the conservative and radical groups in religion. So long as John Želivský held power there the radical party, mostly in the new town, had control, but after his death the conservatives gradually gained the upper hand.

In the country the main centres of religious life and reform were Tabor in the South and Hradec Kralove in the West, centre of the Orebites. It was with the Taborites that Žižka was identified in the earlier years and from them he drew his military support in the first years. But the Taborites were more radical in their desire to reform Church practice than the rest of the country, wishing, for example, to abolish the use of vestments and even denying the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Žižka never shared these extreme views and eventually he left Tabor to live with the Orebites. But there was never a complete break between Žižka and Tabor in spite of personal clashes.

Before his death there were such serious differences between the various groups that Žižka found himself taking the field against Prague whose power he defeated in the Battle of Malesov. Unity was achieved again later and Žižka himself died at the beginning of a joint campaign to rescue Moravia from Sigismund's son-in-law. It is a remarkable tribute to his personal position that on his death his soldiers named themselves Orphans, and have been known as such to history.

Mr Heymann maintains that the Hussite reformation was the beginning of the Reformation proper, and he makes a convincing case. The events of these years and those which followed showed that Bohemia produced the same explosive mixture which was later to split Western Christendom. The strong religious motive was fundamental, aiming at a reform of Church abuses, freedom of interpretation of

the Bible, and a return to the practices of the primitive Church. Communion in both kinds was the watchword of the movement.

But combined with the religious force were a number of other important elements. Not least among these was a new consciousness of nationalism which in Bohemia showed itself in anti-German outbreaks in various parts of the country. The execution of Hus had much encouraged the national feeling by the widespread indignation which it caused. At the same time the power of the towns, especially that of Prague, was growing and that of the great lords relatively declining. The removal of land from the Church began a long period of secularization of Church property which many were glad to encourage, while the destruction of monasteries met with much popular approval.

These elements combined to start a fire which, a century later, was to blaze up more fiercely elsewhere. Bohemia was not mature enough to solve all its problems, but it was a laboratory for the Reformation in the rest of Europe. Mr Heymann has provided a carefully documented narrative of this critical period. Many historical gaps have had to be filled by his intelligent reconstruction or guesswork. This has been done responsibly and has resulted in a coherent and interesting book.

H. M. WADDAMS

### RENAISSANCE DEAN

**DEAN COLET AND HIS THEOLOGY.** By E. W. HUNT. S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. 30s.

ADDRESSING a letter to John Fisher, shortly after Colet's death, Erasmus says: "I cannot help mourning for so rare a model of Christian piety". Whereas hitherto, authors such as Dr J. H. Lupton and Sir J. A. R. Marriott have been at pains to demonstrate the truth of this estimate by means of biographical studies, Mr Hunt paints a word-picture, based upon an examination of the Dean's own writings and correspondence.

He first of all points out that, though Colet is usually referred to as a "Humanist", he was in actual fact, much more a *Christian* Humanist. In the curriculum of St Paul's School, founded by the Dean as an academy devoted to the New Learning, the teaching of the Christian faith held a prominent place, while, in the school-building above the High Master's chair, visible to all, was the figure of the Child Jesus—symbolic of the founder's Christocentric Humanism.

Colet's work as a Reformer affords yet further evidence of Erasmus's tribute, for as Mr Hunt demonstrates in what is his most lengthy chapter, although he had no intention of disrupting the Church, the abuses he witnessed were such as his piety would not allow him to tolerate. Apart from various relics, which Colet seems to have encountered in a particularly revolting form, it was the

“diuillisshe pride”, the “carnall concupiscence” and the worldliness of the clergy themselves, that called forth his fiercest denunciations. His cathedral “Statutes”—unhappily rejected by a Chapter that refused to be reformed—aimed at combating evils all too rife in the St Paul’s of his day.

From the few examples of the Dean’s preaching which have survived, Mr Hunt draws four outstanding traits: first, its appositeness; secondly, in contrast to much of the preaching of his day, its scriptural basis; thirdly, its methodical arrangement—and to illustrate this the author has carefully analysed the Convocation Sermon of February 1512; and fourthly, its practical nature: “to move the heart and inclination so that they shall love, desire, and accomplish that which is good”.

A short chapter devoted to Colet as an exegete, shows that although accepting the medieval four-fold method of interpreting Holy Scripture, i.e. literally, allegorically, morally, and anagogically, he, in his exegesis, stressed the fundamental importance of the literal sense.

Finally—and this is perhaps the most original contribution of the book—Colet is shown to have been a mystic, a Platonist deeply influenced by pseudo-Dionysius. Union with God was attained by the “Mystic Way” of purification, illumination, and perfection. Moreover, he was impressed by the conception of the Church both as the mystical Body of Christ, and as his bride.

There can be little doubt that he who was called to the eminent position of Dean of St Paul’s at the time of the revival of learning in England, was a most attractive character. Mr Hunt’s book enables us to grasp more clearly the kind of reformation that might have occurred had the Dean and his two friends Erasmus and Thomas More been permitted to bring about within the Church itself the changes they desired.

Full footnotes, many of them containing quotations from Colet’s works in the original Latin, add to the value of this intensely interesting and useful piece of research.

GORDON HUELIN

## THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY

THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY, 1688-1718. By GEORGE EVERY, S.S.M. S.P.C.K. 30s.

HERE we have a book on the origins of the High Church Party, which is certainly not run on party lines; for Brother George Every is far too good an historian to attempt to gloss over awkward facts or jump to conclusions that are not warranted by the evidence. He has waded through a vast mass of contemporary pamphlets, many of them rare and difficult to come by, which enable him to fortify his arguments with a wealth of illustrative matter. Not that he does very

much arguing; for the point and value of this important work lies in the fact that the author lays the historical evidence before the reader in authoritative detail—Chapters 3 and 5 dealing with Prayer Book Revision and the Convocation Controversy are notable examples of this—but leaves him entirely free to draw his own conclusions.

Despite the title of the book, which appears to limit the inquiry to some thirty years, Brother Every actually ranges very widely indeed, taking us back to Archbishop Laud and Lord Falkland, the respective spiritual ancestors of High Churchmen and Latitudinarians, and then forward to the beginnings of the Tractarian Movement. However, he is mainly concerned with the formative period of the High Church Party, which did not really begin to come into existence until after the Revolution, when the alliance of Anglicans and Dissenters brought about by the common struggle against Rome terminated abruptly; and was completed by the time the Hanoverian dynasty had got firmly into the saddle with the defeat of the Jacobites in 1715 and the silencing of Convocation in 1717. During the reign of William and Mary the High Churchmen were severely handicapped by the schism in their ranks occasioned by the Non-Jurors; but in that of Anne they gradually asserted their power under the able leadership of Archbishop Sharp and Francis Atterbury, until from 1710 to 1714 they were in full control of events. The Hanoverian Succession frustrated their hopes and they relapsed on to the defensive; but launched a counter-attack in the nineteenth century which has not yet spent its force. “The end of the agitation for disestablishment”, writes Brother Every, “and the decline of modernism within the Church of England, have in our day relaxed pressure at two points which for two centuries determined the direction of High Church fears”. In these assumptions he is supported by the anonymous author of the 1956 Crockford Preface; and by the recent decision of Convocation not to involve itself in a direct clash with Parliament over the proposed new Canons.

The High Church Party primarily came into being not in order to deny the dissenters a reasonable toleration, but to combat the dangers of a secular society. The alliance between the Whigs, the latitude men (especially the latitudinarian bishops) and the non-conformists, which demanded the comprehension of the leading dissenting bodies and unlimited toleration for the rest, Prayer Book revision and the watering down of doctrine and dogma, the depreciation of mysticism and miracle in religion and the crying up of reason and morality based on natural law and a Benevolent Deity, opened wide the flood-gates and produced a strange crop of Unitarians, Arians, Deists, and even Atheists. The Anglican Liturgy and the entire Establishment itself seemed in peril, and the High Church Party rushed to their defence. “The Church in Danger” was their battle cry, bravely they hung out “the bloody flag of defiance” and drew their weapons, sharpened in the storehouse of biblical and patristic scholarship. They

were prepared to fight to the death on such issues as Comprehension and Prayer Book Revision, the Apostolic Succession, the Sacraments and Episcopacy, Church Discipline, the rights and liberties of Convocation (especially its right to condemn and suppress heretics), Occasional Conformity, and above all the independence of the Church from the State in the last resort. Inevitably the battle spilled over into the political and dynastic arenas; for the latitude men were Whigs and the High Churchmen Tories, whose extremists turned Jacobite when George, the Elector of Hanover, enraged at the Tory-negotiated Peace of Utrecht, threw himself into the arms of the Whigs. Abroad the High Churchmen sought to counter the Union with Scotland and Archbishop Tenison's scheme for a loose "Protestant Union" in Europe, by seeking to introduce the Anglican Liturgy into Prussia and Hanover and to promote episcopacy whenever and wherever possible, even in Switzerland or the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Brother Every's impartiality cannot, of course, always be maintained. Archbishop Sancroft, for example, is dealt with over-sympathetically; while his successor, John Tillotson and other leading latitudinarian bishops are damned with faint praise. Furthermore his treatment here of Methodism and the Evangelical Revival is to say the least one-sided.

In a learned work of this type where an immense amount of material has to be compressed into a comparatively small space, there is an unfortunate but overwhelming temptation to telescope much of your information. For instance, the Seven Bishops were *not* sent to the Tower for publishing a seditious libel as stated on page 22, although such a charge was preferred against them at their trial; nor is it strictly correct to imply (page 172) that Gibson was implacably opposed to Hare's appointment to the Deanery of St Paul's and later to the See of St Asaph. There are also some slips of the pen: Lloyd of Lichfield (page 164) should really read Lloyd of Worcester.

However, these are very minor blemishes, and the author is to be much congratulated on a book which should prove indispensable to all those who are concerned about present day party set-ups in the Church of England and would learn something of their origin. For so many of the old issues are still alive; fear of a purely secular society; the desire for the Church's independence of the State, yet without breaking the Establishment; the demand for Church discipline contained in the proposed new Canons; and the longed-for re-union with the Free Churches, but conditionally upon their accepting some form of episcopacy.

A. TINDAL HART

## PROTESTANTS IN ITALY

RISORGIMENTO E PROTESTANTI. By GIORGIO SPINI. Edizioni Scientifice Italiane. Lire 2,400.

THE author modestly describes his work as a step towards a history of the "Protestant presence in the Risorgimento". The unity of Italy in one kingdom was finally achieved in 1870, chiefly through the astonishing efforts of Garibaldi, but the long and complicated process is considered by historians to have begun with the French Revolution in 1789. There are conventions of Italian historians which meet every year to study this complex history and it was through his participation in them that Professor Spini was inspired to treat so fully one of the elements in the national struggle. He does not give the main story even in outline, and his book presupposes in his readers more knowledge than most English historians possess. Moreover he assumes that they will easily understand long extracts from English, French, and German sources without translation, which is to the credit of those Italian historians who are likely to form the majority of his public.

Protestants have always been a small minority in Italy, but they have had a good deal of influence by reason of their international relations. The link with the outside world has chiefly been that minute and much persecuted body, the Waldensians of the Alpine valleys in Piedmont, about whom Milton wrote his famous poem. Their origins go back to the thirteenth century, when they were a sect akin to the Albigenses and the Cathari, but at the time of the Reformation they lined themselves up definitely with the Calvinism of Geneva, helped to do so by the fact that they formed part of the dominions of Savoy and were mainly French-speaking. The long struggle against persecutions of all kinds by the Roman Catholic Church allied to the state gave them a hatred of popery and a burning desire for freedom. Many of them fled the country and went to Switzerland and England, where they found ardent sympathizers. But there were many other exiles from other parts of Italy, liberals and a considerable number of ex-priests and ex-friars and monks, a great many of whom were either dishonest adventurers or men who could not endure monastic discipline. They easily persuaded the ardent but not very intelligent Evangelicals in Switzerland, England, America, and Prussia that they were martyrs to the cause of unity in Italy, and aroused their enthusiasm for that cause. Since the Papal States and the reactionary governments were, to say the least, lukewarm about their disappearance in a unified kingdom, the liberal elements such as Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi made some use of these Protestant allies and their evangelical sympathizers.

The circles in which Lord Shaftesbury was the leading spirit were enthusiastic about the possibilities of bringing about the downfall of Babylon, the Great Whore, which they identified with the Papacy, and of the establishment of a reformed Church in Italy. Exeter Hall was

thrilled by the stories they heard from exiled Italian priests, and societies were formed for the liberation of Italy from the forces of bigotry and superstition. The British and Foreign Bible Society was active in Bible-running; various Englishmen tried to form protestant societies in the country, among them General Beckwith, who lived for thirty years among the Waldensians and seems to have had some idea of drawing them into the Church of England. The influence of the Darbyites or Plymouth Brethren had some effect in Tuscany, as did that of various protestant pastors from Geneva and Lausanne in other places.

Professor Spini has collected a mass of information about a great number of minor actors in the scene, and he treats his material with severe impartiality, relieved with a pleasant tinge of mild irony.

The author hints that his work is the precursor of a fuller treatment of the subject, which would throw light on a curious state of affairs and a fascinating complex of international relations. It is much to be hoped that he will carry out his purpose.

C. L. GAGE-BROWN

### THE BODY OF CHRIST

THE SPLENDOUR OF THE CHURCH. By HENRI DE LUBAC. Sheed and Ward. 18s.

AFTER all the ecclesiological writings of the last twenty-five years it comes a shock to remember that at the Vatican Council in 1870 the description of the Church as the mystical Body of Christ surprised some of the bishops present and alarmed others, who scented heresy. The Jesuit author of this book, Fr de Lubac, devoted though he is to the scriptural analogy of the Body, admits, "The Church would indeed seem to have defined herself adequately, or at least to have described herself adequately, without habitual recourse to the idea of the Mystical Body". He himself carefully avoids overstatements such as Dr Best (*One Body in Christ*) has recently reprobated, that "it is not a mere metaphor, but the literal truth, that the Church is the Body of Christ," or that it is Christ's Body really and ontologically. The mystical Body provides, he says, quoting Fr Bouyer, a "particularly valuable analogical image to lead us towards a proper intellectual grasp of the Church's nature."

In French this book was entitled *Méditations sur l'Eglise*, and the publishers describe it as "a meditative attempt on the part of the author to work himself, and his readers, into the heart of the mystery of the Church—the Church in all the splendour of her perfections as realised in and through all the imperfections of her day-to-day existence on this earth". Heavy documentation is provided in footnotes for most of the writer's statements, which, together with his diffuseness, makes the book longer than was necessary. Even so, there is no index.

Fr de Lubac is probably more agreeable to listen to in French than

to read in English, certainly than in the English of this translation. It needs some resolution to continue bravely after such a sentence as this, on p. 8:

At a certain given state of crisis or point of maturation, one particular mystery—one particular part of the unique whole—comes, as it were, into the foreground of the reflexive landscape. In consequence it becomes a species of vital centre round which, for practical purposes, all the others group themselves in a sort of genesis: and by the same token it is also the point of nervous sensibility, error or indecision upon which affects all the others in a doubly powerful reaction.

But the persevering reader will find much that is really valuable. On the one hand the author stresses the difference between *Credo in unum Deum* and *Credo sanctam catholicam ecclesiam*; on the other hand there must be no appeal to history against the contemporary Church: the Catholic "will always accept the teaching of the *magisterium* as the absolute norm." He rather too easily reduces theology about the unity of the Church such as Anglicans hold to a variant of that which believes only in an invisible Church. The final chapter throws light on the way in which Mariology leads to new interpretations of the Song of Solomon.

KENNETH N. ROSS

## SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE

THE SHEEPFOLD AND THE SHEPHERD. By C. CARY-ELWES, O.S.B. Longmans. 15s.

ROME'S DENIALS OF ANGLICAN ORDERS. By H. BURN-MURDOCH. S.P.C.K. 1s.

THESE are models of controversial literature; each author states his position clearly, without unworthy insinuations or allegations. Dr. Burn-Murdoch's pamphlet is a cogent and handy summary of the main points to be remembered in dispelling Roman Catholic objections to Anglican ordinations; it could hardly be bettered, and should be placed in every tract-case.

Dom Cary-Elwes' book is not concerned with technical discussions about orders, but seeks positively to commend the Roman Catholic Church to English people in a spirit of love and devotion. He is tired of argumentation: "We must learn . . . to love one another and not be scoring hits all the time in the puny battles of controversy" (pp. 12, 13). "The present-day non-Catholics are poor souls, lost without a shepherd. They need a helping hand" (p. 23). But in practice, he complains, "Protestants fly from us like the plague and rush over the sea to our French, Dutch, Belgian co-religionists" (p. 40). The author therefore appeals for a more charitable spirit among English

Roman Catholics. Wisely he urges them not to start conversations with infallibility or the Assumption, but rather to expound the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ, and only slowly to work up to doctrines "which are extremely difficult to prove or disprove on the historical plane". Everything must be undertaken with prayer; "the non-Catholic has almost stopped praying altogether" (p. 90).

In this book he puts these principles into practice. It loses in effectiveness since sometimes the author is writing for his fellow Roman Catholics, sometimes for Anglicans, sometimes for Protestants, sometimes for Post-Protestants (this is a sadly superficial chapter). Many contemporary Roman Catholics allow that baptized non-Catholics are members of the Church; he explicitly denies this (p. 56), but later says that schism may result in someone ceasing to be "a full member" (p. 98) and that there are "good men and women apparently outside" the one Church (p. 100). His doctrine of baptism (p. 69) does not seem to accord with a decision of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1872 on the validity of Methodist baptisms.

There is a good deal of careless writing. "Among the words used by Jesus Christ are these, that this chalice of His Blood is 'the new and eternal Covenant'" (p. 19): Christ's *promise* that Peter's faith would not fail (p. 194). Misprints and mispunctuations are numerous, especially on p. 25; a serious error is *organisms for organs* (p. 144).

Not unimportant steps in Dom Cary-Elwes' argument depend on the Vulgate's mistranslation of John 10. 16 (p. 100), and of Genesis 3. 15 (p. 180), and the ascription of 2 Peter to the apostle, with an unlikely interpretation of his words (p. 197).

There are one or two surprising statements. Was Newman's reception into the Roman Communion the result of Fr Dominic Barberi's holiness? (p. 93). According to Newman's account he hardly knew him. On the dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch the author is bold to say "Unless St Peter had changed his mind, the Church including St Paul would have had to submit" (p. 190).

Exception can be taken to much of the reasoning in this book, and the argument with which the author shows that the Holy Church need not be impeccable would also prove that the One Church can suffer impairment of outward unity: "The sanctity which the Church possesses . . . is not derived from the human but from the divine element" (p. 64). But no exception can be taken to the author's irenical tone and manner. May it continue to inform Anglo-Roman discussions!

KENNETH N. ROSS

## GREEK ORTHODOXY

THE WATERS OF MARAH. By Peter Hammond. Rockliffe. 21s.

THIS book answers very effectually a great need. There is no recent book on its subject, which is given in the subtitle—"The Present State of the Greek Church", and the author, having spent the years 1948-50 in Greece, is well qualified to speak on the subject.

The setting is the struggle against the Communists, and though this is not exactly "the present", it is appropriate, as the modern Greeks are always in some struggle. There are many personal reminiscences, which illustrate well Greek village life and the incredible endurance and courage of the people, e.g. the immediate rebuilding of church and school after destruction by the enemy, and the singing of the liturgy to the sound of gunfire.

More important is the less dramatic factual account—the unity of theology and mysticism in the Greek Church, and the unity of past and present (p. 17, "in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present"); the symbolism, e.g. the Church as "heaven upon earth"; the ritual life of feast and fast, a little too rigid for many of the previous travellers, quotations from whom are frequent; the preservation of Hellenism and Greek Christianity under the Turks by the Church; the confusion of patriotism and religion. This last has been shown to be more insidious than the author suggests; he seems quite in favour of the Greeks fighting for a "Christian" civilization and nation.

He rightly praises the central position given to the Liturgy, "the characteristic action of the whole Christian community", and this fact he relates to his own desire for liturgical reform in this country. He defends the Orthodox introduction of the iconostasis, and gives a good description of a church service. Concelebration made necessary by the rule of only one Liturgy at each altar on a Sunday appeals to him, and his genuine interest in Greek monasticism is refreshing after so many "sightseers'" flippancies; in this connection he gives a Christian's appreciation of Mount Athos. He considers carefully the central position of monasticism in Orthodoxy and its present crisis, with the warning that prayer and meditation cannot be superseded by the attempted reinterpretations of the New Movements.

He devotes considerable space to the chief of these Movements—"Zoe", to which he rightly ascribes the most important developments in the modern Greek Church; and gives a good account of its founder, Eusebius Matthopoulos, though he glosses over the fanaticism and other faults of Apostolos Makrakes, his inspirer. "Zoe", he says, carries on the "Battle of the Depth", "grounded in prayer and the study of the Scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments" (p. 129). It is in this and similar movements that the function of the laity is emphasized. He makes this a chief point of his book, one from which the West can learn, but it is open to doubt

how much these lay preachers and teachers are the product of the Orthodox tradition.

For the intelligent Western Christian this description of Greek Christians is indispensable; they live in a different world, and we are as ignorant of them as that Greek (who thinks Protestants are Papists) is of us.

H. A. REES

## CONTEMPLATION

INTO GOD: An Exercise in Contemplation. By R. G. COULSON. John Murray. 9s. 6d.

THE author of this unusual book evidently had opportunities of travelling widely as a layman before he took Holy Orders. His knowledge of mysticism, Eastern and Western, is impressive, and his deductions sure-footed and convincing. He refers to the revival of interest in the contemplative life, both in the cloister and in the world, and is concerned here with the latter. He opines that most of the experimentation in this field is going on outside the Church, independent both of clergy and of any theology worth the name. The main object of this essay is to give practical help to such groups on biblical lines and give them an opportunity to dwell upon and study the essentials of what they are trying to do. Mr Coulson sees clearly that biblical help must be sacramental, and the chapters are firmly based on the Church's doctrine about baptismal regeneration and the gift of Christ's life in the Eucharist. Mr Coulson is a keen believer in the value of two or three being gathered together, and prefers the suggestions in his book to be implemented corporately rather than individually. Mind, heart, and will must each be given full play—though some may think that the author lays undue stress upon feelings. Men are called and enabled to appropriate attributes of God. The "fallen, human, self-conscious *I am*" is to be transformed into the "All-conscious Divine *I AM*", and that is what constitutes Salvation. This book is concerned with five attributes, dealt with in ascending scale (though the reader is invited to choose others which may appeal to him more, and to work towards them). The five are Peace, Joy, Power, Wisdom, Love. Peace might be negative (absence of war or conflict), so it must lead on to positive joy. It is the man who is happily at peace, whatever his troubles, who is in a position to share in Christ's power. Such a man may learn that wisdom which cannot be gainsaid or resisted: and at the top of the scale is that hardest of Christian virtues—to love "as I have loved you". Those who are willing to make the fullest use of this book are expected to use it as a text-book for months or years, carrying out exercises, which are outlined in detail. Seven minutes is to be spent at this, twelve minutes at that—even posture is regarded as important.

It is greatly to be hoped that in any future books Mr Coulson will have more regard to syntax and less to a would-be vivid style. The style is the only defect in a stimulating work.

FREDERIC HOOD

## ELEMENTS OF FAITH

A YOUNG CHURCHMAN'S PRIMER. By PETER N. LONGRIDGE. Banks, Exeter. 3s. 6d.

THE writer, who is a country priest, is also chaplain, both to boys' and girls' schools. He has had experience with "toughs" in the East End, and with a multitude of seafarers. All this has kindled in him an enthusiasm to impart the Faith to the youthful in years or in knowledge. "If", says the Bishop of Exeter in his foreword, "somebody asks you at work or in the train why you are a Christian, or what is the point of Christianity; to give him this book, which can be read in an hour, would I think be a very good and effective answer".

The Primer is enlivened with several cartoons and diagrams, and it attempts to answer the questions, What am I, and Why?; What is Original Sin; and What has been God's plan to right the wrong? There follow chapters upon the Sacraments, and short instructions upon Prayer and Behaviour.

One's own feeling is that these chapters would make a better basis for oral teaching, rather than for the average boy or girl to read for themselves. From the writer's own foreword, it is clear that this is how these pages have taken shape. In spite of deliberate "down to earth" phraseology, and of many colloquialisms, the style is not very easy, and there are statements which should provoke immediate questions—for instance (p. 21): "The coming of Christ into the world and expressing Himself in human terms was in effect a new act of Creation, for here, for the first time since man became *Homo Sapiens*, was a Man in whom the image of God shone out in its full lustre and glory. . . . Now God has done this using the same human nature, the same 'stuff' that you and I are made of, which means that given the strength and the drive, we too are at least capable of being transformed into perfect creatures. Our human nature is capable of it, but what about the strength needed to carry out such a mighty transformation? . . . Luckily for us, that too has been arranged for us by God in Christ. Here is a collect which puts the matter in a nutshell." (Here follows the 2nd Sunday in Lent Collect).

One does not feel that the Collect meets the situation.

The writer goes on to speak of the Grace of God—that exasperating word which is so nebulous to the average Christian, and which can best be "covered", surely, by the word Power. The author describes it (p. 24) as "that which does the job which nobody else is able to do", but this leaves the wrestler with temptation still at sea,

and when he is told presently that Grace is to be found "in the life of the Church", whose lineage goes back to Abraham, he may feel "How can I find a thing if I don't know what I am looking for?" We submit that in teaching simple folk, it is best to make each Sacrament stand clearly for a recognisable "grace": Baptism for the gift of Eternal *life*, Confirmation for *power*, Absolution for *pardon*, the Blessed Sacrament for the *presence*, Ordination for *authority*, Marriage for *faithfulness*, and the Anointing of the Sick for the *peace of God*.

These (and other) points notwithstanding, the obvious sincerity of the writer shines through the pages, and in the hands of a capable teacher this little volume should be an excellent text book for Confirmation classes.

T. DILWORTH-HARRISON

### UPLIFT

INSPIRING MESSAGES FOR DAILY LIVING. By VINCENT PEALE. The World's Work (1913) Ltd. 12s. 6d.

IT is no good: if I see a heading "How to get people to like you" I have been conditioned to expect an adjuration to use X toothpaste or Y hair cream or Z deodorant. I have *not* been taught to expect an inspiring message for daily living. Perhaps American readers have.

So to me, and I fancy to most English readers, it will be difficult to get further than glancing at the titles of the various parts of this book. "Thought Conditioners", "Self Improvement Handbook", "What's Your Trouble", "Spirit Lifters", "You can Relax", "The How Cards", do not stimulate me to further reading, even though the first and last chapters mentioned for some reason are printed on blue paper.

But I persevered. I think there can be no doubting the truth of the claim on the dust cover that for more than thirty years Dr Vincent Peale has been consulted by men and women on every kind of problem. And the advice he would give would undoubtedly be practical, concise, and wise. But it is doubtful, however, whether such advice when written down "comes over", and the reader is left with an unfortunate impression of superficial slickness.

I liked best the "How Cards", but at the end of it all I was still left with a "Why" card. Why should any English person want to read this book?

GEORGE REINDORP

## FUNDAMENTALISM

**FUNDAMENTALISM AND EVANGELISM.** By JOHN R. W. STOTT. Crusade. 1s.

THIS short pamphlet by the Rector of All Souls' Church, Langham Place, is commended in a foreword by the Bishop of Barking. It arises as a reply to certain criticisms made in the recent "Times" correspondence and elsewhere. Mr Stott is a recognized leader of the younger conservative Evangelicals, and the courteous and persuasive note in his pamphlet is a strong asset in his favour.

There are many aspects of the discussion on Fundamentalism, notably in the field of education, on which light might have been shed. Mr Stott selects two only. Do conservative Evangelicals hold that every word of the Bible is literally true? Are the "decisions" asked for by evangelists sought and obtained at the cost of stifling the intellect? His answer to both these questions is "No."

Mr Stott holds that much of the argument on Fundamentalism arises from a failure to define terms. He himself disclaims the title in so far as it means that Biblical criticism is rejected, or that inspiration is mechanical. The Bible must be studied historically. There is symbolism, metaphor, and anthropomorphism. But he rejects any conclusions which depend on "subjective criteria or philosophical presuppositions leading the critic to stand in judgment on the content of the Biblical revelation". This surely leads Mr Stott to a "practical Fundamentalism" if not a theoretical one, and the confusion is not cleared. Once the critical examination is embarked upon, ought one not to follow where the evidence leads, and are not critics in fact seeking to discover what is the content of revelation rather than to impose any presuppositions of their own?

The practical emphasis is strong in Mr Stott. It is seen again in his discussion on evangelism. He suspects the reason as fallen; and holds that the evangelist must attack the emotions and the will. But if man is fallen, these are fallen also and may mislead as much as the reason. Man, said Pascal, is a "thinking reed". His reason needs persuasion, and conversion and teaching should not be arbitrarily separated. The evangelistic appeal should be to the whole man in the total context of his life. Mr Stott's concentration on the part cannot be justified because with some it gets results.

It is an omission in the pamphlet that Mr. Stott does not take up the problem of what is understood by the word "saved" and the danger of antinomianism which is known to arise where people fail to see the ethical implications of the process of salvation. The pamphlet is useful, but it leaves many questions unsolved.

M. KNIGHT

## MISSIONS TO SEAMEN

**FLYING ANGEL.** By L. A. G. STRONG. Methuen. 15s.

IT is always easy to write and think sentimentally about seamen and the sailors "tossing on the deep blue sea". It is easy to describe the Missions to Seamen as a mere welfare organisation anxious to provide hostels and shore facilities for seamen. But L. A. G. Strong in his book *Flying Angel* yields to none of these temptations.

He gives an honest and virile account of how the work started and steadily increased in the face of hazards of tide and temperament that would have daunted many men. He draws vivid pictures of some of the first chaplains upon whose obdurate labours, fine seaman-ship and personal holiness the reputation of the Mission was soundly built.

But the pioneers, naturally enough, had none of the Society's prestige behind them. Like soap-box orators, they had to stand up and show what they could do. They went alone, supported only by their faith, their self-confidence, and their knowledge of seamen. As they clambered up ropes and made their way among one unknown crew after another, all depended upon the impression they made as men. And because they were no soap-box orators, but men whose spiritual stamina carried them through scorn and derision, they were not always in a position to judge what impres-  
sion they did make. They were known by their deeds rather than by their words.

But he does not disguise the failure of others of the chaplains:

Too much zeal undid many of the pioneers. In the 'sixties one of them complained of sailors who burst out singing in the middle of his sermon, and who pelted him with lumps of pork rolled up in the tracts he had brought. Timing was all-important. The visitor, who was unwise enough to interrupt a card game could expect anything, from the ship's dog at his trousers to a howl of derision and the routine inquiry, "Does your mother know you're out?"

Yet as the author recounts the spread of the work throughout the world, and the raising of the standard of material provision for the seaman's welfare, he never allows the reader to lose sight of what the symbol of the Flying Angel implies—that the primary object of the Mission to Seamen is to extend the pastoral work of the Church to seamen ashore and afloat wherever they may be.

Anyone who served in the Royal or Merchant Navies during the Second World War will read with gratitude the chapter that covers the Mission's work of that period. Here again Mr Strong lets the work tell its own story, and a proud story it is. Those early chaplains, Boyer, Strong, Childs, John Ashley, and the rest, would not be ashamed of the men who have succeeded them; and in his chapter

"The Way Ahead" the author outlines some of the problems and opportunities that challenge the Mission in this centenary year.

The foreword says that the Mission's work is built up of thousands upon thousands of human encounters all over the world, encounters made possible by the conditions in which seamen earn their living and the conditions in which they can be reached, entertained, and cared for. Of the work this attractive and readable book (with a few excellent illustrations) gives an account of which the Church and the Mission to Seamen may well be proud.

GEORGE REINDORP

## CIVIC HISTORY

MEDIAEVAL YORK. A Topographical Survey based on original sources. By ANGELO RAINÉ. John Murray. 30s.

IN historical studies of particular towns England has till recently lagged far behind the continent. No English town for instance had been treated on the scale of Paris in Louis Halphen's *Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens*, or Cologne in Hermann Keussen's *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*. This gap in English historical studies is now being filled. In 1948 appeared Mr. J. W. F. Hill's magisterial work, *Medieval Lincoln*. It has now been followed by Mr Raine's long-expected topographical survey of York in the middle ages. Here is a work, embodying a life time of research, by a parish priest who has spent nearly forty years of his ministry as an incumbent in York. It should prove invaluable not only to the historian and to the antiquary, but also to the tourist, if he is prepared to do his sightseeing in a leisurely manner. One of the joys of the book is the really adequate plan of the city included at the end.

Of set purpose, Mr Raine has excluded from his survey the Minster as needing a whole book to itself and the Castle as having always been outside the city's jurisdiction. The three opening chapters are devoted to the medieval walls. The area within the walls is then divided by Mr Raine into fourteen sections. A chapter is given to each section, and describes in detail the layout of its streets, its houses, its guild halls, and its churches as they existed prior to the mid-sixteenth century. The last four chapters deal with the part outside the walls. Much of the material which Mr Raine has assembled is based on unpublished sources in the York Diocesan Registry, the muniments of the Dean and Chapter, and the City archives. When the book goes into a second edition, as is bound to happen, the opportunity should be taken to change the method of referring to charters in Farrer and Clay's *Early Yorkshire Charters*. The number of the particular charter referred to seems to be given; actually it is the page on which the charter is to be found, an unsatisfactory method as there is usually more than one charter to a page. The reference should be to the number of the charter.

Based largely on information contained in wills there are notes on the medieval furnishings of the churches, which will delight the ecclesiologist. The only pre-Reformation churchwarden's accounts of a York church to have survived, those of St Michael Spurriergate, have an entry under 1537 to the effect that a stall for churchings was given by the women of the parish. York has thus the distinction of affording the earliest example of a special pew for a woman to kneel in when she is churched, a piece of furniture almost universal in our churches from the mid-sixteenth century till the Victorian age.

The population of York towards the end of the Middle Ages has been estimated at about eleven thousand, and it was cared for pastorally by forty-seven churches. The parochial system represented by these churches makes medieval York of particular interest to the historian of Church institutions. In most English towns it is impossible to carry back the history of the parochial system much beyond the end of the eleventh century. But the sculptured stones in the form of grave covers and pieces of crosses found on the sites of the York churches, show that already by the second half of the tenth century small ecclesiastical units, or parishes in the accepted sense of the word, each with its church and grave-yard were beginning to make their appearance in the City. The York parish churches between them afford an example of almost every conceivable constitutional form which it is possible for a parish church to assume. There are rectories in the gift of ecclesiastical and lay patrons, churches appropriated in temporals only or vicarages, churches appropriated in both spirituals and temporals, usually known as perpetual curacies, and peculiars, that is churches exempt from the ordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop and under that of the Dean and Chapter or an individual member of the Chapter. Three of the parish churches were churches of moieties. In one church, St Denis, up till the middle of the twelfth century the office of priest was hereditary, the church being what the Germans call a *priestererbkirche*. The dating of the fabric of the majority of English parish churches depends on a classification of styles. But two of the York churches can be dated from documentary evidence, the blitzed St Martin Coney Street from a will, and St Michael-le-Belfrey from the Minster fabric rolls. The tower of Holy Trinity Micklegate would appear from its style of architecture to belong to the twelfth century. An entry in Archbishop Booth's register shows that it was built in 1453, an example of the fifteenth century faking the twelfth.

Mr Raine in this book on York has continued a family tradition of local history connected with north-eastern England. His father, the Reverend James Raine, was Chancellor and Librarian of York Minster, and his edition of Archbishop Gray's register is still indispensable for the study of thirteenth-century Yorkshire. His grandfather, James Raine, also a priest, was Librarian of Durham Cathedral and one of the most celebrated antiquaries of the day. The account of Holy Island in his *History and Antiquities of North Durham*, a

continuation of Surtees' history of County Durham, has never been superseded. It was at his instigation that the Chapter of Durham in 1827 opened St Cuthbert's grave, and his account of the event entitled *St Cuthbert* is a classic of antiquarian writing. *Mediaeval York* fully holds its own with the work of the author's distinguished father and grandfather.

G. W. O. ADDLESHAW

## CHURCH BUILDING

THE MODERN CHURCH. By EDWARD D. MILLS. Architectural Press. 30s.

THIS book deserves and will, we hope, receive a warm welcome from all concerned with the provision of new churches in "the contemporary idiom", for of the half dozen or so manuals covering much the same ground which have appeared since 1940 this is certainly the best from the Anglican point of view. We are glad to say this, not least because the author is a Free Churchman and is giving his royalties to the Methodist Church of which he is a member.

Mr Mills is an enthusiast for his subject and writes from a Christian motive. His Preface tells us that "this book has been written because the author believes that contemporary architecture can play its part in the revitalizing of the Church. The finest expression of every age, in every country, has been through the buildings erected for the worship of God, and architects of today must reflect this century in the churches they design." Yet for all its idealism the book is essentially practical, and therein lies its value. The reviewer would have given much for such a work as this twenty years ago when he was responsible for the building of a new church centre on the outskirts of London.

The reader will be impressed with the comprehensive range of topics covered, including such things as acoustics, insulation, bells, religious art, ancillary accommodation, the building authorities of the various denominations, the problem of the new towns, and building costs. But the result of this wide embrace is that some important aspects of the subject receive only cursory treatment. The historical section, in particular, is too slight to be of much value. For example, the whole period of Renaissance church building is lightly dismissed in half a line! Or again, the author attempts no analysis of the Gothic Revival in its various phases. This is an unfortunate omission, as the roots of many of our problems of church planning lie deep in the history of this period. Similarly little attention is paid to the building achievement of the Church of England both before and immediately after the Second World War. One would think that in a book of this kind some reference would have been made to the contributions of such men as Sir Edward Maufe and Mr Cachemaille-

Day, to name only two who made their mark in this country in the nineteen-thirties and forties.

Turning to the pictorial side, great credit is due for the numerous illustrations, as well as for the discrimination exercised in their choice. The selection of photographs of contemporary churches and works of art, with site plans and diagrams, reflects basically sound ideas and good judgement in matters of taste. Indeed, the book is well worth buying for the illustrations alone.

The Appendices are an unusual and useful feature (church planning data, offices of church authorities, etc.), but there are some mistakes here in matters of fact which could have been avoided if the Central Council for the Care of Churches had been consulted. For instance, new Anglican churches do not require faculties from diocesan Chancellors, although these are necessary for subsequent additions or alterations. Further, stone or marble altars may be "preferable", but unhappily they are still illegal, at least in the main position in parochial churches.

The whole volume, not excluding its asymmetrical jacket, is attractively produced by the Architectural Press, and the clear type employed makes reading a pleasure.

O. H. GIBBS-SMITH